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MANGROVE FOREST.

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TWENTY-NINE YEARS

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IN THE

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ST INDIES AND CENTRAL AFRICA:

A REVIEW OF

Missionary Work and Adventure.

1829—1858.

BY THE

REV. HOPE MASTERTON WADDELL,

FORMERLY MISSIONARY AT OLD CALABAR.

KING EYO'S STATE CANOE.

LONDON:

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TO

JOHN HENDERSON, ESQ.,

OF PARK, GLASGOW,

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS

OF THE

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

THE UNWEARIED AND MUNIFICENT PROMOTER OF CHRISTIAN UNION AND PROGRESS,

AND THE

GENEROUS FRIEND OF MISSIONARIES,

This Volume

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

Preface.

APOLOGIES in a preface are rarely either agreeable or useful. The author ventures, therefore, to say only that, having spent the most of his life in teaching the A. B. C. of religion and literature to the children of Ethiopia, and chiefly in that peculiar dialect called Negro-English, he may be permitted to allude to the fact in extenuation of whatever literary deficiencies may appear in the following work.

The Scottish missionaries in Jamaica at one time designed to publish a history of their mission in that island, and began to prepare the materials for it. The idea, though not carried into effect, was a good one. The records of the original founders of churches as of states come in the future to be of great interest, and if lost cannot be restored. Traditions, vague and uncertain, may perhaps be gathered; but the facts of history are not among the things that the ages to come may invent or discover. The Rev. George Blyth furnished his share of the work, some years ago, in his very interesting volume of "Missionary Reminiscences." More recently the "Memoirs of the Rev. William Jameson" have been a valuable contribution to the same object. The present volume contains mine. It may be hoped that some other fellow-

labourer will yet complete the work by filling up the blanks, and bringing down the history to the present time.

The mission to Old Calabar was the offspring of that in Jamaica, and has all along been intimately connected with it. The narrative of that mission here presented is not a reprint of old journals. Much that had merely a temporary interest is omitted; while the more important matter is condensed and arranged, with great additions from private manuscripts, necessary for a right understanding of the whole subject. Reference had to be made occasionally, in both parts of the work, to various unpleasant matters, which, though they reflected on other parties, were too public to be overlooked, without exposing the author to erroneous imputations. Where silence on such subjects was consistent with complete truth in the narration, and the interests of God's cause, it has been observed, to an extent greater than the writer can explain, or expects to get credit for. He can truly say, however, that while studying impartial accuracy in his statements, he desired to observe the consideration and respect due to those persons necessarily referred to, and was more happy to mention the good of every one than the contrary.

Having spent a large portion of his life in slave-holding countries, the author may have had his feelings on the subject of negro slavery somewhat dulled; and may write, therefore, as one familiar with the system, though never he trusts as its friend. It would, however, seem an affectation, designed to make up for past deficiencies, were he always referring to it in terms of reprobation and abhorrence; and he does not require to use such means, he hopes or any means, for such a purpose, as his hands and heart are clean from its touch to this day. He may say here, once for all, that the more he has seen of the system the more does

he condemn it, as unworthy of being maintained anywhere; bearable only when required to escape anarchy, and which it would be criminal to introduce into any country whence it can be excluded. It is the lowest stage of human society, and in its own nature debasing and essentially barbarous, detrimental, morally and physically, to both masters and slaves, and if fully carried into effect would prove self-destructive. In fact it can prevail only when ameliorated by the spirit and practice of an entirely different system, and yet finds the process of improvement fatal to its continuance.

This volume is merely an outline of missionary life and labour. The filling up would consist largely of routine though most important duties,—daily visitations and conversations, class meetings, and private examinations. These can be only occasionally indicated as part of our work of regular Christian instruction. Yet it is the line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, the incessant and anxious watching and teaching, that, by the divine blessing, gradually enlightens the dark mind, expands and impresses the hard heart. The innumerable minute and seemingly unimportant matters of daily intercourse all go to make up that Christian influence which imperceptibly contributes to permanently beneficial results. On that ground it may be believed, that many missionaries, who are least known, are not least useful in advancing the Kingdom of God.

When a multitude of events and incidents, during a course of years, have impressed themselves deeply on one's mind, some of them will, probably, have an undue influence on his feelings, and be of greater interest to him than they can be to any one else. Judgment is at fault, and the difficulty becomes great of determining what should be retained and what rejected. This diffi-

culty has been fully felt in the present case, and it may be feared but imperfectly overcome. Another is, that occurrences cannot be photographed, like objects in nature, with their concomitants. They fade away, in the distance of memory, till only the more prominent points remain, and present a bare and rugged horizon. In fiction the picture may be completed, and made more lovely than the original; but the defects of the following outlines cannot be filled up by the exercise of imagination.

The author deplores the too frequent use of the egotistic pronoun, and would gladly have avoided it altogether, had that been possible in a personal narration. In the words of the Latin poet he may truly say of the whole volume,—

> "Dum relego scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,
> Me quoque qui feci judice, digna lini."

H. M. W.

December 29, 1862.

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MISSIONARY WORK AND ADVENTURE.

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IT was in the year 1822 that "it pleased God, who called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen." I was then in the eighteenth year of my age, and the second of my apprenticeship to a mercantile house in Dublin;* but my parents having consented to my studying for the ministry, my master most kindly gave me up my indentures, indorsed with a good character. Accepted in 1825 by the Scottish Missionary Society as one of its students, I was ordained in 1829 by the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Secession Church, and, accompanied by a "true yoke fellow," departed for Jamaica, the appointed field of my future labours. There we landed in the middle of December, among scenes, to the eye the loveliest, to the heart the bleakest that can be imagined.

A life-time in the tropics has not effaced the first vivid impressions of the splendid scenery that burst on our view as our ship passed close along the coast of several of the West India Islands. Their varied forms and brilliant colours—their cane-fields, and pastures, and woods—steep ascents and deep ravines—snow-white

* Messrs. Andrew Pollock & Co., druggists and general merchants.

beach, sparkling wavelets, and verdant shores, clothed in beauty to the water's edge, all bathed and glowing in floods of radiance—surpassed every previous conception, and seemed to assure us that the Isles of the Blest were not fabulous—that *there* might be found the Gardens of the Hesperides.

Rio Bueno harbour was our first anchorage, and looked most picturesque. The town, small a[illegible] the houses peculiar, lay round the cove at the base of [illegible] wooded hills, up the sides of which shone forth whit[illegible] embowered among the broad-leaved bananas. The day w[illegible]geous, but, sated with splendours, we hailed the gloamin[illegible] hoped for rest. The darkness, however, brought no repose, [illegible] night was more tropical than the day. Fire-flies innumerable[illegible] up the bay, the little winking blinkers flitting about in all directions; and others with globes of dazzling light sailing like steam-ships in straight lines hither and thither, making an insect illumination. There was an insect serenade, too, which gradually but unceasingly swelled, till it filled the air—a chorus of countless multitudes of tiny voices—a universal song from all little creeping and flying things that love the night, in shrill notes of endless number and variety. The "still evening" belonged not to a Jamaica paradise. There it seemed the heaven of all living things to come forth in the cool, dewy moonlight, and enjoy themselves with music and dancing. Men might, indeed, become in time deaf to their melody; but still they sang on in the ear of Him who gave them their voices, and delighted in their tuneful happiness.

Next day we proceeded in the ship's long-boat to *Falmouth*, and before night were welcomed to the hospitable home of our brother, Mr. Blyth. The view from his house was worthy of being remembered. In the distance, and not too distant, rose up long ranges of black conical mountains, tier above tier, clothed with forest. The intervening space was a vast plain, covered with luxuriant cane-fields, and dotted with sugar-works, cocoa-nut groves, and gigantic cotton-trees; while in the foreground, at the foot of the hill where his house was erected, stood his beautiful white stone church, then new, and a rare and lovely feature in a Jamaica scene. I longed to explore the gloomy recesses of those highlands, *and behold* nature in its primitive grandeur.

The congregation which assembled in Hampden Church the following Sabbath consisted of about five hundred people, mostly negro slaves. Decent in appearance and decorous in conduct, attentive and intelligent-looking, they were a superior people to what I had expected. They were generally dressed in Osnaburg and Penistons,—the former a coarse linen, and the latter a coarse blue woollen cloth, the usual material of clothing for slaves. There were a good many respectable free people of colour also, of all shades between white and black, and a few whites. Among these was the proprietor of a neighbouring estate, just arrived in the colony, who expressed the greatest pleasure, and especially that many of the people had Bibles and hymn-books, and could use them. He would write home, he said, and make known how much pleased he was with what he saw and heard at church that day. The Lord's Supper was afterwards dispensed, and nothing could exceed the devotional and becoming conduct of the communicants.

Such particulars as the foregoing were then matters of great moment. Negro congregations were rare, except in the principal towns; and the religious instruction of the slaves, and their admission to church privileges were fiercely resisted by the dominant portion of the community. Could it be done with safety? Could they become good Christians? Could they be educated and become intelligent, yet continue docile and obedient? These questions were everywhere debated. Freedom or slavery depended on the reply. The experiment of evangelizing the slaves was in progress, great interests depended on the result, and all engaged in the work anxiously marked its progress.

Christmas came on, when the slaves had three holidays, and made the most of their annual festival by unbounded revelry. Then they got their annual clothing, and a good allowance of salt-fish, sugar, and rum, which enabled them to feast and be merry. The estate overseers usually gave a dance to the people, where the most dissolute of both sexes were sure to be present, and to indulge too freely in the shrub made for the occasion. Companies of young men paraded the estates, carrying a fanciful and gaily-painted structure, called a "Johnny Canoe,"* and followed by a crowd singing and beating the gomby. In the towns, two parties

* A corruption, doubtless, *of some African word.*

or "sets" of girls, called from their dresses "reds and blues," paraded the streets in rivalry, followed by crowds of both sexes and all ages. The young women who led, gaily dressed, sang sweet airs to improvised words; their followers swelling the chorus. They received contributions from the householders, and spent their evenings in feasting and merriment. The three days became a week among the town slaves, who made a Saturnalia of a Christian festival, spending the time in the grossest rioting. The result of so much license or licentiousness, it was hoped, would be great good humour, to prepare the slaves for another year of ill-requited toil.

"Whatsoever doth make manifest is light." The word of God having discovered and reproved the gross immoralities of these Christmas revels, the more intelligent and the better disposed slaves had begun to abandon them, and gave one of the three days to the public worship of God. They discerned that they were impositions to amuse them, and were thinking of something better both for this world and for the world to come.

It may not be amiss here to devote a few pages to a brief glance at the state of the island, at and previous to the period of which I write. Its history was a troubled one, abounding in convulsions,—Maroon wars and slave insurrections, hurricanes and earthquakes. The *Maroons* were wild negroes, who had escaped from their Spanish masters at the time of the British conquest in 1655; and being joined continually by runaway slaves and desperadoes, held the passes and fastnesses of the country, and set the colonists at defiance. In 1738 they were brought to terms by a series of regular military operations; and on condition that their freedom and settlements should be secured to them, they agreed to receive no more runaways, and to serve as a mountain police for their capture and delivery. They had townships in different parts of the island. Those in Trelawny rebelled in 1795; but after inflicting severe loss on the military, being all marksmen, were subdued and banished. Some were sent to Nova Scotia, others to Sierra Leone. It is said that they mostly belonged to the untamable tribe of Coromantees, a branch of the Ashantee nation, who, as one of themselves told me, were among the blacks what

Englishmen were among the whites—able to fight and beat all other countries.

The slave-trade had been prosecuted by the Jamaica colonists with the utmost recklessness from an early period. In 1698, when the white population was only about 7000, the black had increased to 40,000; and that number was but the half of what had been imported. In 1776 they were introduced at the rate of 18,000 yearly. Up to that date, about 600,000 negroes had been landed, of whom 130,000 had been sold away again, and 270,000 had perished, leaving about 200,000 in the island. In 1817, when the slave-trade had been suppressed, their numbers were 346,000. It is certain that a much greater number, probably twice as many, had perished. Even after the importation had ceased, and when the planters had the greatest interest in taking care of their slaves and promoting their natural increase, they decreased at the rate of several thousands annually. In 1829, their numbers were 322,000; five years later, they were only 302,000.

The murderous system which thus unceasingly ground down the people to death produced frequent insurrections among them. From 1678 till 1832, there were twenty-seven, partial or general. These, and the terrible vengeance, sometimes atrocious cruelty, with which they were put down, characterized West India slavery. In 1760, some insurgent negroes were burned alive, and others, gibbeted alive, left to die in prolonged agonies like men crucified. One is known to have survived nearly nine days in that unceasing torture without a drop of water. Of the last insurrection, the most extensive, determined, and destructive ever made in the colony, some account will be found in this volume.

All this while the free people of colour were rapidly increasing in numbers, wealth, and education, and gaining a corresponding position and influence in the island. In 1830 they obtained their emancipation, and full political equality with their white fellow-subjects, when they numbered about fifty thousand.

Earthquakes and hurricanes have been frequent in the West Indies, and at times made awful ruin. The former, however, are not always destructive. Several *took place in* Jamaica during my

residence without doing any harm, at least in Jamaica, though one of them destroyed Port au Prince in St. Domingo. The worst, since it came under British rule, was in 1692. The mountains were rent, and *Port-Royal*, the chief city, and head-quarters of the buccaneers, an amazingly wealthy and wicked city, was swallowed up, with three thousand inhabitants. Ships floated where it had stood. As if God had determined to make it, like Sodom and Gomorrah, a monument of divine vengeance, the town was no sooner rebuilt near its old site than it was destroyed by fire. Fire from heaven struck a powder magazine. Some years afterwards, when partially restored, it was again consumed by fire, which burned three days. Yet once more it was shattered in pieces, in 1744, by a tremendous hurricane which rent and scattered solid masonry. Port-Royal never lifted its head again, and *Kingston* took its place as the most important seat of commerce in the British West Indies.

The worst hurricane that Jamaica experienced in the same period was in 1780, when, accompanied by an earthquake, it destroyed the town of Savanna La Mer, and nearly all the plantations in the west end of the island. Ships that had been at anchor in the bay were found, when the convulsions of nature ceased, far up the town, among the ruins of the buildings, which the mighty rushing of the sea had overflowed.

A sugar estate in good order was a fine sight. The canes presented an appearance of the utmost luxuriance, and especially when crowned with their lilac arrowy blossoms. The pastures, shaded by the most valuable or beautiful trees, were often like English parks. The works, usually white and clean, comprised an extensive range of buildings. There were the overseer's house and stores, with the barracks for book-keepers, carpenter, and mason; the mill-house, boiling-house, cooling-house, and still-house; the carpenters', coopers', and blacksmiths' shops, and extensive trash-houses. A little way off stood the hospital or "hot-house;" and on a rising ground overlooking all, the Great House or proprietor's mansion, flanked by the "negro houses" or slave village; these last being buried in cocoa-nut, orange, mango, and the avacado-pear trees.

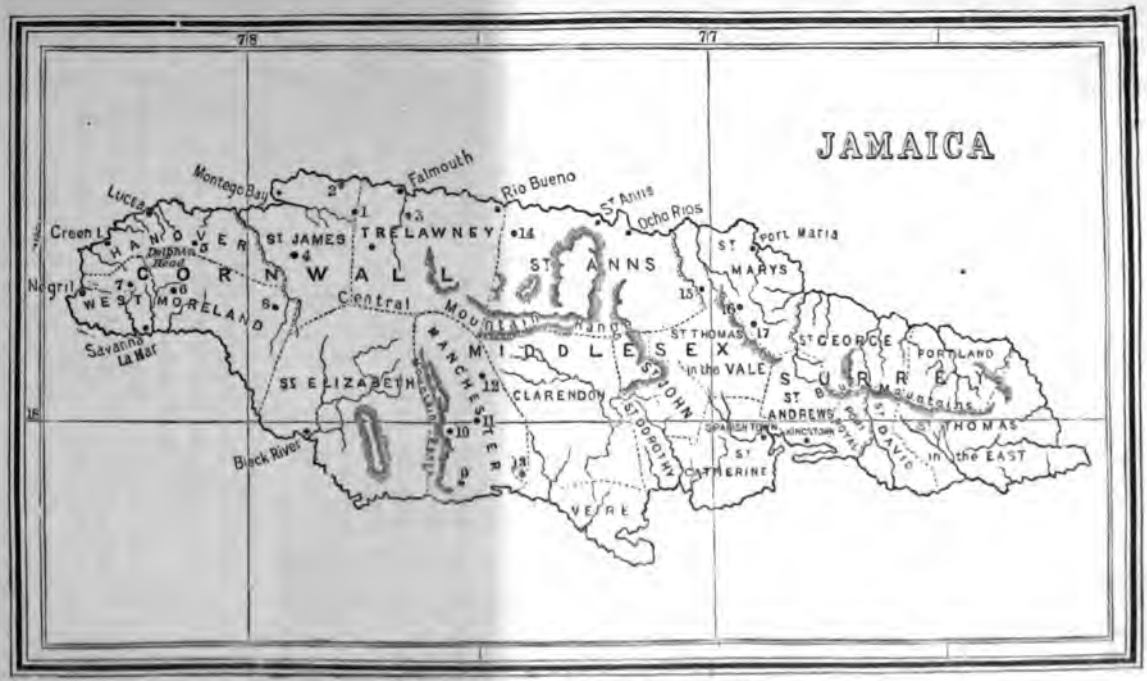
A flourishing sugar estate could be imagined and painted as a

scene of prosperity and happiness. Ah, how much the reverse! Cheerful willing labour was not to be found; it was not looked for; nor peace and purity. The proprietors or island nobility were for the most part absent, and their "great houses" unoccupied, and going to decay, except where a planting attorney resided and kept everything in good order. These attorneys formed the squirearchy of the island. One might have several properties under his care, some had many, and were very great men indeed. Every estate had its own overseer, who had "book-keepers," carpenter, and mason under him. From the attorney down all were unmarried, yet all had families. A married lady was rarely seen. Some planters had not seen one since they left home. Others knew not how to address one when they met her. The "housekeeper" system had become a colonial institution. It was thought cheaper than the other; but that was a mistake. Pilfering and waste prevailed, and vices not to be described. The sugar estates were commonly "whited sepulchres." Planters have owned to me that they were shocked at first by the style of living, but were laughed at and insnared, and became in the end used to it as unavoidable. Others never got over it. Troubled by pangs of conscience, they drank to excess, and died in despair. "Buckra die hard this time, hearee!" said the negroes; "since gospel come buckra die hard."

In crop time the sugar works were a busy scene; for the manufacturing process never ceased for four or five months, except on Sundays, and then only for a few hours to scour the coppers. In the beginning the people were lively, and seemed to thrive on the sweet cane-juice, of which they had a plentiful supply. But ere the season closed they began to suffer, were fagged and sickly, from excessive toil and want of proper food. They started for the field at the earliest dawn, roused by the loud crack of the driver's whip resounding through the negro houses; and except half an hour for breakfast, eaten in the field, and an hour and a half at noon for dinner, they continued at work while they had light. Besides their day-labour they had to work in the mill-yard the half of every second night. For the people were always divided into four "spells," two for each night, to carry on the sugar-making uninterruptedly. The night they "took spell" the people never went

... scenery of Jamaica is too magnificent
Everywhere grandeur and beauty prevail. Th
length, 160 miles, run lofty and precipitous mou
Blue Peaks in the east, 8000 feet high, to the 1
the west, 3400, clothed with eternal verdure, and
their summits. In a succession of lesser ridges
the north side to the sea; while on the south, gre
off enclose vast plains, twenty or thirty miles eac
of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland. Everywhere
are broken into deep valleys, abrupt, rugged, and
penetrable woods; and everywhere the cultivated
the most lovely landscapes of hill and dale and m
and plantation scenery. The frequent groves of
their giant leaves waving, rustling, and glancing
wind, the bright skies, brilliant atmosphere, glowi
contrasts of light and shade, and universal irrepres
filled one with admiration of such tropical splend

The surrounding sea is also most beautiful. I
smooth as glass, it mirrors the fleecy clouds floati
the sun emerges from its placid depths seems con
into molten gold. During the day the trade-wind
face, and dot the blue expanse with wreaths



STATIONS OF THE SCOTTISH MISSIONARIES.

On the Coast—Kingston; Port Maria; Falmouth; Montego Bay; Lucea; Green Island; and Negril. In the Interior—1. Hampden; 2. Cornwall; or

called "the grave of Europeans." No insurance society would assure any man's life there, on any terms. The mortality which had occasioned its bad repute sprung, however, chiefly from the bad living of those who went thither. No doubt the torrid zone tries the constitution of northerners, and tries their mental as well as bodily stamina; but intemperance, and rashness, and the want of reasonable care, have killed soldiers, sailors, and planters more than climate. Its character has, however, certainly improved since that time.

The religious parties in the island at the commencement of our mission must be briefly noticed. The Church of England was established there from an early period, but only in 1825 was Jamaica made an episcopal see. Previous to the arrival of the bishop the parish clergy were in a state of shocking disorder; nor did his presence immediately correct the evils which prevailed. Things not to be spoken of were too well known in nearly all the parishes along the north side. The Rev. Mr. Trew had distinguished himself for zeal and fidelity, and was perhaps the first parish minister who attempted the instruction of the slaves. Four or five zealous evangelical curates succeeded him, and were already eminent when I went to the country. Of them nothing but good could be spoken by any who loved good. In time they got parishes, and their number, happily, increased. Except by them, the gospel was not preached in the parish churches, and few attended them. The clergy were bound, indeed, to "christen" the slaves at the requisition of the masters, but that was done without instruction. The negroes got a half-holiday for the occasion, came in clean frocks to the overseer's or master house steps, and drew up in a row. One by one they advanced and received a new name and a few drops of water on the head, by the high authority of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. "It was like driving cattle to a pond," said one of them afterwards to me. "I heard something about God," said another, "but thought the parson in the long gown was he." If it did nothing else it made many of them think they were now proof against *Obea*.

The word *parish* must not mislead the reader. It is not to be understood in its ordinary ecclesiastical sense. There are twenty-

two in the island, which, in size and other respects, might be called counties. Each has, indeed, a church, clergyman, and vestry; but each also returns two members to the Colonial Legislature, has its capital, generally a seaport, with custom-house, court-house, jail, and house of correction. Each has its own bench of magistrates, court of quarter sessions, and regiment of militia, and levies and disburses its own taxes for local purposes, both common and sacred.

The Moravians were the first missionaries to Jamaica. In 1754 they commenced their blessed work among the slaves at New Carmel, in St. Elizabeth's parish, where a proprietor, with more than ordinary sense, perhaps conscience, gave them residence, and encouraged their labours. Moral influence even in slave government is not to be despised. The civilization of the newly imported savages would be promoted by their evangelization. The interests of the proprietor and his safety were involved in the order and contentment of his people. The authority of God and his servant might prevail where the whip failed; and the prospect of a glorious future, the hopes of an eternal heaven, would compensate the slaves, without loss to the proprietor, for the want of earthly comforts. Mixed motives, it may be supposed, not uncharitably, have influenced slave owners as well as others; and Christian missionaries must enter the doors which God's providence opens to them, without criticising the various influences which have operated to withdraw the bolts and bars.

The "Brethren" were for many years few, and their success small, varying from time to time with the missionary or the master. Early in the present century their mission began to extend, and in 1829 had stations in several other places. That at "Irwin Hill," in St. James's parish, was within half a day's ride of my station, and I enjoyed delightful Christian intercourse with its minister, the Rev. James Light, for several years, and with his successors after he had left the island. Indeed, all the Moravian and Scottish missionaries sweetly harmonized, and co-operated with the most brotherly frankness and confidence, from first to last.

The Wesleyan Methodist missions commenced in the close of last century in Kingston, and though violently opposed by the white colonists, the missionaries were well received by the free

coloured people. Their labours gradually extend
churches formed in the principal towns of the isla

In 1800 the Scottish Missionary Society attempte
there, and sent a minister and two catechists to K
few months one of the latter only survived, who
work and accepted an appointment to a public sc

The mission was not rene 1 1824, when the Rev.
Blyth, previously in the so iety's service in Tartary, w
at Hampden, in Trelawny, where several proprietors o
estates to the gospel, and offered liberal aid. By
labours, fidelity, and prudence, he formed a flourishi
tion; and, under God, to his wisdom as senior bro
Scottish mission in Jamaica owed much of its uniform
and prosperity. In 1827 he was joined by the brethren
and Chamberlain, whom I had been with in the mission house,
rejoiced to be associated with in the mission field. The former
was settled at Lucea, in the west end of the island; and the latter
at Port Maria, far eastward.

The English Baptist Mission commenced in 1814 in Kingston, where, two years afterwards, the first church was formed. In 1820 a second was formed in Spanish Town; another, a few years afterwards, in Montego Bay; and still later, that in Falmouth. These all swelled rapidly and prodigiously, and the churches and membership of that mission continued to increase beyond all others.

The way was prepared for the Baptist missionaries by people of the same name from America. Towards the close of last century, George Leile, a black man from Savannah, Georgia, formed a large congregation in Kingston, and founded that peculiar body since known as the Native Baptists. His successors, Gibb, Clarke, Moses Baker, and others, in various parts of the country, extended his system, and a queer system it was. It was hoped that the brethren from England, while adopting the work of predecessors, would correct the errors and disorders that had appeared, and, indeed, were prevalent among them.

Moses Baker settled in St. James's parish, where I got acquainted with many of his followers. He had come from New Providence, it was said, and resided near Montego Bay, at a place called Crooked Spring or Vaughan's Field, on the property of a

gentleman of the same persuasion. A number of slaves came about the same time from the same place, and were sold into different parts of St. James's, going under the name of "New Providence people." Baker appointed leaders over classes among the negro houses of many estates. He seems to have been a good man, and zealous, but ill informed, and most superstitious. He could do little in giving sound instruction to all the classes he had formed, being able to visit them only at night, and having no regular Sabbath or church services; but he initiated them into a strange system of mingled truth and error, which his leaders carried to the length of a monstrous superstition. As his years and infirmities increased, they conducted things their own way; and disorders so greatly multiplied, which he could no longer rectify, that he applied for an English Baptist missionary to succeed him in his congregation. When the Rev. Mr. Burchell settled in Montego Bay, in 1824, Moses Baker desired his people to join him, which they did, leaders, classes, and all; so that the new congregation soon reckoned fifteen hundred members, and a still greater number of inquirers.

The grand doctrine of these people was the Spirit's teaching. It gave life. The written word was a dead letter. If they could not read the Bible they could do without it, which was as good. The Spirit was sought in dreams and visions of the night, which thus became the source of their spiritual life. Without them inquirers could not be born again either by water or the Spirit. The leaders expounded these dreams to their kneeling followers in weekly class meetings; which, when judged to be of a right kind, were called "the work," that is, of the Spirit, and supplied the place of knowledge, faith, and repentance. As Christ was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, his disciples must follow him into the wilderness to seek the Spirit. To the bush, the pastures, or the cane fields, those people resorted at night, when preparing for baptism, and were ordered to lie down, each apart, without speaking, but keeping eye and ear open to observe what way the Spirit would come to them. Doubtless they would see and hear strange things in their excited imaginations, and the leaders could make what they liked of them. The result of such a system among such a people may be imagined. The exposition of

it and its effects in detail would require many pages, and be more surprising than edifying to our readers. The connection of these people with the English missionaries, though for a time it promised to be beneficial, proved, it is to be feared, a permanent injury. They have since, indeed, to some extent, separated themselves; but not without rending some congregations in pieces; while the leaven of their doctrine and practices cannot be all soon purged away.

We return to our narrative. The three brethren already in the island had each a station near himself ready for a missionary, and each called on me to occupy it. They had to be visited before I could fix the scene of our future labours. The first was *Cinnamon Hill* and *Cornwall*, two populous sugar estates close together, where Mr. Blyth frequently met and preached to the people. They belonged to the same proprietor, who, with his admirable lady, had recently arrived to look after his own interests, and improve the condition of his people both for time and eternity. They were on the sea side, in a beautiful and salubrious part of the country, ten miles from Hampden, and more than that from the nearest towns, Montego Bay and Falmouth. They were the key to a whole district, containing eighteen or twenty estates, and about five thousand people within a range of five miles around. The towns named were also near enough to be visited, and large enough to require a Scottish missionary in each, for whom I might be able to prepare the way. The proprietor offered a free residence, and every facility for the instruction of his people; and they seconded his request by their hearty entreaties that we would reside among them, and "make them hear the good word."

The sphere of labour there was very attractive, but we had to see the others, and proceeded to Lucea, the chief town of Hanover parish. The deep and capacious bay, surrounded by luxuriant hills, with the bold *Dolphin* ridge behind, presented a very charming scene when a turn of the road brought it all full in view. The appearance of our brother's congregation there, composed chiefly of coloured people, and his interesting labours in church classes, and daily visitings to the surrounding sugar estates to preach to the people, were most encouraging to a young missionary.

Green Island, a small town on a large bay, twelve miles beyond Lucea, was the place that claimed my services in that quarter, and I proceeded thither to meet the people on a Sabbath. Several hundred people were assembled, nearly all blacks from the adjoining estates, and fine intelligent-looking people they were. Service being concluded, they all rose up and prayed me to stay and preach the good word of God to them at all times. When I explained that I must see other places before I could fix on any, they interrupted me, saying, "O minister, stay and make we hear the gospel. Live here, and preach it every Sunday, and all men must hear it."

I rejoiced to see their earnestness, I told them, and hoped they would soon get a minister—me or some one else.

"Thank you, massa! God bless you, massa! Stay now yourself, and don't go away. It be you we want. We no want any other minister."

"Well, my friends, if it seem the will of God that I should come here, I'll be very happy to do so; and I regard your call as a great encouragement. But I must see other places before I can make up my mind."

"O minister, it is the will of God! Massa, plenty people will come to you, more than you see here this day. You no see half. Please, massa, you must stay now; we fear if you go away, you no will come back."

This verification of the Macedonian cry went to my heart. It touched also some white gentlemen present, who joined in the entreaties of their negroes, and offered other inducements. Information on various points, however, had still to be obtained.

We visited the mountain settlements of the free people of colour, on the other side of Lucea. The ride thither, over well cultivated hills, while the morning sun was yet low, the dew still gemmed the luxuriant herbage, and the cool mountain airs breathed around, was a rich enjoyment. The great "John Crows," large as turkeys, sat on the bare branches of lofty cotton trees, with outspread wings, drying their bedewed feathers in the sun; while others were already taking their circling flights in mid sky, or soaring on motionless wings, scanned with piercing eye hill and valley for their prey.

Our meeting, though at working time, was well attended, by, it was said, about two hundred persons. Many free settlers, of both sexes, came on horseback, attended by their people on foot. We assembled in the house of a patriarch; and his house, a large one, with roomy verandas, was filled in every part. The company, masters of their own time, told me to preach as long as I could, and they would sit all day to hear. And, indeed, the interest they manifested in the precious truths of the gospel was very great.

Port Maria was next visited; three days' journey, or a hundred and twenty miles from Lucea. Mr. Watson and Mr. Blyth also went thither; for the first stone of a church for our brother Chamberlain's congregation there had to be laid, and other important business transacted. That meeting was the germ of our mission Presbytery, formed three years afterwards, and which has since then grown into a Synod, with twenty-six congregations. Of Carron Hall, the place requiring a missionary in that quarter, I could see little, owing to distance, heavy rains, and bad roads. Its importance has since then been fully proved, by the excellent congregation which the minister it obtained two years afterwards, the Rev. John Cowan, succeeded in forming. Looking at everything, however, it was considered best that we should occupy the station opened at Cinnamon Hill. "I thank God," said the proprietor's excellent lady; "for I have earnestly desired and prayed for you to come here."

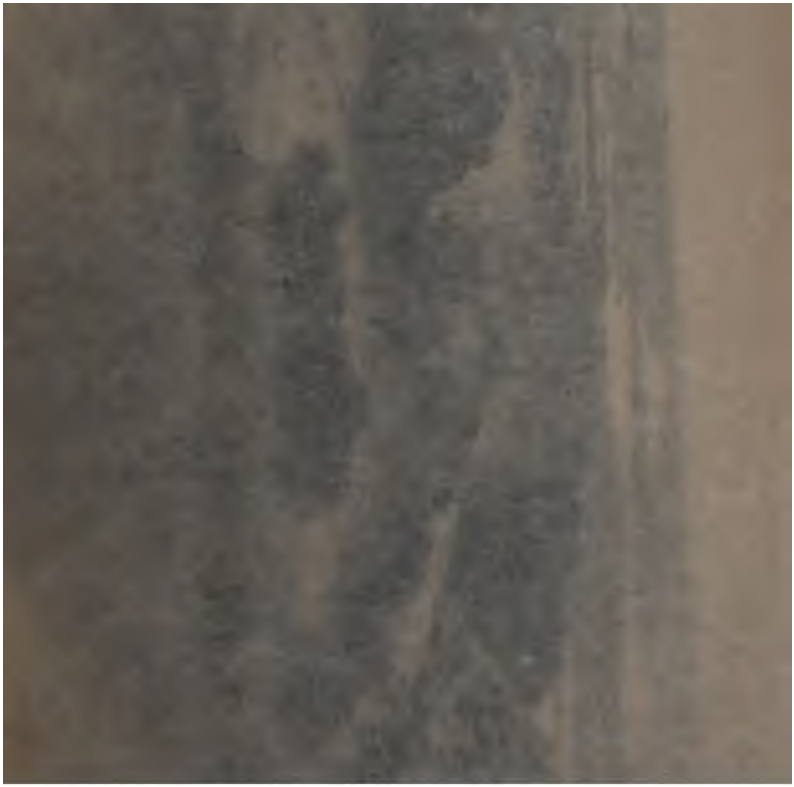
CHAPTER II.

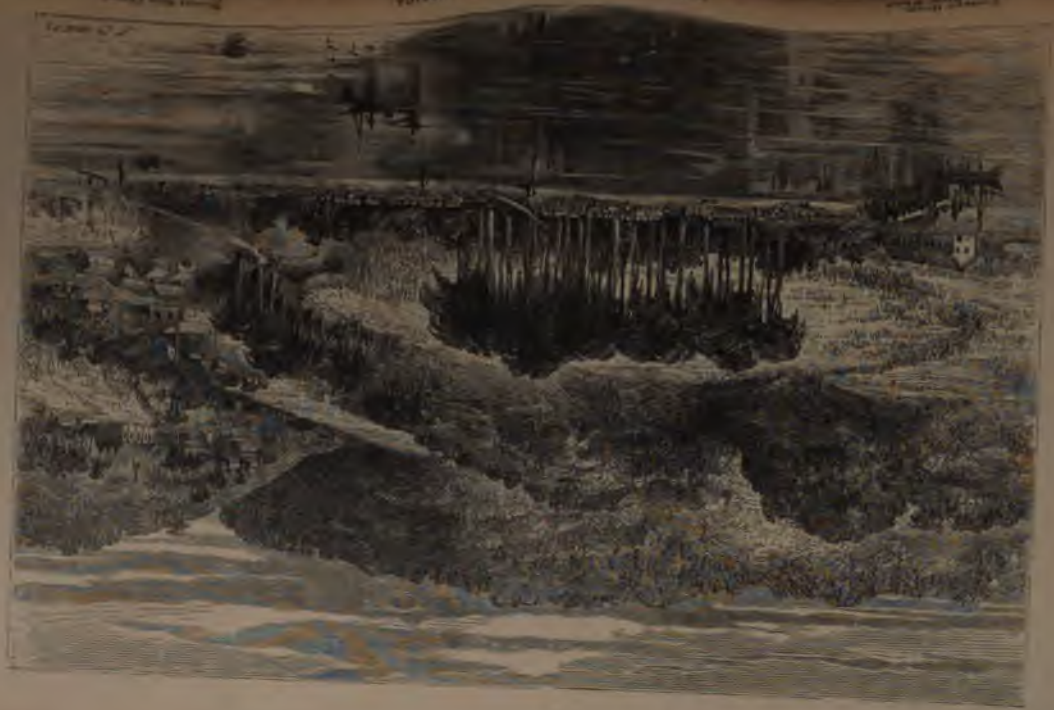
1830, 1831.

Settled at Cornwall—Home supplies and oatmeal—First Sabbath and old people—Schools—Evening meetings—Estates to be visited—Interview with a proprietor—Marriage of slaves—Sacrament class—Preaching in Rose Hall Great House, Dun's Hole Wharf, Hampden congregation, and Trelawny Mountains—Death of Mrs. B.—Estate overseers—Interview with a planting attorney—State of congregation.

IN the beginning of February we took up our abode at Cornwall, in the old "busha house," which had been repaired for our use, and rejoiced that we were so soon and so well provided for, both in respect of place of residence and sphere of labour. The house stood on a considerable eminence facing the sea, with a high range of hills behind, covered with wood, and surrounded by fertile fields of the sweet cane. It was in the vicinity of the negro village, and overlooked the sugar works; the finest fruits grew in abundance everywhere, and an unfailing spring of delicious water gushed from the rock at the foot of the hill. The great charm and attraction of the place, however, was, that it was encircled by numerous estates, within an hour's ride, containing thousands of people, to whom I expected to obtain access, that I might preach among them the glorious law of God, and the more glorious gospel of Christ Jesus, which magnifies the law and makes it honourable, and among whom I had the prospect—yea, the ambition—of founding a Christian Church, that would endure and confer blessings for ages to come.

Earthly cares irresistibly commanded our first attention. Missionaries are "flesh, and not spirit," and cannot live in empty houses, even in the most inviting spheres of labour. We had brought household supplies with us from home, which were lying in a wharf-store in Falmouth; but we found it was no easy thing to get them to our place, though only twelve miles off; and, ere we did so, learned our first lesson of colonial life and manners.





The wharf account came to several pounds; and the wharfinger, in reply to my objections, smilingly said, "Don't you know we come out here to make our fortunes, and if we don't c[illegible] well, cannot succeed?" A very gentlemanly and friendly merchant, in the same town, when I alluded to the monstrous prices of his things, answered most candidly, "Indeed it is true; and we must charge high, or we could not keep our stores open. You see there are so many rogues in this country, who never pay their debts, that honest men like you must pay double, or we could not live." A horse and cart would have taken our things home in a few hours, but none were to be either hired or borrowed. A s[illegible] boat took them down the coast to another wharf some miles [illegible] our place, where another account was to be paid; and thence [illegible] got them by a cattle cart and eight oxen, whose drivers took some liberties with them by the way, though Cornwall men.

One part of our supplies was, I'm not ashamed to own it, a barrel of oatmeal; which, however, had not the durable qualities of that of the widow of Sarepta. Daily applications of others besides ourselves soon brought it to an end. "Missis, me beg you a lilly o'meal to make pap for my pickaninny, him sick. Do, my good missis." Such pleas could not be denied. But how it came to pass that the black people came to know the value of "good Scotch oatmeal," must be told, to the honour of "hailsome parritch, chief o' Scotia's food."

A Scotch overseer on Cinnamon Hill ordered it from home one year, instead of rice, to serve out as allowances to the sick and the children. Perhaps he longed for a breakfast of porridge himself, just for "auld langsyne." It came, and he boasted that he had something good to give people now. The women, in expectation, surrounded the store door on Monday morning, with cans and calabashes; but how disappointed were they when it was served out to them; for they had never seen it before. They turned it over with their fingers, turned up their noses, and set it down on the ground.

"How now," said the overseer, as he locked up the store, and saw the women standing sullen-like. "Why don't you take your things, and go away?"

"Bushe, whara dis ting be?" said *one of them.*

"Why, that is the oatmeal I told you about."

"And wharra o'meal be?" she asked with contempt. "Busha, spose 'im good for your dogs, give 'em; 'im no good for we pickaninny."

"No good for your pickaninny!" he shouted. "Look at me!" He was a tall stout man. "Look at me! Did ever one of your breed raise a pickaninny like me? Now, that is what my mother fed me on, and wh me. So leave it, if you like; but you'll get not d the good of it."

The Sabbath remembered—our first Sabbath at our own s ust begin the labours of our lives, and arrange fterwards carried out on our own responsibility. We had ongregations mustering early at the stations of our brethren, the people about us had promised to come, and we expected a good attendance. Having prepared our house for them as best we could—removing tables, and arranging chairs, chests, trunks, stools, planks, and whatever else could serve for seats—we rung our house-bell, and waited for them. No one appearing, we rang it again, louder and longer, and nearer the negro houses; but with as little effect. Much surprised, we sent it through the village, and had it rung in the four quarters of it; but still in vain. There was none seen, nor any to answer. My wife and I went ourselves through the village to learn what could be the matter, and found nearly all the houses locked, and only ten old, weak people in the whole place, who never thought the bell was for them, or that "buchra," having thrown them up, could ever want to see them again. Then we learned that the people had all gone to their provision ground or the market, and would not be home till night. In short, crop had begun, their days had been stopped, and their master and mistress were away at another property in the parish of St. Ann's.

We were sadly disappointed—my first sermon could find no fitting audience; but the work must be begun with whom we could find. Bringing up those "impotent folks, the blind, halt, withered," to our house, we divided them into two classes, and preached the gospel to them as they could hear it. We sat beside them, my wife and I, and taught them as children, line upon line,

here a little and there a little—a word of doctrine, another of precept—one of prayer, and one of praise—with questions intermingled, to prove if they understood us; and we were happy, in conclusion, to hear them say that we "gave them good understanding." Had our labours that day been confined to those old people, they would not have been in vain; for every day they attended our family worship thenceforward, and the half of them gave ultimately satisfactory evidence of living faith in the Lord Jesus. They were the first-fruits of Cornwall unto God; and I record the names of some of them who were loving and beloved: Daddy Brown, Grandy Fanny, Grandy Juliet, and Grandy Phebe; to whom afterwards Grandy Bright and others were from time to time added.

But our labours that day were not confined to them. When the people returned home, they cleaned themselves, and flocked into our house, till there was not room to receive them; and we closed the day rejoicing. Never again were the seats empty. Soon we had to increase their number, and more than once to enlarge our place of meeting, and ultimately our whole house, to provide church accommodation; and then to abandon it for a proper and permanent place of worship, of sufficient size for a large congregation; for our few cripples that day increased at last to more than a thousand souls.

The number of old people who came to the faith and obedience of the gospel in Jamaica was greater, proportionally, than in most other mission fields, where such are usually the most obdurate, and determined in their old ways. It was greater than is usual even in old Christian countries, among the outcast and neglected, who grow hopeless with age. If we would explain this fact, we might say that they were not in their native land, fortified and prejudiced against Christianity by all around them, and by the established usages and institutions of their country and people. Their old connections were all dissolved by the slaveship. Nor had they, like our home heathen, by long disregard and resistance, grown insensible to the charms and the terrors of the divine communication. Finding them in a miserable condition, and coming to them with messages of peace from the Lord, conveyed by those whom they quickly recognised to "have feeling" for them, the

gospel was to them emphatically "the good word," which they joyfully received.

We carried on our missionary labours in the following way: Five days in the week I visited the surrounding estates, to teach the negroes at their "shell blow," or dinner-time, when their hour and half was made two hours. At the same time, Mrs. Waddell took the children [illegible] ler instruction, in a series of classes. From te[illegible]e, the merry voices of little blackies resounde[illegible]e at their lessons; and sometimes the incessa[illegible] at the stretch of their lungs, was deafening. [illegible] n till nine o'clock, our house was again filled by [illegible] The former I taught in one room, and the latte[illegible]her,—working boys and girls who could not come during the day.

The means of education were inadequate even for white children, and still more so for free browns, who could not mix with the others, and had long been treated as if they had no right to be free; while for the slaves they were never thought of. If a missionary got leave to visit an estate and teach them orally at the noon interval of labour, it was a favour; but that did not include reading-lessons. "What! teach the slaves to read! read the Bible, then newspapers, till they grow discontented, rebel, and burn the country!" That would never do. The argument was short and conclusive. Yet a Christian proprietor here and yonder might be heard of, who allowed their children reading, preparatory to the change which even then loomed in the distance. There was a day-school at Cinnamon Hill, for the estate children only, before we went. Ours at Cornwall, for all children that could come to it, was at once conceded. On some other estates they got primers and lessons, and learned to read the Bible by the visits of the missionaries, without leave received or refused.

At that time, indeed, the safety of the island might have been seen to depend on extending the area of the reading population. While a few only in the towns had, or pretended to have, the dangerous knowledge, they led or misled the country people; but when the latter acquired it, the influence of the former ceased and their impositions were discovered. "Minister," said one of our young men at the evening class, "you do very good teach[illegible]

read book. Before time them leader hold book and talk, and we believe their word come from book. Now it no so; we find them out; they hold book upside down, and no saby read one word. Ah, minister, plenty false prophets live for neger-house." Another, after hearing about railroads, and locomotives, and steam-ships, then new in the world, exclaimed, "For true, buckra have a right to be master, for buckra know everything; but we poor negers know nothing."

In crop-time our evening classes presented a peculiar scene; for the increased labours of the field and mill-yard made it hard for the young people to keep their eyes open. They read and slept by turns. One class with books sat round the table, another faced a lesson-board on the wall. The rest were sound asleep on the floor. Whoever moved out of his place had to pick his steps among the prostrate scholars. When their turn came, however, the sleepers jumped up, rubbing their eyes, while the others took their places, and were fast in a moment. Out of crop-time their craving for lessons was insatiable. They would not be done. "One word more, minister; only one. Missis, whara dis be? Massa, whara you call dat?" Ten o'clock sometimes came before we could get them out of the house.

Objections to these meetings began to be made by certain parties, and it was said that I should not admit slaves from other estates without permission from their masters. I replied, that I could keep out none who came to hear the word of God, and behaved properly; for my house was God's house, and must be a house of prayer for all people. Whoever wanted to keep them away must prevent them coming; but first, they should attend our meetings themselves, and see what was wrong in them. Happily, we heard no more on the subject.

Some of Moses Baker's class, formerly referred to, occasionally appeared among us. They were leaders, and wishing to read the Bible like others, took a very novel way to learn. They brought Testaments, opened always at the third chapter of Matthew, and read away with great fluency and tolerable correctness. Anywhere else they could not read a word; and soon we found that they knew not a letter. In fact, they read that chapter by rote, having heard it so often that they knew it from memory; and they liked

it best, as it told of John the Baptist baptizing all the people in Jordan, and even Jesus Christ himself. Other missionaries also observed how they were addicted to the perusal of that particular portion of Scripture. These people knew more of John than of Christ. Often have they told me, "Me go church, massa; me go John Baptis church." "Me pray, massa; me pray to John Baptis."

An amusing scene [illegible] trated their partialities in that way. An unusual [illegible] class referred to crowded our house, and after w[illegible] ferred to me the decision of a point they had di[illegible] of my people. The question was, "Who baptiz[illegible] The one party affirmed that John had done so; [illegible] ied it, unwilling to admit the pre-eminence it w[illegible] im. The joy of the former was great when I allowed that they were right; but equally great their dismay when I asked them in turn, "Who baptized John?" They whispered and consulted, and at length one replied, "Maybe Jesus;" another, "Maybe himself;" with other strange guesses, till they gave it up, and owned that they did not know. It was really amusing to watch the countenances of the two parties at that moment; and at length the laugh was transferred from the one side to the other, when they were positively assured that John never was baptized at all. "Now, James," I said to the spokesman, "you teach that people must be baptized by John, like Jesus in Jordan, to fulfil all righteousness. Was John not a righteous man? I wish you were all more like him, for he owned that he was nothing—that Christ must increase and he decrease: then you would speak less about him and more about the Saviour; for even John sent his disciples to Jesus." Thenceforth the question, "Who baptized John?" ended many discussions among the people.

In order to our teaching the people on neighbouring estates, it was necessary to gain the consent of the proprietor, or, in his absence, of the managing attorney. The slaves were always at work, the negro-houses were not free villages, and an estate road was not the king's highway. Going thither without leave, we might be treated as trespassers; and missionaries were generally so much misunderstood and misrepresented in the colony, that it

behoved them to give their enemies no occasion against them, and by frank and respectful conduct towards the planters, disarm suspicion and enmity.

Barrett Hall, about four miles from Cornwall, had between two and three hundred people on it, of all ages. Its owner, the Hon. Richard Barrett, was chief magistrate of St. James, and a member of the island legislature. I had to wait on him as "custos," to present my credentials as a regular minister of the gospel, and obtain his sanction to my preaching in the parish, previous to the meeting of quarter sessions, when my house would be licensed a place of public worship. Such was the law, and it was eas observed. He was perfectly agreeable; and when I asked leave also to visit his property and teach his people, he pr to think of it. The following week I called again, and found n well disposed to the object in view. He said that he found his people had a desire for religious instruction, and it was better for them he should provide it of an approved character, than leave them to seek it themselves, and perhaps err in the search. He disclaimed all title to my thanks, however, saying that he should rather thank me, who would have all the trouble, while he would have all the benefit.

"But I must in candour own," Mr. Barrett continued, "that I am not influenced by religious principles myself in this matter, but simply by self-interest. I have a bad set of people: they steal enormously, run away, get drunk, fight, and neglect their duty in every way; while the women take no care of their children, and there is no increase on the property. Now, if you can bring them under fear of a God, or a judgment to come, or something of that sort, you may be doing both them and me a service."

That extraordinary speech did not greatly surprise me, for he was said to be a very free thinker indeed; and I replied, "Well, Mr. Barrett, you are certainly very candid, and will allow me to be equally so. I must say that I have higher objects in view than those you mention; but they are not inconsistent. I wish to make them know God, and become true Christians for their salvation, and, of course, must teach them to leave off their sins and prepare for the judgment to come. So I can undertake the duty on the terms."

"Very good; now when will you begin?"

"To-morrow, and every following Wednesday at shell-blow; and you will allow the people additional time, that they lose not their dinner by coming to me."

He agreed that they should have two clear hours on that day, and also that they should have their work near hand, so as to be ready at the appoint

"By the way," at would you think to begin by christening the e the clergyman of the parish was here for the ave got a good many people since. It might

"Excuse me, s eserve the baptism till they receive our instruc ill think the more of it. It would hardly be g policy t tow our rewards before they be deserved. The prospect of it may induce them to give the more heed to what we teach them."

He laughed. "Ah, well! I dare say you are right; you must know your own business best. Take your own way."

The large hall of the overseer's house, then unoccupied, was appointed for our weekly meetings; the people got leave to attend our church on Sundays, and full liberty to be married, provided only that they let him know beforehand, and brought his permission in writing to me.

These, at that time, were deemed important concessions, and made by such a man, gave me at once a standing in the country. He faithfully observed his promises; and also gave permission for my visiting the *Spring*, an estate under his care, within my reach, and a letter to the overseer, desiring him to make suitable arrangements.

The next estate to which I got access was "*Running Gut.*" The proprietor was in Scotland; but the attorney, a respectable married man, a rare character in those days, who with his wife attended Hampden Church, was favourably disposed to the instruction of the people. He was cautious, however, and waited instructions from home before giving his consent. Meantime, some of the people of that property had found their way to Cornwall; and one of them, of his own accord, began to keep meeting in the negro houses; for which he was put in the "bilboes." Then *the attorney* said that if the people would come to him and request

him to send them a minister, he would do so without further del[illegible] being able then to tell the proprietor, that to meet their wish[illegible] and prevent secret night meetings, he had to consent to my visits.

Rose Hall and the *Crawle* were estates in Chancery, but under the management of a gentleman who had gone from Scotland in the lowest capacity, and had risen to almost the highest position in the colony. He was "Custos of Trelawny," major-general of militia, and had so many properties under his care that he was facetiously called the Attorney General. He at once frankly consented to my visiting these two properties, but must have be[illegible] really indifferent, if not secretly opposed to my doing so; fo[illegible] had more trouble in arranging with the overseers there th[illegible] where, and on the latter unceasing annoyances. Not so [illegible] manage his planting business. His overseers dared not tri[illegible] his orders. The various plans I tried to overcome difficulties a[illegible] prosecute my object accomplished little, and after two years I had to abandon the attempt.

He of the Crawle, of the same name, and said to be a relative of the attorney's, was one of the most mean, despicable, and troublesome fellows I ever met. He not only withdrew the extra half hour allowed the people for my meeting, when crop began, thereby entirely breaking it up, but cut down the dinner time of the poor people considerably, saying that they liked it themselves, to get the crop done soon. Like it themselves! I have seen them the moment shell was blown rush from the cane-field, not to their houses, where they had no dinner or time to cook it, but to the hedge-rows and thickets, to seek guavas, oranges, mangoes, sour sops, or other wild-fruits, to satisfy the cravings of nature. His ingenuity in devising evasions and hindrances was very great.

The attendance of the people having fallen off, and my complaints to the attorney being unheeded, I at length told the two old women and three children, who formed my congregation, that I would not go again. Then the poor creatures began to cry, saying, "Now massa go leave we, Jesus Christ will leave we too." Their tears and words went to my heart, and I continued my visits a while longer, till the Lord gave us enlargement. The old manager had made his fortune, and went home to enjoy it or die. The new one paid attention *to my complaints*, and quickly rectified

various things, so that we had some well attended meetings before the close of this period.

On all the places visited it was a stipulation that the negroes should be allowed public and lawful marriage, and I never knew the permission withheld. Yet it had been almost entirely neglected throughout the island, except wh[illegible] missionaries interested themselves in the matter. [illegible]re, which had enacted that they should be ch[illegible]othing to promote their being married. It had [illegible] the state of concubinage as equivalent to mar[illegible] that a body of new catechists it gave the bisho[illegible] narried men, or "*living with respectable coloured fa*[illegible] terms *husband* and *wife* were unknown among the slaves. "[illegible]r" and "sister" served every purpose in their temporary connections; and the facility and indifference with which these connections were formed, dissolved, and renewed, were somewhat surprising.

Sometimes a difficulty arose which of the "sisters" that a man might have, or have had, he would espouse. Generally the one in possession was retained, especially if she had children. Some wished to abandon all and make a new choice; but that was not allowed. Some had already abandoned the old companion and her children and taken a younger sister. We reversed that process, and gave the old wife and mother her proper position. As a general rule, the vagaries of fancy were discouraged. Existing connections, if blessed with children, were confirmed. If a man or woman would neither marry nor live holy, we refused to have such in church connection. If a head man had several expectants of the matrimonial honours, we said, "Some have stronger claims than others, the first more than the last, the old 'sister' more than her younger rival, the mother of your children more than her that has never borne." Generally speaking, good sense and right feeling, guided by the divine word, prevailed, and the difficulties were satisfactorily arranged. The theories of polygamy, which some authorities have maintained in favour of heathen converts, I never found necessary or applicable either in Jamaica or in Calabar.

The improvement effected among the slaves by marriage was

great and immediate. It elevated them in social position. created a sense of self-respect. They had become somebod the world, had characters and families they could call their to maintain, and were under moral obligations to fill their tions with credit, to be blameless and trustworthy. "Me is married man;" "We is married people," became an honoura distinction, a certificate of character. About eighty couples w married at Cornwall during the two years embraced in this cha

Those who gave in their names to be enrolled in conn with our church, were said, in the phraseology of the time, t "set off;" that is, begun a religious life. When they got r or abandoned their former sinful connections and "lived they desired to be "set off deeper;" that is, prepared for the Supper. Before the end of the first year, therefore, we had fo a *sacrament class* of such persons, who met weekly for m advanced Christian instruction. The administration of baptism had been, to a large extent, taken out of our hands by the parish clergy, in the way already mentioned; and we did not wish to invalidate the ordinance, and their ministry, by disregarding those administrations, though so grossly irregular. We therefore let it stand as good, and held the people as bound thereby; for "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." The teaching was indeed still to be done, and in our sacrament class we supplied what was wanting in that respect.

The members of that class were attentive, intelligent, and very earnest. On one occasion, when in the course of my address I put the question, "Well, what do you say? do you accept of Christ or not?" they answered, promptly and unexpectedly, "We do, minister, we take Jesus Christ. Him be Saviour for we." After a pause I proceeded, and again, without any view to an audible reply, but to make them think, said, "Are you now willing to obey God by believing in his Son Jesus Christ?" again all with one voice replied, "We willing, minister, we willing!" These unlooked-for and hearty responses affected and encouraged me.

Three of that class died evidently in the faith and love of Christ, and with good hopes of eternal life, before they came by the appointed ordinances into the *fellowship of* the church. One of

them, a married man from the Spring estate, had given his child to God in baptism only the Sabbath before his death, and with his dying breath renewed the dedication of it to his heavenly Father. He charged his wife and friends to bring it up to know and serve the Lord, that he might find it again in heaven; and to hold fast to Christ as the only Saviour, better to them than all the world. Another was a woman who departed with a hymn to Jesus on her lips. [illegible] his [illegible] eculiar case, a leper, cut off from the fellowship [illegible] of the class of candidates, but could never atte[illegible] se was called *cocoby*, a very loathsome disorder o[illegible] d. He lived in a hut apart from others, indeed, [illegible] h. But his friends could visit him to supply his wants, a[illegible] m them he first heard the word of God. We soon found hi[illegible] ut, and taught him to read the Scriptures, as well as understand the gospel. The Lord gave him spiritual enlightenment, so that he came to a saving knowledge of the truth. He had a humbling sense of his own sinfulness, a lively apprehension of the love of God in sending his Son to save sinners, and a great desire to grow in knowledge. For this cause he inquired from the people who passed his way, "the good word" that they heard in church on the Lord's day. Many things indicated his meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light; and he was called away to it just near the time we had hoped to own him by baptism as one of the church on earth, "the church in the wilderness."

Our dwelling at Cornwall proving too small for the Sabbath congregation, I got leave to use the old unoccupied Great House of Rose Hall as a church, and had it duly licensed and filled with benches. Though unoccupied, save by rats, bats, and owls, it had once been a specimen of the fine colonial mansions of the island aristocracy, when West India proprietors were like an order of nobility. Of all its furniture and ornaments three or four full-size pictures of the husbands of the last proprietress, in military dress and heavy gilt frames, hanging in a top gallery, alone remained. Its floors and stairs, wainscoting and ceiling, doors and windows, were of mahogany, cedar, rosewood, ebony, orange, and other native hard-woods of various colours, fit for cabinet-work,

highly polished and well arranged. Spacious piazza ran round the house above and below, and the fro reached by a very elegant double flight of stone steps

The first three Sabbaths of August 1830 the large building, fit to receive two hundred people, overflowed gregation of all colours, of whom there were more wl than usually attended any church in the country. Tl between the scenes on these days and those of forme same place was too great to escape observation, and some quarters feelings and murmurs of displeasure, vasion on their good old ways and violation of Great These were conveyed to me from the attorney, and ou there were discontinued.

An old proverb says, "As one door steeks anotl The benches were removed to *Dun's Hole Wharf*, further down the coast, where was a large house and unoccupied hall, which the wharfinger, a married brown man, freely gave me the use of, for a forenoon Sabbath service for the people in that quarter. In the afternoon I met the people about Cornwall in my own house as formerly. Thus the infant congregation was divided, for want of a proper central place to meet in. Mrs. Waddell kept the Sabbath-school and women's classes in my absence, and so much to their satisfaction, that Grandy Bright used to say on my return, "Parson, missis gie we handsome prayers the day."

In 1831, the charge of Hampden congregation devolved on me during the absence of its own minister and his family in Scotland, and I spent every second Sabbath there, with Saturday and Monday. The hearty and valuable co-operation of his eldership lightened the labours, and the great number of new people who joined the church that year sweetened them. Of the estates which he visited, *Carlton*, which was nearest me and on my way, was the only one I could attend to, and it became permanently added to my own sphere of labours after his return to the country.

The opportunity so long desired of visiting the black mountains of Trelawny then occurred. Some of the members of Hampden Church, free coloured people, had settlements there, and one of them, Mr. Hewan, a *very worthy and respectable* man, asked me

thither to spend a few days, and preach to the settlers. I enjoyed the visit, the work, the people, and the scenery. The last was sublime. After winding round the conical hills that formed the first range, and still up and higher up, the road opened out on a plateau near Maroon Town Barracks, where much forest had been felled, but vastly more remained in primitive magnificence. The front line of the virgin woods form[illegible] gigantic colonnade, stretching far away; for the t[illegible]e, erect, and clean as pillars, and twice taller tha[illegible] Athens, Rome, or Palmyra. They measured a hu[illegible] feet of straight stem to the first branch, with a [illegible]ath, so free from brushwood, that one could roam [illegible] cool gloomy shade of their lofty leafy canopy, as in a gra[illegible]ral temple, surpassing any ever erected by Greek or Roman.

In the month of June of that same year we suffered a great affliction and bereavement, by the death of the excellent and beloved lady of Cinnamon Hill, endeared to us and to her people by her endeavours for their temporal and eternal welfare. Though her bodily sufferings were great she had peace resting on Jesus, and well-founded hopes of eternal life. One of her last good offices, before she took ill, was to soothe her husband's irritation against me, caused by unpleasant but necessary discipline among his people. Misled, probably by an artful inmate of his house, as to what had taken place, he denounced my proceedings in a strong letter, threatened to oppose me in everything of the kind for the future, and forbade thenceforth the usual weekly meeting with his people in his house. Having waited till reflection and his wife's benign influence had operated to cool his feelings, I answered him temperately, stating the facts of the case and the reasons for my procedure; and, as I could not teach and found a Christian church without government and discipline, I entreated him by the most solemn considerations to abandon his threatened opposition. If our going to the Great House was inconvenient to him, I hoped he would appoint some other place, and any place would do, as I was used to variety, overseer's house, or hospital, boiling-house, mill-house, or cooper's shop. He yielded with grace and good *feeling.* His wife's death subdued him for a time. After it he

lived with us at Cornwall for many months, and ultimately gave me a lease of our house, which, though limited to his life or mine, proved subsequently of great value, when his mind took a permanently unfavourable turn, and he would have driven me away had it been in his power.

On most of the estates I had more or less trouble with the overseers, who were seldom favourable to my visits and proceedings among the slaves. At Barrett Hall they were frequently changed. Seldom did one remain a year, sometimes but a few months or weeks. The proprietor did not like them, and when at home acted for himself. "I never punish my people for running away when I'm from home," said he, when I went to beg for some who had been off the estate too long. "Only let them come and show themselves on my return. It is their only protection against the overseers, some of whom treat the people brutally."

I found a new overseer there one time who tried to repulse me, in that blustering sort of way which some of them thought a necessary part of their office. Meeting me at the door he inquired my business, swore he would have none of it, and said that he could not give up his house for such purposes. I told him my authority; he replied that he had got no orders to that effect. I informed him how long I had been in the habit of visiting the estate weekly to teach the people; but he did not care about what others had done before him. After some further vain efforts to satisfy him, I walked into the house and put down my hat, saying that I had as good a right to be there as he, I had been there before he came, and might be after he was gone, and must insist on having my usual meeting with the people. He stared a moment, then, hastily pacing the floor, exclaimed that it was very hard he should be disturbed in that way when going to his dinner, and he wished I had got some other place to meet the niggers. That was enough; and having no wish to disturb him at his dinner, I said I would go with them somewhere else, but he must allow us the usual time. In the negro houses we had such a meeting for numbers and lively attention as delighted me. The busha had outwitted himself. The negro houses was the last place he

would have liked us to go to. The next week we met again in the same place without asking his permission; and on the third had not to fear the opposition of one no longer in the land of the living.

The temporary escape allowed his slaves by that indulgent but capricious master was a poor resource, which could not be tried everywhere, and when tried invol[illegible] them in new difficulties. They could not gain freedom [illegible] There was no Canada within reach. The sea was [illegible] and the Maroons kept the mountains. Runa[illegible] unfrequent, however, under the pressure of present tea[illegible] ope; but the poor fugitives had to return weak and worn [illegible] their chance after all; and it was well for them when they [illegible] d get some white gentleman disposed to "beg for them" by an intercessory letter. Many such have I and other missionaries sent home with that safe-conduct, and our intercession was almost invariably respected.

The people of that property were sometimes working at a distance, cleaning pastures around "Greenwood House," the owner's residence. To save both their time and my own, on such occasions I went to them, and had cheering meetings in the shady grove, making the woodlands resound with the voice of prayer and praise. The people gave me hearty welcomes to the scene of their toil.

The overseer of the Spring was a very different sort of person from the last, and generally agreeable; yet with him also difficulties began to arise. The first was occasioned by the frequent absence of the field people from our meeting, when I visited the estate; and, of course, I inquired of him if it was with his knowledge that they were kept out working when I was on the estate to instruct them. He seemed surprised, and asked was it possible that none of the people had come to me; adding that he had given no orders to that effect. Now I knew, and any one acquainted with the working of a sugar estate and the power of the overseer would know, that such a thing could not be without his knowledge and consent, though possibly without his orders. However, I replied merely that the field people were all absent, and that it was not the first time. He hoped I did not mean to say that he *prevented* them. Whoever prevented them, I said, he was the

proper person for me to speak to, to have the evil redressed. He observed that it had been my own wish that no compulsory methods should be employed to bring them to my meetings. I answered, "Certainly, no compulsion, but also no hindrance. You can do much to favour their attendance by giving them at least full opportunity, and leaving the rest to me." He promised to inquire into the matter; and I expressed my assurance that if he did, the thing would not again occur. And it did not occur again for a long time. The people rejoiced in the relief obtained, and attended better afterwards.

During the year 1831 people from Blue Hole estate began to attend occasionally both at Dun's Hole wharf and at Cornwall. It was a large estate on the crown of the hill overlooking the Spring; and they wished I could get leave to visit it, and teach them as I did on other places. The proposal met my own views, and with a letter of introduction from the proprietor of Cinnamon Hill I waited on the manager at his own property, Moor Park, in the beginning of December. He was an extensive and influential planter; but reputed to be an austere man, and unfriendly to the instruction of the slaves. His appearance corresponded with his character,—tall, spare, sinewy, hard featured, and plainly dressed. Taking the letter from my hand without speaking, he walked up and down his hall reading it and pondering its contents. At length stopping short he abruptly said, "So you want to teach my negroes! Where do you live?"

On being informed, he sharply answered, "Oh, I have not a property within ten miles of that place!"

Blue Hole, I observed, the place I wished to visit, was not more than five miles off.

"Blue Hole," he repeated, "why the people there are all Methodists or Baptists already;" and he resumed his march up and down. Again suddenly stopping short he abruptly demanded, "Well, what are your plans?"

He heard me explain them till I spoke of additional time for our meeting, when he exclaimed, in a tone of surprise and displeasure, "Extra time! I am one of those that would not give five minutes for any *such purpose. I want the* people to work."

I looked at him for a moment in silence, then turned on my heel, took my hat, walked to the door, and called for my horse. He followed. I bowed to him without another word, and descended the steps saying to myself, "Well, Mr. G——, you are breaking your own neck. That way of treating slaves and missionaries will never do."

I did not imagine that my feelings were prognostications of coming disasters. I [illegible] y describe the train of ideas, and linked associati[illegible]ons, which produced the conviction that the ki[illegible]nt Mr. G——, and others of his class, delighted in w[illegible]al to themselves. But that conviction was in my m[illegible]ew weeks verified it. Before the month closed, his beau[illegible]ate, and hundreds of others similarly managed, were in ashes, and their slaves in open, fierce rebellion, destroying and being destroyed, over all the western part of the island.

In closing this chapter, it only remains to mention in a few words some of the results of our two years' labours. A steady congregation of about three hundred and fifty adults was enrolled, and two hundred and fifty children under regular weekly instruction. The enrolling was neither a light thing nor one of mere form. It constituted a regular connection, after instruction and deliberation; and required of the person who thus joined the congregation, attention to the means of grace, obedience to the commands of God, and submission to minister and elders in the things of God. It was incipient membership. The persons thus joined were called inquirers or adherents, till they proved the sincerity of their profession, and with growing knowledge became candidates for communion, and finally full members. The candidates for full membership, at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper then contemplated, were fifty-six. And of both old and young one hundred were reading intelligently in the New Testament. The Sabbath congregation came from five or six other estates besides those I visited. It would certainly have been much larger could we have got a site for a church in a good situation. But though it was promised on Cornwall, the promise was never fulfilled. The estate was indeed entailed; but the entail could have been removed, by

an act of the legislature, from the portion to be alienated to the purpose of a church. Steps were taken at great expense two years successively, with the owner's seeming consent, to have that done. Still some difficulty or other occurred that he could not get over, and it was not done. Thus both the Missionary Society and myself were deeply disappointed, and the congregation was straitened from the very first, and prevented expanding. But we still waited on God, and trusted in him that he would give us enlargement in due time; and he did not make us ashamed of our hope.

CHAPTER III.

Rumours of a servile w[illegible] ice to my congregation—Christmas—
Troubles begun—Pal[illegible] his sense—Terrible night—Work or no
work—Retire to Fal[illegible] —Carlton people and family—Alarm at
Cornwall—1st Janu[illegible] litia service declined—Visits to country
districts to quiet the [illegible] les—Renewed visits to country districts
—The fool and his fo[illegible]— Visits to estates people—A wife to fit a
gown—Progress and sup[illegible] ction—Executions—Negro humanity—
Causes of the rebellion—[illegible]aries accuse[illegible] and penalties endured.

EARLY in December 1831 rumours of an impending servile war began to spread abroad and agitate the community. The slaves, it was said, had bound themselves by a solemn oath to each other to be slaves no longer. The conspiracy was discovered on *Salt Spring* estate, near Montego Bay, from the mysterious and threatening language of an angry negro to his overseer, which aroused suspicion, led to investigation, and thereby brought to light the whole scheme. The time was near for its being carried into effect, yet nothing seemingly could be done beforehand to prevent it.

The original scheme was simply not to turn out to work after Christmas, without payment for their labour. The idea of a slave revolt in any form was alarming; and the report was received and propagated by the old colonial party with the customary exaggerations of terror. The white people, it was said, would be murdered, the properties burned, and Jamaica become another St. Domingo. The free coloured class, indeed, especially about Kingston and other distant parts, made light of the story, as merely one of the old Christmas alarms, got up for some disguised purpose. But there were many, both white and coloured, of a moderate middle class, who thought the scheme of passive resistance not incredible, yet believed that, though the slaves meditated no outrage, violenc would inevitably ensue. The masters would use it to enfo

labour, and the slaves to resist; in which unavoidable struggle property and life would be lost.

But the negroes were not all of one mind. The Creoles—young, strong, and giddy with the new-born hope of liberty, which they said the king had given them and their masters withheld—resolved to stand out for the wages of free labour, and, if needful, to fight for their rights. The old people discouraged the attempt. They had seen worse times, and were sensible of a growing amelioration of their condition. The experience also of former insurrections taught them to dread the consequences of failure. But the counsels of age, attributed to timidity and ignorance, were disregarded. The leaders of the movement,—the captains, colonels, and generals of the insurgents,—fearing that the women first would be persuaded or compelled to resume their hoes, and through them the men, resolved, for their own safety, and the success of their plans, to involve as many as possible, and begin where they knew they must end, by burning down the estates. This would give them time, enable them to complete and extend their arrangements, and increase the number of sworn adherents. Thus the conspiracy was organized over nearly half the island.

Disturbances had often broken out during the Christmas holidays, and were always apprehended. It had been customary, therefore, for the militia to be mustered in every parish at that time. Of late years the negroes had been so peaceable and contented, that confidence had increased, and the Christmas muster became a matter of form, till this new alarm awoke the old fears. Unhappily the means used to prevent only precipitated the confusion, by gathering the forces of the colony into the towns, and leaving the sugar estates throughout the country unprotected, in the hands of the disaffected slaves.

Before any blow had been struck, I admonished my congregation on the subject. One with them, I said, in desiring their freedom, and not doubting they would yet receive it, I assured them it could come to them only in a peaceable and lawful way,—by the efforts of their friends in Britain,—while violence on their part would surely retard its progress, and perhaps insure their own destruction. The game about to be played was too deep for them; they did not understand it, and could not play it like their mas-

ters. One false move on their part would be their ruin. If they broke the laws of the country, it was not their masters alone they would have to resist, but the whole power of England, which they could not withstand, when their friends could no longer befriend them, and their enemies would be increased, and enraged against them. In peace, patient continuance in well-doing, yea, and in suffering, lay their power, with such a country as England to look to. They should, therefore, confide in their friends there; prove their fitness for freedom by their continued good conduct; keep far from those who spoke of destroying either life or property; and especially sin not against the Lord for anything in the world. The people were not pleased with this address. Many looked downcast and disappointed; and, as they left the church, said one to another, "Minister give against we." Yet they wisely reflected, and followed my advice.

Mr. Blyth and his family, accompanied by loved fellow-labourers, Mr. and Mrs. Cowan, arrived the week before Christmas, just in time to preserve Hampden congregation from being misled to its ruin. They took Cornwall on their way from Montego Bay, and spent a night with us; and great was the crowd of people who came to hear the news from England; and great their disappointment to learn that no "free law" had come for them. One of the head men seemed to labour under a great secret, and could not refrain from dark allusions to what would happen,—hints which he trembled to have uttered, and feared to explain.

Christmas-day fell on Sabbath, and everything was still quiet. But at Dun's Hole we had no congregation. The people around, not having had the previous day, were employed in receiving their annual allowances on the estates, or in seeking ground provisions in the mountains or the markets. It was bad policy to keep the Saturday from them at such a time, and unjust too; and showed such a want of good feeling on the part of the masters, as aggravated the ill humour of the slaves. They hardly gave the usual "Thankee" for their allowances. Some of them murmured, "And that is my year's pay!" At Cornwall and Cinnamon Hill, however, the people had got their day, and we had a good congregation on the Sabbath.

The following Tuesday was appointed for our customary Christ-

mas church meeting; but religious feelings were for the time in abeyance. At Dun's Hole I was again disappointed. Very few people attended; and only one, my assistant elder, from the *Spring*. All was alarm. The negroes there, it was said, had broken into the overseer's house, and taken away guns and pistols. I hastened thither to seek them, but found only the house-women. They were terrified, and said that the slaves were ready to cut the head off any person that spoke a word in favour of white people. In the negro-houses only the aged and infirm could be seen. Others were watching me and hiding. At length a few were intercepted, through whom I sent word to all, that the possession of these arms would endanger the lives of all found with them, and that they must be immediately restored to their place. To relieve their fears of discovery, I proposed that they should be deposited during the night at a certain place, and that next morning I would come, or failing me, my elder, and would gather and replace them in the "busha-house," and make all fast again, without asking any questions. Happily my words were repeated and regarded, and the next day the dangerous weapons were restored, and nothing was again heard of the matter.

It was long past my usual time when I got back to Cornwall, and there I found confusion and dismay. The congregation which had assembled was dispersing in affright, and would not return at my call. The only answer or explanation that could be got was,—"*Palmyra on fire.*" * It was not an ordinary estate fire they spoke of, which neighbouring estates' people would hasten to put out. Were it even so, it need have caused us no alarm, there being a range of wooded hills between it and Cornwall. It was the preconcerted signal for our part of the country that the struggle for freedom had begun; and the volumes of lurid smoke rose high over the hills into the clear air. It was the response to "*Kensington on fire*," another sugar estate high up the mountains towards the interior. Both were visible to each other, and over a great stretch of intermediate country, richly cultivated, and thickly studded with sugar plantations. The one hoisted the flaming flag

* This estate furnished scenes and characters for Dr. Moore's novel, "Zeluco." The iron collars and spikes used by a lady owner there for the necks of her slaves I have seen, and also the bed on which she was found dead *one morning, having* been strangled.

of liberty, and the other saluted it, calling on all between and around to follow their example. And it was followed. These were grand beacon-fires, frightful conflagrations, visible far and wide, caused by the burning of the great "trash-houses," with their enormous piles of dry crushed canes, stored up from last year's crop, to supply the furnaces for boiling the next year's sugar. No wonder that even quiet, well-disposed slaves were greatly agitated, when banner of a great gathering and great conflict f en,—a conflict in which they and their children volved,—as they were deeply interested in its issu m or prolonged slavery.

When alone that eve ondering, and saying one to another, "What will the nego do? What should we do?" Just then Roderick of Barrett l made his appearance, and claimed his Christmas box. He was a New Providence man, a blacksmith by trade, and mulatto by colour. He had come from Montego Bay, excited by drink and what he had learned there, and he threw out mysterious hints of what we should soon see. Displeased with his speech, I discouraged it, and advised him to go home quickly and quietly. He wanted his "Christmas" first, he said, a glass of wine or porter to drink my health. But he had got too much of that already, and I urged him to go home and keep quiet, lest he should get into trouble. That was no time, I told him, for a man to make a fool of himself, when the country was on the eve of rebellion. "Well, minister," he replied sharply, "every fool has his own sense;" and he went away offended. Poor man, his sense was insufficient for such a time. When I next saw him he was in irons, weeping bitterly, under an armed guard, and condemned to die, not for crime, but folly; for folly sometimes looks so like crime that it meets the same doom.

Scarcely had night closed in, when the sky towards the interior was illumined by unwonted glares. Our view in that direction was bounded by the Palmyra Hills, but we could not be long ignorant of the cause of these frightful appearances; and as the fires rose here and there in rapid succession, reflected from the glowing heavens, we could guess from their direction, and the character of masters and slaves, what estates were being consumed. Soon the reflections were in clusters, then the sky became a sheet

of flame, as if the whole country had become a vast furnace. I dreaded lest the wild spirit of incendiarism should invade our sea side district; and my eyes ever turned towards the *Spring*, where so bad a spirit had already been displayed. But happily the night wore on, and midnight was passed, without a torch being seen in our direction. Then the fires began to die out, and new ones no longer appeared, and we could venture to lie down and rest a little before morning. That was a terrible vengeance which the patient drudges had at length taken on those sugar estates, the causes and scenes of their life-long toils and degradation, tears and blood. But, be it remembered that, amid the wild excitement of the night, not one freeman's life was taken, not one freewoman molested by the insurgent slaves.

Had the country been quiet, the next day would have seen the resumption of work after the holidays. But that was not to be thought of. The proprietor of our estates might have looked for it from his people, after the great improvement he had effected in their condition; and, indeed, some of them did turn out to the field of their own accord; but he wisely forbore requiring such service then, and told them only to stay at home, keep quiet, and guard the property. Indeed, the rebels had sent threatening messages of fire and blood, if they should turn out to work that day.

In such a state of the country, and not knowing what would follow, Mr. Blyth and I took our families to Falmouth for their greater safety. The Cornwall people earnestly deprecated our leaving them; but we promised soon to return, if they behaved well. At Falmouth every house was crowded with terrified refugees from the interior; but we got a night's lodging in the Rev. Mr. Knibb's; though he had so many of his own brethren with him, that six of us slept on the floor in one room. They had just returned, through Montego Bay, from the opening of a new chapel at *Salter's Hill*, and described the state of the town and country, where they had been, as one of dreadful terror and confusion. His assurances that no "free law" had come for them, were discredited by the assembled thousands,—his exhortations to be quiet and return to their estate duties enraged them. He never thought to see the people so furious; they accused their ministers of deserting them; and the immediate destruction of

all the properties in the surrounding districts was their fierce reply to his admonitions.

A united prayer-meeting was held that night in the Methodist Chapel for the safety of the country, in which all missionaries joined. Next morning, Mr. Blyth and I presented a memorial to the magistrates of Trelawny, in which we deprecated excessive and indiscriminate severity towards the disaffected slaves. We knew, we said, many w off work for fear of the insur- gents, with who conciliatory measures would prevail to keep q eir masters' properties; while a different treatm ate them, and drive them to join the rebels, t destruction of property, and perhaps of life. on. James M'Donald, custos," thanked us for our good ucss endeavours for the peace of the island, and assured us that it was the resolution of the magistrates of that parish not to shed a drop of blood that could be avoided; but to bring back the slaves to their duty by forbearance and conciliation.

I returned to Cornwall that day by Carlton, to see the family there,—three of the children having been very sick when I last saw them. The house was deserted, and everything wore the aspect of a recent flight; for the children were dead and buried, two in one coffin, and all in one grave; and the rest of the family had that morning been hurried away. The hospitable home, formerly graced by a happy wife and merry children, looked very desolate.

Some of the head men came to me, and reported that the people were all quiet and at home, and meant to continue so. The head driver, however, said that he would never lift hoe again as a slave, though he would neither burn nor kill. He would keep his house, work for himself, and pray to God.* Not one of them complained of their master or mistress. Having given them good advices, I was coming away, when some strangers, who had gathered with the estate people, resisted, and said that freedom had come for them, but was kept from them by the masters, and that the magistrates had hired me to tell them to the contrary. They

* As he and many others there belonged to Mr. Knibb's congregation, I was able to charge them, in his name, to behave like Christians, and protect their master's property.

resolved, in a word, that Heaven had made them free, and they would never be slaves again. Then all joined in the cry that they wanted to be free, they had waited long enough, and would be slaves no longer.

In reply, I told them they were taking a wrong way to redress their grievances; that burning the estates was a crime, would do them no good, and would not have God's blessing. They could not make laws for the whole country, and England would not give it up to them. They had friends there who were trying their best for them; but now could say nothing on their behalf, after such things as had been done, and which I feared would bring destruction on many of them ere all was over. As for the magistrates, I did not speak by their authority, but only in God's name; as most of them might by that time very well know. The head carpenter, a Guinea negro and good man, one of my people there, sagely remarked that surely it was wrong to burn the estates; for, "if the free had come for true," they would want them to make sugar and rum for themselves. At length they all promised peaceable and good conduct, and said I had better go home, and look after the Cornwall people.

They hasted me to leave them; but no sooner was I gone than a party on the estate, aided by the strangers, broke into and plundered the stores. They tried to do the same with the dwelling-house, but were resisted by the carpenter mentioned, who defended the door at the risk of his life, and held the rabble at bay, though threatened with cutlasses, till the other head men came to his help. Had it not been for his fidelity, said his master subsequently, the estate would have gone.

That night, at Cornwall, we were awakened by a noise in the negro houses, and the voice of a man calling for fire to burn our house. "No watchman now! no watchman now! nigger man, nigger man, burn the house—burn buckra house! Brimstone come! brimstone come! bring fire, and burn massa house!" We speedily dressed, Mr. S. M. Barrett was with me, and had our horses saddled; but paused, and sent out our servants to keep watch. They were anxious moments; for the incendiary continued his cries up and down among the negro houses. Happily none seemed to answer, nor did the danger increase; and at length the alarming instiga-

tions ceased to be heard. Our fears, however, did not soon subside, and we kept watch till morning.

Mr Barrett resolved to leave the estate; and, sending for his people, admonished them concerning the last night's disturbance. They offered explanations and promises, but did not ask him to stay; though they assured us of our safety. But no safety could be expected, I replied, [illegible] drunken villain might roam their village, and call for [illegible] n our house, and no one be found to seize and [illegible] ey must keep better watch and ward, ere we e[illegible] es among them. Some of the head men, arme[illegible] accompanied us on our way towards Falmouth, for fe[illegible] people in the bush;" and the women were urgent with me [illegible] turn soon, "and bring back the missis."

The next day was the 1st January 1832, and a miserable New-year's day it was. Martial law was proclaimed, and the town was a scene of confusion. It was the Lord's day, but composure of mind for the worship of God was impossible. The weekly market, with its incessant babble, filled the square. The "sets," or "reds and blues," paraded the streets with their horrid din, louder and more discordant than ever—perhaps feigning indifference, to divert suspicion. Companies of estate negroes were driven into town as prisoners before the militia; the men, sturdy and sullen, handcuffed; the women, burdened with infants on their sides, and baskets of household things on their heads; and children, running beside their mothers, crying bitterly. Arrived at the court-house, they squatted huddled together on the ground-floor, in pitiable plight, for the night, to await the issue of a court-martial on the morrow.

It was soon reported that missionaries must do military duty. The alternative was a painful one—either to take up arms against the people we had come to teach in peace and love, or be regarded and treated as disloyal subjects. We looked to God for guidance in this dilemma. The next day, Mr R——, a professed but officious "friend of all missionaries," and a magistrate withal, visited the Scottish missionaries to inform us, that we were not free from suspicion, more than Methodists or Baptists, and that *to exonerate* ourselves we should offer our services to the ma

trates, to do some militia duty by keeping guard in town. It would look loyal, he said, and public spirited, disarm suspicion, and afford much satisfaction to the authorities. Though not authorized by the other missionaries in town to speak for them, he could say that they would not be unwilling to do so if we consented. It struck me, that if our services could have been rightfully demanded, they would not have been sought in that sly way; and Mr Blyth had the same idea; for, answering for us all, while he thanked Mr R—— for the interest he evinced in us, he declined to act on his suggestion, believing that we could prove our loyalty and promote the peace of the island quite as well in some other way, more consistent with our character and office.

We got passports for two days and set off for our several districts, Mr. Blyth and Mr. Cowan to Hampden; Mr. Barrett of Cinnamon Hill and myself to his properties. The commander-in-chief, Sir Willoughby Cotton, had issued a proclamation calling on the disaffected slaves to return to their estates and labours within a certain time, or be treated as rebels. It was needful to make the people acquainted with it. On Mr. Barrett's estate we found everything safe and quiet; the people gathered round us, tired they said of being idle, and ready to return to work at once; and their master was highly pleased.

On *Spot valley* the case was different. The stores had been plundered, and the people were very unruly. Many of them had always been heathenish; and some nominal Christians there were my greatest opponents. Their turbulence on this occasion therefore did not surprise me. They would not come to the overseer's house to meet us, but only to the gate of their own precincts. There they listened to Mr. Barrett reading the proclamation, till it spoke of their returning to work, when they all lifted up their voices and overwhelmed him with clamour. "We have worked enough already, and will work no more. The life we live is too bad; it is the life of a dog. We won't be slaves no more; we won't lift hoe no more; we won't take flog no more. We free now, we free now; no more slaves again." Then they shouted, and laughed, and clapped their hands. It was really so amusing a scene I could not help laughing with them, and my doing so increased their good humour.

After long debating, Mr. Barrett on one side with the head people, and I on the other, with a noisy crowd of women and young men, we let them know the real state of the case, and brought them to reason it with us. Some of them said, "Massa Barrett, your people may work for you. They know who they work for. But we never see for we massa; we no have massa; and we no will work no m[illegible] for [illegible] busha and 'torney." One good old man, however, [illegible] new very well, boldly said, "When your people [illegible] n me and my children will begin too."

Thence we went on [illegible] met the people with good effect. On our way b[illegible] of Spot valley met us, and reported, that they had agree[illegible] w our advice, for their own part, and would try to bring round a[illegible] the people to do the same.

When we got to Falmouth the next evening, we learned that the Baptist missionaries had been sent off to Montego Bay under arrest, and that they were in danger from the violence of parties there. Resolved to stand by them, for the sake of our great Master; and deeming it good policy to present a united front to common enemies, who, if they began with one might end with another; Mr. Barrett, Mr. Blyth, and I, united in the following letter to Mr. Knibb, which we sent off by express messenger to Montego Bay the following morning. We sent it open under cover to the "custos," the Hon. Richard Barrett, whom we knew to be liberal minded, that he might know, and make known, that the accused had friends and defenders. It found him on the bench, was handed about among the justices, and produced, I was assured by one of them, a very salutary impression in favour of the prisoners.

"Only when we returned from the country last night did we hear of your accusation and arrest; and we beg to assure you and your brethren of our deep sympathy in your present trouble. We hear of apprehensions being entertained for your safety, and use the utmost haste to assure you, that we are convinced you have not been, either intentionally or directly, guilty of causing the present insurrection. And we are prepared to attend at Montego Bay and testify to this effect on your behalf; and as far as our knowledge goes to your peaceable character as a Christian and a minister."

Mr. Knibb replied, "I was exceedingly gratified by the receip of your kind letter, signed also by Samuel Barrett, Esq., and by Mr. Blyth. Mrs. Knibb will give you a detailed account of all the circumstances of our case, for I am quite unable to write, having had fever from excessive fatigue. A full persuasion that I am entirely innocent in this wicked affair, that I have used every effort to suppress it, and that I am under the protection of a never failing and covenant keeping Jehovah, supports me in this heavy affliction; and I still hope that our righteousness will appear as the light, and our judgment as the noon day.

"Sincerely thanking you for the kind interest you have taken in my welfare, with unfeigned gratitude to Mr. Barrett and brother Blyth, and with kind regards to Mr. Cowan and the ladies—I remain, &c. &c."

Another pass having been obtained, Mr. Blyth and I set out together, and proceeded to *Content* and other estates in that quarter, where we had satisfactory meetings with the people. On our way back through *Kent*, where he had many people, we found them greatly disturbed, through fear of the military on a neighbouring property, having heard the report of musketry, and also that the people were being shot down. In terror they were fleeing as for their lives, up the hill and into the woods, bewailing their fate when they had done nothing, and calling to one another to run. The women, laden with children, pots, calabashes, mats, and blankets; the men with chests, and other household stuff, all sought hiding places in the bush, for themselves and what they could save. They thought that the soldiers would come and burn their houses, so soon as they were done with Orange valley. In short they had been seized with a panic on a false alarm; but it might have ended in all they feared, had the military come and found the estate deserted. We hasted after them, stopped their flight, assured them of safety, and got them back to their houses; when Mr. Blyth went off to the officer in command, and got such assurances from him as restored confidence to the poor people. They saw their minister's face that day as it had been the face of an angel.

Following those who fled furthest we opportunely reached Barrett Hall, where our sudden *appearance* served to quiet a dis-

turbance in the negro houses. The property was safe and the people promised good behaviour. It was late ere we reached Falmouth drenched with rain.

Two days afterwards Mrs. Waddell and I went back to Cornwall. The people had sent once and again entreating us to return, and we could not be happy longer away from our proper place and sphere of duty.

Before leaving Falm the Court House to see the prisoners. There, nd sorrow, was Roderick, already mentioned, death. He seemed stunned and stupified till I n he burst into a passionate flood of tears, and rotested his innocence, and bewailed his fate. Having of a magistrate concerning him, if a review of his case might be obtained, I was told that nothing could be done for him, his guilt having been clearly proved. His own master, however, told me afterwards that he never knew what he had been guilty of, except rudeness to a militia man, and tearing down a proclamation; and he believed the poor fellow's life had been sworn away by his rival on the property, more guilty but more cunning than he. He died that day.

Ere we reached home, a trooper carrying despatches, and riding a poor jaded horse, overtook us. He saw that my beast looked fresher than his, and proposed an exchange. Civilly he did it; but the *must* lurked under the *please*. "You must if you please, sir;" as the Irish bailiff said to the gentleman who wished politely to decline accompanying him. Martial law ruled, and it was useless to contend. The one he rode had been seized, and he knew not its owner. Mine he promised to leave at the next post, where I was glad to recover it the same day, just as another trooper was saddling it to ride off to Montego Bay. The promise was kept.

Missionaries' horses seemed to be fair game at that time. One of Mr. Knibb's best was ridden by troopers from post to post, till it was nearly killed, before he recovered it. A friend of his on a journey brought it to our place, where he left it unable to go further, getting mine instead, and six weeks passed ere it was fit for use again.

The sea-side estates continued peaceable, but I did not call Sabbath assemblies till martial law ceased, satisfied with visiting the *people* on their own estates. A real war was raging, however, at

no great distance from our quiet district, and the negroes began to cower under the storm they had raised, terrified by consequences never anticipated.

At the *Spring* I found the people still bold and independent, and ready to debate the question of their right to freedom. They knew that they were safe in doing so with me. They ought to get it, they said. I could only answer that in the way they sought they could never find it; for could they even beat the militia, they could not beat the king's forces, which were then driving the rebels everywhere before them. And were they even free from white people they might still be slaves to one another; for the strongest arm and longest sword would always be master. One of them replied, "Well, minister, what you say is very true; and if we must have masters, better we have white masters; for white men have sense, but black masters have no sense." The head men took my advice to get the people quietly out to work, and keep them together, for their own safety, but without the whip, rather than wait to be driven to it at the point of the bayonet.

Visiting among the estates another day I fell in with a militia officer, who was making an inspection of the estates off work. We rode together to the *Crawle*, but could find none of the people, though we went up to the negro houses, and saw signs of recent life among them, doors open, fires burning, and dogs barking. We called aloud, but all in vain. The people had fled, and were hiding in the tall canes behind the village. After a fruitless search we went away, but soon parted company, and I returned to a convenient spot for seeing unseen. Soon the people began to reappear, and I shouted for the head man, John by name. He answered, "hallo," and slowly advanced a little, till assured that I was alone, and then met me half-way.

When I asked why they all had hid from me, when calling them before, he said they were afraid of the "sojer;" but they were not feared for me, he added, and would meet me alone. I sent him to call all the head men, and they came and met me in the mill-house yard.

The people were all at home, they said, and quiet, except one; but were ill-off for want of food; all hungry, being afraid to go to their provision grounds, lest *somebody should meet* and kill them.

They were not doing any work, and did not know what to do; for "busha never look near them since the war begin."

I advised them to put the people to work, no matter what or how little they might do; and not to run away and hide even from "a sojer," but stand and answer. If they would do so, I should write to their attorney and prevent the mischief the officer's report might otherwise occasion, and they might safely go to their provision grounds. They see[illegible]ful for the advice, followed it, and were soon relie[illegible]s by a commendatory letter from their new att[illegible]

John's way of ch[illegible] here be mentioned. It succeeded in his case, [illegible] be recommended for general adoption. His first cho[illegible], after he had provided the gown, hat, shoes, gloves, [illegible] er else was necessary to rig her out for the happy occasion; for such was the custom then, when the ladies were not easily bound. John grieved less for the loss of the fair one, however, than of the marriage outfit, and came to me to know what he should do to get it back. In due time he recovered all peaceably and was comforted. When he had time to get over the disappointment I said to him, "Well John, what are you doing now about getting married?" Looking bright, he replied, "Minister, me just look out one now to fit the gown."

By such methods, as above related, the people of most estates around were induced to resume labours peaceably, some weeks before the planters were discharged from militia duty; and every thing might have gone on quietly, had not resentment usurped the place of reason, and recovered power been employed to punish the presumption that dared even to hope for freedom.

When the insurrection broke forth with such sudden fury some of the militia regiments seemed paralysed; and their first attempts to arrest its progress were so weak and injudicious, and were resisted so boldly, that one of them retreated from Montpelier estate, a post of great importance which commanded the western interior, and took refuge in the county town. Its colonel, who in peace had threatened to wade knee-deep in blood, rather than the slaves should be freed, more skilled in law than arms,* now declared that

* Pity he did not remember the old motto, "*Arma cedant togæ.*"

the battle must be fought in the streets of Montego Bay. His talent left the insurgents in possession of a great extent of the most fertile and best cultivated tracts of country, and the destruction of all properties, great and small, went forward with renewed energy.

When Sir Willoughby Cotton arrived with the regular troops, he took the militia under his command, employed sailors to guard the sea-ports, and Maroons to scour the mountains. Then affairs took a new turn. The insurgents were hemmed in, brought to bay, routed, and dispersed in all quarters, and driven from their fastnesses. The retaliatory system of burning their villages had a powerful effect in subduing them. At first the colonists were slow to increase the mischief in that way, knowing they would have to rebuild the negro as well as the buckra houses. But when the military found that the rebels in the woods were sustained by the women who lived securely in the villages, they brought matters to a crisis, and expelling the latter from their home-quarters by the torch, soon drove the former from their strongholds by want. Then the prisoners came in by hundreds and thousands, and the courts-martial prosecuted their easy work with more vigour than they had done their first field operations. The chief leaders with multitudes of their followers perished, of whom many were executed at their former places of abode among the ruins they had made.

The manner in which the poor fellows met their doom is touchingly described in the following letter, from our brother, Mr. Watson, dated, Lucea, May 8, 1832. And one cannot but lament the fate, as well as the crimes, of heroic men, who staked all on one great throw for freedom, lost it, and submitted to the dreadful consequences with dignity:—

"They were all, on the day previous to their execution, put into two large carts, drawn by oxen, each prisoner pinioned, with a rope on his neck and a white cap on his head. In this dress they were seated side by side in the carts, and, on moving off from the jail door, they simultaneously commenced a hymn, in which all joined with great composure and fervency. The morning, as usual, was beautiful, the air calm, and the town quiet, and deeply solemnized, as the waggons proceeded slowly along the streets; and the voice of praise was heard *at a distance*, ascending from the

midst of the mournful cavalcade. In this way they were carried up, under a strong guard, into the midst of the burned properties, distances of twelve to thirty miles, and the sentence was carried into effect on the estates, as they successively arrived at them. On each of the melancholy occasions, the unfortunate men met their death, with a fortitude and cool deliberation that astonished all who beheld them."

In justice to the negroes it must be observed that it formed no part of their plan to kill the white people, or they would never have suffered the militia to muster. Scattered in twos and threes, among hundreds of slaves, on the plantations through the country, the planters could easily have been cut off in detail. In some instances they were awakened from sleep and dismissed half-dressed before their dwellings were set on fire. The lives taken by the insurgents, perhaps not a dozen in number, were wonderfully few, considering the frenzy of the period, when a hundred thousand slaves had broken loose, and for a time had everything in their power. In this respect that insurrection is distinguished from most if not all others. Had the masters, when they got the upper hand, been as forbearing, as tender of their slaves' lives, as their slaves had been of theirs, it would have been to their lasting honour, and to the permanent advantage of the colony; which, in the rage for making examples, lost many able hands it could ill spare. But it is characteristic of slavery everywhere, that any revolt of the bondsmen is suppressed with unsparing vengeance.

That revolt was the most serious thing of the kind that ever took place in the British West Indies. What caused it? The severities of the slave system, said some. The teaching of the fanatics, and instigation of abolitionists, said others. We treated our slaves with great indulgence, said the colonial party. We preached the gospel of peace, replied the missionaries. The latter might have added that the character and instructions of their societies, their principles as Christian ministers, and their own safety in the colony, forbade the criminality attributed to them.

The question cannot be answered in one word. Various influences operated. Servile insurrections are not so rare that we seem surprised when they occur, or be at a loss to account

them. They are, in fact, expected in all countries where a large slave population exists—expected, as a sort of natural consequence of the condition of the people, and guarded against by the most jealous precautions. Hence the strong military organization everywhere of owners and managers, the brutish ignorance in which the bondsmen are kept, the fear of everything like union among them, even prayer-meetings in their houses, and the savage ferocity with which the least insubordination is quelled. Slaves have feelings, and resent injuries, like others, and have more to resent than others. Allowed no will, no object of their own, things innumerable must, even unintentionally, cross and irritate them, which, if free, they could easily avoid, redress, or bear. They may grow callous, or cunning enough to seem patient. But the passive and active natures of man cannot both be largely developed at the same time, and slaves cannot be quite broken in unless quite stupified. Man also is an improvable animal, and the worse his condition is, he must the more desire an improvement of it, to the extent he sees enjoyed by others. Freedom of will and action he naturally regards as the best condition. It may be hopelessly out of view, and unthought of, but if it come into view it must be desired, if within reach it will be grasped at. No mere improvement of the state of slavery will fully satisfy those subject to it. They may have less to complain of than formerly, but will see more to desire. Every step in the path of improvement fits them for greater benefits, and increases the longing for them. Some, indeed, under particularly favourable circumstances, may have gained positions of influence and comfort, and may be unwilling to risk what they have gained, by any hazardous attempts. Yet, generally speaking, the rankling of slavery is so incessant—it is so obviously the cause of many and great evils, and it so surely gets the blame of all, while the idea of freedom affords such hope of universal relief—that bondsmen must ever be strongly tempted to use every opportunity of avenging their wrongs, and seizing the coveted prize. Slaveholders know this well, as by instinct; and their assertions and reasonings to the contrary are unnatural and absurd, belied alike by their consciences and their conduct.

Ameliorations both in the law and practice of the slave system had begun in Jamaica, but had been too long of beginning. No-

where had they got so far as to warrant owners to expect fr
their people even godly contentment. Emancipation had be
spoken of both in the mother country and in the colonies.
was talked of and condemned around the festive board, whe
prudent reserve seldom presided, even before the coloured d
mestics, and in the public meeting, where temper and commo
sense were borne down by passionate oratory. The idea w
becoming familiar, though the reality seemed distant. The slav
believed that England wished their freedom, while their maste
forbade the boon. The wild revilings of the colonists agair
abolitionists, saints and missionaries, and their threats to jo
America, and wade in the blood of their slaves, rather than fr
them, confirmed the erroneous impressions. The negroes had l
gun to look for the arrival of the mail packet, and inquire the hor
news. They had heard of the violent and successful commotio
which had agitated Great Britain and Ireland for Catholic ema
cipation and for Reform, and naturally thought of trying th
hands at the same game. Intelligent mulattoes and quadroo
being related to the whites, enjoyed more of their favour and co
fidence than the negroes, but did not always return it. T
information which they gathered above they diffused below the
for sympathy led them to transfer their confidence to fello
sufferers.

As for the missionaries in general, it is not for me to say th
they were all as prudent and as reserved on so exciting a subj
as freedom, in their intercourse with the slaves, as they shou
have been. It was easy most unintentionally to err in th
respect, and to say things in a slave congregation fit only for
free one. Young missionaries fresh from home, and imbued w
the sentiments which prevailed there on the subject of emancip
tion, might have been incautious in the expressions of their sy
pathy to designing slaves, of whom they knew little or nothi
beyond their complaints of sufferings. Even missionaries n
young might, for the sake of popularity, among the slaves and
Britain, as the "friends of the negro," have said and done thing
which would certainly have been abstained from, had a rebellio
once occurred to them as a possible consequence. No man in h
senses could have encouraged that enterprise, and, as a gener

rule, missionaries are not out of their senses. The dependence of the colony on the mother country, which inspired our hopes of an early emancipation, legally and peaceably, forbade the thought of it in any different way.

Though the charges against the missionaries could not be sustained, some of the penalties had to be endured in arrests, insults, restraints of bail, the anxieties of prosecution before a prejudiced and hostile jury, the troubles and expenses of defence, long absence from the country, and finally, the destruction of many places of worship, which the disbanded militia levelled to the ground, the last and greatest proof of their prowess.

While those troubles were in progress our hearts were cheered by the arrival of our brother and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, to take part with us in the work of the Lord. He went first to Green Island, and subsequently to Port Maria on the death of Mr. Chamberlain, where, though in one of the most unhealthy districts of the island, he has been mercifully spared, midst yearly recurring fevers, and much blessed in his labours till this day.

CHAPTER IV.

1832, 1833.

Consequences of the insurrection—The slaves suffer and decline from religion—Sunday work—Dealings with overseers—Demoralization—Cornwall and Cinnamon Hill estates—Petition for the Sabbath—Colonial Church union—Address to new Governor—Colonial Union, its persecutions—Scottish mission falsely accused, defended, and acquitted—Montego Bay congregation—Preaching at Retreat Pen—Horses lost—A river head—Church formed at Cornwall—Death of brother Chamberlain—Journey to Spanish Town—Night wanderings—An attorney repents—First church building—State of congregation, and correction of an error.

AFTER the insurrection was suppressed, great confusion and distress prevailed. The people began to suffer more than ever before. Their labours were increased, and means of support diminished; over-driving became common; and while many causes combined to coerce them to the utmost of their power, or beyond it, their complaints were no longer heard. They were under the yoke and the lash, yea, under the wheel, fallen, crushed, abandoned, hopeless. The tale of bricks was increased, and the straw withheld. Defeated, disappointed, and suffering beyond what they had known before, they seemed in most places to give way to despair.

In that distress we might expect religion would have been their resource for consolation; and, where it really existed, no doubt such was the case. But in themselves, as well as in their condition, appeared a change for the worse, and their improvement for a time was at an end. The wide-spread defection from the profession and practice of piety, over nearly all the disturbed parishes during the period now under review, shows how empty the profession of it was during the previous period, in the majority of cases though foolishly dignified, in some quarters, with the name *pentecostal*. It seemed obvious that many churches and congregation had been swelled by a host anticipating freedom, who, now tha their hopes were disappointed, fell away. It was common for backslider to answer an exhortation thus:—"It is no use, minister

what can church and prayers do for we again?" Th
man's work made manifest of what sort it was."
defection appeared chiefly in those congregations whi
most compromised in the insurrection, and whose minister
a time away from them. Their conduct seemed to say,
no hope; we will walk after our own devices, and do
the imagination of his evil heart." In several instan
congregations were subsequently dissolved and reco
My own little flock suffered too, both from increased
treatment on their estates, and a decreased attentio
things. About a fourth part of our inquirers fell
not seen in church or meeting for two years; and
them elsewhere occasionally, they laid all to the
hard usage, as did the Israelites, who "hearkened not to
anguish of spirit and for cruel bondage."

When crop began, the negroes had to make up for lost time by extra labour, and in many, perhaps most cases, by Sunday work. The law forbade the mills working between seven o'clock on Saturday night and five on Monday morning. It now became common to keep them going till Sunday morning, and to "put them about" again in the evening. This interfered with the people coming to church, and I had to interfere with it.

The first overseer to whom I spoke owned that he knew not the law on the subject, and did just like others; but promised to apply to his employer for instructions, and to abide by them.

The next acknowledged that he knew the law, but followed the custom, and would be very ill pleased with any one who should interfere to prevent it. I replied, that I felt bound to speak about it, for it hindered my duties among the people; that I spoke to himself, however, in the first instance, which he must own was candid and friendly, rather than complain to his employer or the magistrate.

"As to my employer," said he, "he has been on the estate while it was going on, and never objected. If he gives directions to the contrary, I shall obey them." He would not, however, ask for the necessary instructions; and when I proposed to do so on his behalf, was *disposed to be indignant* at my officiousness.

I reminded him, that, during the rebellion, I had in his own yard withstood the slaves, and condemned them for breaking the law, to the damage of the property; and I could not now wink at his violation of it to their hurt, without being condemned as partial and unjust. He answered that indeed he had heard that things of that kind were mooted among the slaves, and he wondered who was so busy in teaching them the law; and thought that missionaries should confine themselves to giving religious instruction, and let objects foreign thereto alone.

Since coming to the country, I replied, I had ever acted openly; and no man could impute to me underhand dealings with slaves or others. But the present case was one of open violation of the law, which prevented people of my congregation coming to church, and I had a right to speak and have the obstruction removed. If I did not, I would be conniving at it; and he had no right to impute unworthy motives, or insinuate dishonourable duplicity.

The attorney of the property, then Speaker of the House of Assembly, when I spoke about it to him, declared that the practice of Sunday work was contrary both to law and to his wishes. He believed that, on grounds of expediency, the Sabbath was a useful institution, both to man and beast—provided always, he added with a laugh, that no man be obliged to spend the whole day in prayers.

With another overseer the following conversation took place:—

"I'm sorry, Mr. M——, to find that you have a bad practice on this estate."

Overseer. "What is that?"

"You keep your mills going till Sunday morning, and put them about again on Sunday evening."

Ov. "Oh, that is an old custom on estates, and I cannot alter it."

"But you should alter it. You know it is against the law."

Ov. "Oh, that is a foolish law, and we can't mind it. We want no more of your English laws. We have the laws in our own hands now."

"There are penalties attached to the laws, Mr. M——, you know."

Ov. "Well, go and inform, parson, if you like. But overseers are determined to support one another; and we will know what to do with any one that troubles us."

"Well, there is another and a higher law, which you cannot break with impunity—the law of God. What will you do with his judgments?"

Ov. "Oh, as to that I'm not afraid. I don't think God will judge us when he knows we can't take off crop in good time any other way."

"Why, sir, the judgments of God are on the estate already, and you cannot take off crop in good time even as you are doing. Your mills are both broken, you say; your cattle sick and dying; your slaves rebelling; and your canes rotting on the ground. What do you call all that? If you would leave off your Sabbath-breaking, and try to please God, you might get on better. You could not be worse, and would at least have less sin."

Ov. "Well, parson, I'll see what can be done to please you. I learned all these things long ago from my good mother, when I was young at home; but this country has made a great change on me."

Another rude sort of gentleman on Barrett Hall told me plainly both that my visits in crop time were unseasonable, and that my teaching made the people worse instead of better. In short, he said missionaries had spoiled the slaves and caused the rebellion. When reminded that his employer thought differently, or I should not be there, he swore that they were all of one mind now. I told him that I would soon know whether he had correctly represented the views of the owner and the attorney; for I would not come again till assured of protection from such insults in the performance of my duties. That silenced him and secured my meeting, and I did not complain. The next week also I had my meeting without trouble; but the following, he interrupted us by blowing his shell an hour before the time, when all the people had to fly to the field for fear of being flogged.

Then I stated the case to the attorney, and got a satisfactory reply. But how angry the overseer was at my complaining against him, and hindering him, as he said, getting off crop by my preaching. Ere long, however, a wonderful change appeared in him.

assured him that there were not a few on the prope
not deserve such a character. There were, indeed, n
introduced, whom as yet I did not know. One th
that they were all half-starved. "They had got only
last year after crop for their provision-grounds, and
four this year before crop began, and it was now late
How could these poor, hungry people be otherwise t
sulky? Would you or I be any better, working o
stomach all day, and little to eat at night?"

The people of the Spring ceased attending church o
nearly a year. The hospital was filled with sick, wi
ing creatures. They grew stubborn, and the overse
"Minister," said one of them, "the living we live her
Our hearts are broken with work and punishment.
said, "If we don't look for something to eat on Sund
we must die of hunger. If things ever come better,
again to serve God."

The old system of Saturday night revels, both in tl
busha houses, was resumed on most estates, to amuse
the people, and divert their minds from the holy d
Sabbath. Religion among the negroes, it was said,
rebellion. [illegible]

Scottish Missionary Society," and partly to a petition which our Presbytery that year presented to the House of Assembly.

A petition from missionaries to the Jamaica legislature, in favour of the slaves and the Sabbath-day, was a new thing. At that particular time, when the colonists were mad against the slaves, and religion, and missionaries, it was quite unexpected, and, to some persons otherwise favourable, seemed especially inopportune. We believed it was our best time. Some protest must be lifted up against the flood of wickedness and oppression which was swelling over the land. The Scottish brethren were in circumstances to do it, as, on all hands, it was acknowledged that their congregations and themselves had not been involved in the late insurrection. A petition to the House of Assembly could not fail to make itself heard over the island, and its very publicity would be our safeguard. It would also be only the legitimate exercise of our rights, as free and loyal subjects, on a matter properly belonging to us, and on behalf of those who could not speak for themselves, and for whose Christian instruction and conduct we were in part held responsible.

Our petition stated the divine authority of the holy Sabbath, the benefits which attended its due observance, and the evils, both public and private, which ever followed its systematic, and especially its public and legalized desecration. The Sabbath was necessary for public religious instruction and worship, in all countries, and most of all in those holding slaves.

In that island we said the slaves were deprived of the Sabbath, as the day of God, by its being the public market day, by their not having other time sufficient for the labours of their provision grounds, and by the common, though illegal, custom of compulsory estate labours thereon.

We therefore prayed that some other day might be appointed for the public markets, that the slaves might have a whole day allowed them *every* week to attend the markets and their grounds, and that effectual measures should be adopted to preserve to them the sacred rest free from ordinary plantation labours.

This petition was read and laid on the table of the House. Some of the public prints said that it should have been cast under the table in contempt; and they were pleased to publish some abusive

things about us, and call us names, such as "Scotch Anti-slavery Parsons," "Anti-colonists," "Recreant Scotsmen." The leading Kingston journal summed up all by saying, "They are leagued with our enemies,—are our worst enemies. We denounce them to the country, and call on those who have charge of estates to beware how they permit men, evidently under the influence of the late talented but infamous Dr. Thomson of Edinburgh, to instruct and preach to our slaves."

The "Colonial Church Union" was a combination of the planters and others, formed immediately after the insurrection was extinguished, for the purpose of expelling all "Sectarian" missionaries from the island. Though unable to effect its unlawful objects, it interposed for a long time many formidable obstacles to the proper discharge of our duties, and was the chief mover in the new class of outrages which for many months disgraced the colony. The persecution of missionaries, and the suppression of religion in the island, seemed its appropriate work. Comprising the greater part of the white population, throughout the western half of the island, and having the sympathy of many others, of whom better things might have been expected, it began to acquire a dominant influence in public affairs.

The "Unionists" tried to draw the Scottish missionaries into their schemes. Owing, perhaps, to the number of Scotchmen in the colony, and the fact that our Missionary Society was in part connected with the Church of Scotland, they exempted us from the term "Sectarian," and professed a design to erect "Scotch kirks" in all the parishes, as a new branch of the island Church Establishment.* But we disapproved both of their objects and their offers. We had no desire to separate from the great missionary cause; nor to be allied with the only representative of the Church of Scotland in the country, or with the Established Church of the colony. Then the blandishments became curses, and pretended friends real enemies. We were denounced as "Scotch Sectarians," worthy only of being treated like all the others. And

* It is a curious fact, that out of Scotland all Presbyterians are regarded as belonging to the "Kirk," or Established Church of that country, owing to their all adhering to the old standards of doctrine, and forms of worship and church government.

some of the brethren felt the effects of these denunciations in a very short time.

Earl Belmore's term of office as governor expired early that year, and he left the colony in the midst of its troubles. When Lord Mulgrave, his successor, arrived, the "Colonial Union" was fast bringing the island into a new civil war; for the free coloured people began to take part with he persecuted missionaries, and the white colonists were ready to treat them as they had done the slaves.

The new governor was coldly received. Deputations with congratulatory addresses did not hasten to welcome him. From whatever causes, the two great parties, of slavery and of freedom, the victors and the vanquished, kept silence. Yet it was importa that some one should publicly draw his lordship's attention to t ed state of the island, and afford him an opportunity of expressing himself on the subject. He came to Montego Bay soon after his arrival, and an address was presented by the Scottish missionaries with that object in view.

We deplored the distracted state in which he had found the colony; but trusted that, by the blessing of God, the wise and firm administration of our sovereign's representative would restore tranquillity; and would effect such a happy and harmonious union, of all classes of his majesty's subjects in the island, that they should henceforth emulate each other in cheerful submission to the laws, and in cultivating the kindly dispositions and feelings, which were essential to the welfare of the country.

As ministers of the Christian faith, and convinced that "righteousness exalts a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people," we hoped that, during his government, our holy religion would spread through the land, and that the means necessary to its extension would receive his protection and encouragement.

Lord Mulgrave's answer was clear and decided, on both the great subjects to which we had adverted, and afforded the utmost satisfaction to all right-minded people, friends alike of religion, freedom, and social order. His deeds confirmed his words. He visited several of our churches and schools, taking his suite with him, including some of the colonial notabilities, and by personal inspection, and pecuniary contributions, showed the interest he took in our missionary *operations*. *Ere long* he issued a procla-

mation against the Colonial Union as an unlawful association, and he broke Colonel Brown, of the St Ann's Militia, at the head of his regiment, because he expressed himself determined to maintain it despite the royal proclamation.

Our mission suffered less than some others from the hostility of the Union for reasons already mentioned, but we could not expect wholly to escape. Two attempts were secretly made to burn down Hampden church, and one of them was nearly succeeding, but for a merciful interposition of providence. A conspiracy was discovered also to pull down Mr Watson's church at Lucea, and tar and feather himself, so that he was unable for some weeks to leave his house, and had to maintain a nightly watch. Our brother at Green Island was charged before the magistrates with preaching sedition, when he had only preached the sanctification of the Sabbath, and he was threatened with assault, and with having any house he preached in pulled down, if he should venture into certain quarters. The church at Port Maria was closed against our missionary there till his death, because he would not join the Union, and for a long time against his successor also, that a Unionist might be got to fill it. Many other acts of petty malice might be mentioned to which we were continually exposed had we thought it worth while to mind them. For my part, I had no chapel to be pulled down, except my dwelling-house, and I had the benefit of the proprietor's company part of the time living with me. But if I personally escaped injury, I remembered them that were in bonds as bound with them; and if not called myself to suffer the spoiling of my goods, became a companion of them that were so used.

If we escaped more than others from one class of sufferings, we were subjected more than others to some of a different kind. Certain brethren made up for deficient hostility on the part of the colonists, by displaying a large measure of it on their own part. If we were not the enemies of the former, we must be their enemies, and they treated us as such. We were condemned as the intimates of ungodly planters, and accomplices of the persecuting Union; for how else could we have held our ground when so many others were driven off the field or were cast into prison. In

short, we were, they said, "unfaithful missionaries." These gross mis-statements, yea, most painful calumnies, so calculated to injure, were made and circulated, both in Jamaica and in Britain, with an energy and an *animus* hardly to be accounted for by simple love of the truth.

Allowing for the credulity of some good people, easily misled, who take assertions for facts, and plausible inferences for arguments, we could not help thinking that others propagated those representations, as a convenient way of accounting for the differences that appeared, in the systems, positions, and reception, of different bodies of missionaries in the island. But if good for them, such a view of the case was quite the reverse for us, and being false as injurious, we did not submit quietly to it. We replied that jails, like laws, were made, not for the righteous, but for the lawless and disobedient; and that the proof of innocence belonged not to those who were out of, but to those who were in them. We did not judge brethren to be sinners more than others, because they suffered such things, nor were we to be so judged because we escaped them. The degree in which our mission was exempted from persecutions, to which some others were subjected, arose from circumstances altogether apart from missionary faithfulness, and which were certainly not discreditable to our body.

The patronage of the "Kirk," offered by the Colonial Union, and its pretended favour for a time to our mission, we did not court, nor warrant, nor even avail ourselves of. We never sought its help to build one of our churches, though invited; we never entered any opening it had made by destroying the chapel and expelling the missionary of another body; nor did one member of any of our congregations ever join it. If we might be thus judged, we said, for the doings of people, who used our names to cover their own designs, then might the Baptist brethren be condemned for the late rebellion, as the insurgents employed their name to forward the scheme, and it was known as "the Baptist war" among the negroes themselves.

The Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society vindicated their agents by a complete defence, to the satisfaction of the churches in Scotland.* In the colony they defended themselves

* Scot. Mis. Reg. *September 1833.*

in the columns of the publications in which they were assailed, the *Watchman* and *Christian Record.* The former was silenced and ultimately won, and the latter made speedy and honourable amends. "We are convinced," said the *Record,** "that our Scotch brethren have been erroneously judged of. We now regard them as most efficient allies in fighting the battles of the Lord, wielding the sword of the Spirit, against colonial practices which impede the progress of the gospel." "The correspondence changes our grief into pleasure, by showing that if there be found in the ranks of the enemy any minister of the 'venerable kirk,' the Scottish missionaries repudiate his alliance, separate themselves from him, his counsels, and his friends, and are decidedly and determinedly with us on the Lord's side."

An object long contemplated was at length accomplished early in 1833. We commenced a Scottish Church in Montego Bay. Our doing so was complained of by a certain party in the island. The following statements, made to the secretary of our Missionary Society, prove the propriety of the measure, and that it was not to be viewed as an interference with other congregations in the town.

From the first day of my settlement at Cornwall, I looked to Falmouth and Montego Bay as probable spheres of future labours. The inhabitants of both towns were generally unconnected with any Church, and in both were Scotch and Irish Presbyterians. There were indeed Baptist and Methodist congregations in both, but attended chiefly by negroes from the surrounding country, while the parish churches were attended by very few, and were destitute of the gospel. There was obviously room for our labours in both the one and the other of these towns.

The district around Cornwall I always regarded as too limited a sphere of labour. It was insecure as well as limited, depending on the good will of the proprietor. For neither church nor residence could I get a certain possession. If obliged to leave that place I must go to Montego Bay, for no house could be procured nearer.

At Falmouth no sooner was the proposal made than it was accepted. Influential people belonging to the town and parish engaged to build the church, taking the work out of our hands; and

* The organ of the Evangelical Curates.

a minister was expected from Scotland to occupy it at that time, though not in connection with us.

Our design for Montego Bay was delayed by the absence of Mr. Blyth, during 1831, when I had to supply his church as well as my own, and by the various disturbances of 1832. As soon as possible after his return, we took steps to carry our views into effect, but not before the king's proclamation had put down the "Colonial Union," and restored the silenced ministers, who were preaching to their congregations ere we began our public services.

The objects proposed were too important to be longer delayed. The town required another evangelical church, and one of our body would supply other necessities beside those of the town. It would materially strengthen and extend our mission, and promote the general interests of gospel truth throughout the island. The "Unionists" had made use of our ordinary designation "Kirk Ministers" to promote their infamous purposes; and it behoved us to deprive them of it, and counteract their designs. Already they predominated in the Falmouth Committee and the Kingston Kirk, and were aiming to possess Montego Bay. We felt bound to anticipate them, and preserve it for our missionary society, as a counterpoise to the other two. As yet our mission was too weak in the towns of the island, Lucea and Port Maria being comparatively small. Montego Bay was the only important one still open to us, and to neglect it longer would be inexcusable.

We rented a large upper floor of the "Soho Saw-Mills," seated it, and off one end partitioned two rooms for temporary accommodations. These were furnished after the manner of the prophet's chamber, and made us independent both of hotels and of private hospitality.

During the first year, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Watson, and I, supplied the station alternately, going on Saturday evening and returning on Monday morning. Then it devolved on Mr. Blyth and me, owing to Mr. Watson's distance. We could not be away, however, the whole of every second Sabbath, from our own congregations, and arranged to keep only an afternoon service there, I two Sabbaths in succession for his one, as living nearer, holding the forenoon service among our own people. That was very severe labour; for our distances were respectively twelve and seventeen miles, which

had to be ridden during the heat of the day. And sometimes it was a gallop the whole way, when delayed by urgent duties among my own people, so that the congregation has been assembled ere I arrived; and I have gone booted and spurred straight from the saddle to the pulpit, and afterwards, ere dinner could be laid, have fallen asleep, and not awaked till long past midnight. But we had the happiness of seeing that our labours were not in vain, and of founding a flourishing congregation.

At the close of the first year my report to the Missionary Society was as follows:—"The attendance has varied from fifty in the forenoon to several hundreds in the afternoon. Distracted as the country was with political parties, when we commenced, we carefully avoided seeking the patronage of any, leaving our work to speak for itself. Party feeling being now abated however, the colony quiet, and many people pleased with our services, and desirous of their continuance, we have applied for contributions to defray a debt of £100, incurred for rent and fittings. Mr. Watson and I made a day of it, and God inclined the hearts of many to aid us honourably. Lord Seaford, the proprietor of Montpelier, who has recently arrived, headed our list well, and said to an objector, that 'the Scotch ministers are laborious and useful men, and should be encouraged.' * In one day we were clear of debt, and had something wherewith to begin our second year."

Another place more distant claimed some share of my attention about the same time. *Retreat Pen*, in St. Ann's parish, belonged to the proprietor of Cinnamon Hill, and, on account of its pleasant mountain climate, was a favourite residence. His late excellent lady had begun a school there, and engaged a teacher from one of our congregations, who also gave instruction to the people of the property. Most of them belonged to the Baptist Church at Brown's Town; but their chapel had been destroyed, and their minister driven away; and they very gladly hailed my arrival, when, at the

* The objector said in the hearing of my informant, "Why, my lord, do you really patronize these Scotch preachers?" "Yes, indeed, I believe they are very laborious, useful men, who should be encouraged." "But, my lord, there is S. M. B., who knows them well, having one on his estate. He says they are the most uncompromising people he ever met." Lord Seaford smiled, but made no further reply; and I smiled too when I heard it.

request of the master, I visited the place to examine the school occasionally, and preach to them.

It was about thirty miles to *Retreat*, and a visit occupied three days; but there were two estates on the way, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, where I could preach going and returning. The Baptist deacon there knew me and invited my visits, as his own minister, Mr. Knibb, was off the country, and his chapel in Falmouth in ruins. Indeed, that brother, ere leaving for England, had requested me, as I had opportunity, to do what I could for his people in his absence.

The old church members at Retreat desired to remember their Lord in his dying ordinance, and I administered it, after the best examination I could make, to as many of them as I found worthy; but admitted no new members, nor required any change of church connexion in those who came forward. I acted for the absent brother whose flock they were. It was neither the first nor last time that I admitted members of other churches as occasional communicants; and at that time of great defection it was especially necessary to strengthen the faithful by such recognitions. My doing so offended some, however, and was misrepresented by them as taking an unfair advantage of the absent ministers, and an attempt at "sheep stealing." Had I also conceded to baptize their children, as some of these people desired, they might have had something to say. But the Lord's Supper seemed common ground where all evangelical Protestants could well unite. To make it a denominational rite has ever seemed to me a perversion and desecration of the ordinance. That were to employ as a line of demarcation what was designed as a bond of union, to pervert that which should distinguish all Christians from the world, to the mean and unhallowed purpose of a test to separate them from one another. May such an unchristian use of the Christian communion be speedily and universally reprobated.

One of the tricks then practised on missionaries, by those who could no longer tar and feather them, or pull down their chapels, was performed to my great distress at that place. My horses disappeared, and for several weeks could not be found; and the one I procured to take us home nearly killed us on the way, being a wild fellow. At length, when all my efforts to recover them had failed, and they were given up as lost,

they were quietly sent back. Of course I was bound to be thankful, for they might have been kept or killed. It was designed as a hint, probably, that I should not go so far out of my way, to build again those things which the St. Ann's planters had destroyed.

Near Retreat is a singularly romantic scene worthy of mention. From a great cave, under [illegible] row of a mountain and overhung with forests, flows smoothly [illegible] er of considerable size; and thence, by rapid desc[illegible] alls, rushes to the sea, seven miles distant, at Rio [illegible] have wished for a boat or canoe to explore the recesses o[illegible] subterranean passage, which could be safely done against the s[illegible] m; but I did not hear that it was ever attempted. Its origin [illegible] believed to be about twenty or thirty miles off, among the virgin forests and mountain summits, of the interior, where a stream called *Quashie River* sinks, and thence is traced by various indications to this outlet.

In January 1833, the Church at Cornwall was formally constituted. We had designed taking this step a year sooner; but the commotions that had occurred, showed the necessity of further proving those desiring to be admitted to membership. The future character and stability of the Church depended greatly on the way its foundations were laid, and the kind of professors first admitted to its privileges. Having seen the shipwreck of faith and conscience made, by many baptized members in other churches, during the past year, I felt deeply how important it was to begin with a few real rather than many seeming disciples. The delay was not injurious to us; for though the weakness of some was discovered, it proved the sincerity and strength of others; and if fewer joined us than formerly, those who did were more in earnest and became more attached. Out of the whole number of candidates only forty-three were selected for our first communion, a number of hopeful catechumens being deferred, to grow in knowledge and grace, preparatory to the next celebration. The whole congregation at the time consisted of about three hundred and fifty adults, and two hundred and fifty children. Thus we laid the first row of spiritual stones in our living temple on the eternal foundation Christ Jesus. There we set up our Ebenezer; and there we received fresh strength an

encouragement to prosecute the work of God. The sight of a new church founded to the glory of our Saviour, when others lay desolate, a new company swearing fidelity to his name, while many were saying, "Let us break his bands asunder and cast away his cords from us," was very comforting. "If the preachers at home knew the surpassing pleasure of our labours here;" I wrote at the time; "if they knew the peculiar interest inspired by every part of our work, and every individual of our spiritual family, and the yearning of our hearts over them, not as a step-mother, but as the mother that bore them, they would care less for calls to home congregations, and regard more those from the foreign field, where the freshness and vigour of virgin soil will reward the toils of the first cultivators."

In November 1832, our excellent and loved brother, Chamberlain, died at Port Maria. The sad tidings met me at the foot of the St. Ann's mountains, on one of my homeward journeys from Retreat Pen; for Mr. Blyth, on his way to St. Mary's parish, had come off his road to see me, and arrange for a general meeting there to settle the affairs of that station.

Scarcely had we returned from that meeting in Port Maria when we were called to undertake another long journey to the eastward, being summoned to Spanish Town, to give evidence before a committee of the House of Assembly, on the moral and religious state of the island; and which we had to do at our own expense.

The great road from the north-west parishes to the capital was through St. Ann's, by Mount Diabolo, the lowest part of the central mountain chain. The scenery of that noted pass I can hardly describe, though it presented some grand and charming features. The vast plain of St. Thomas in the Vale, surrounded by mountains, seemed as it had once been covered with water. The Rio Cobre flowed sluggishly through it, but its way of escape we could not discern, no breach being visible in the lofty and rugged barriers. At the extremity of the valley, close on the mountains, we still wondered what would become of the stream, till we turned a sharp projecting rock, when a rent in the mountain appeared, as if riven by an earthquake, and through that gorge, a few

hundred feet wide, and walled by perpendicular cliffs as many hundred feet high, ran side by side both river and road, without a yard to spare. It was one of the most striking scenes in a country where glorious scenery abounds.

Released from attendance on the House of Assembly, Mr. Blyth and I left Spanish Town together, late in the afternoon, he to go direct home, I to Carron Hall wh[illegible] Mrs. Waddell was then on a visit to her beloved friend [illegible]. C[illegible]n. The sun was soon below the horizon, the shadows o[illegible] m[illegible]tains spread over the plain, night closed in, and I missea[illegible]y on a great common, where the road disappeared in many [illegible]cks.

Finding a watchman's hut at the [illegible]t of the hills I got directions from the old man, but failed in foll[illegible]ing them, and lost my way again. The track led up a steep hill, so steep that I had at length to dismount and lead my horse. But coming to the brink of a precipice, below which was heard the rushing of water, I retraced my steps, and sought the watchman's hut again.

The old man insisted that he had directed me aright, and refused to come out and put me on the way, though I promised to pay him. And he persisted in refusing, till I told him I would not go without him, and he would have to put up both myself and horse till morning. Then, with a good deal of grumbling, he led the way and put me on the right road. It wound up the woody hills, and, by ten o'clock, passed through a gate into common pastures. The moon was then rising, and that gate I knew was within a few miles of my destination; but the road became overgrown with grass, and without fence or way-mark of any kind, so that I again lost it. For two hours I wandered through those wilds, in all directions but the right one, up and down, back and forward, till tired and bewildered I dismounted, and sat down beneath a clump of bamboos, where I began to think I had better rest till morning.

Having composed my mind by prayer to Him, before whom the night shineth as the day, I renewed the attempt to find my way, and came to a few hovels by the side of a wood. As I approached there were voices, but to my calls no answer was returned. I rode round the houses, tapped at the doors, and *called again;* but without effect. One of the doors being pushed,

flew open; but all within was dark and silent. I called, but getting no answer, entered, and groping round the walls of the chamber, found another door. Pushing it open, to my great joy, I saw embers of a fire in the middle of the floor. One of the fire-sticks, waved to and fro, gave light enough to show two men lying in a corner. How surprised they pretended to be, when aroused and admonished for not answering my calls. They rubbed their eyes, and stammered out that they never heard me. But, when they learned that I was going to "Massa Cowan, the minister," and that I was a minister too, who had lost my way, they were sorry, and begged many pardons, and assured me that, if they had known who I was, they would have come to me at once; but they really thought that I was "some wild man, or drunken busha." Their directions guided me to the door I sought, where my voice reached watchful and anxious ears, and soon gained me joyful admittance.

The repulse I met with from the proprietor of *Moor Park*, December, 1831, when seeking his leave to preach on *Blue Hole* estate, was more than atoned for in November 1833. I had not seen him in the interval, but, like most others, had heard of him. As captain of militia, he was one of the most skilful, daring, and successful opponents of the insurgent slaves, as he was one of the greatest sufferers by their incendiarism. His company of free coloured people sustained no defeat, and turned not back. Observation and reflection convinced him of some of his former errors. He saw, within a few miles of his own ruined estates, those visited by Mr Blyth and me standing safe. The relation of cause and effect was too apparent to escape his clear eye; and he arrived at the conviction that true religion would do his slaves and himself no harm.

It was told me, one Saturday night, that Mr G—— proposed to worship with us next day. With his noted punctuality, he arrived just as I was entering our place of assembly. I offered him my hand frankly, and led him to a seat. The people started, but their alarm subsided when they saw him a devout worshipper. My text for the day was, "If judgment first begin at the house of God, what shall be the *end of them that obey* not the gospel?"

Some parts of the discourse had reference to recent events for illustration, and were of a kind that he was likely to apply personally; but, having been prepared without any view to him, could not be changed. The Lord who had given me the text, had also sent the hearer.

After service he spoke approvingly of the decent appearance and good attention of the congregation, and was sure they could not fail to understand every word I spoke. He then referred to my visit to him two years before, and regretted that he had not then better understood the object I had in view, and that he had treated me in a way which, on reflection, he deeply regretted. He hoped I would forgive and forget what had passed, and that we should understand each other better for the future.

He remarked on the insufficiency of our church accommodation —having noticed many of the people sitting outside—and said that he would be glad to assist in providing a better place of worship for our congregation. I told him of our past difficulties, and of a plan then in view greatly to enlarge our present place, having the promise of material enough for the purpose from the proprietor. At once he said that he would send carpenters to do the work. In conclusion, he inquired if I could still visit Blue Hole estate to teach the people; for he would be very happy to render me every assistance, convinced that nothing was so good for the country as the religious instruction of the people.

That was a happy day for me, and for some people at church from Blue Hole. Mr G—— made good all he had promised, proved himself a changed man in the most important respects, and was ever after a valuable co-operator in our labours.

The plan I had fixed on for procuring increased church accommodation, impossible to be longer deferred, was to enlarge our dwelling-house to more than twice its size, and open the whole under part for the congregation, with fixed and comfortable seats throughout, reserving the upper part for our family use. If the proprietor would bear half the expense, I told him I would make that permanent improvement on his estate. If he refused, I would put up a great tabernacle in the yard before our house, large enough for our people, and so constructed, that on the expiry

of my lease it could be removed. He agreed to the former plan, and the work was begun in the close of 1833.

The building operations were carried on in and around our dwelling while we were still living in it. The carpenters and masons were there continually, from Monday morning till Saturday night, pulling down and building up, shifting and changing everything, in a constant din and dust. It was too much for any mistress of a household to be subjected to, especially one who remitted nothing of her previous labours, would teach the negro children as before, and care for the comfortable accommodation of the tradesmen too. In consequence, Mrs Waddell, early in the ensuing year, had dreadful fever, which nearly proved fatal, and, after several months of great suffering, obliged her to seek the restoration of her health in her native land.

In closing this chapter, I must advert to a passage in Dr. Brown's History of Missions,* where he refers to my station and labours, at this period, in such a way as, doubtless undesignedly, to produce an erroneous impression. He says: "Mr Waddell speaks of every mission station among the negroes as being in the beginning a brawling brook. The work at his own station he describes as having been of a flashy character." I object to the latter part of the quotation, as I hate everything of a flashy character. What I wrote was, that at one time missionary work in Jamaica had commonly a flashy character; but that it was no longer so at my station, where things had settled down quietly. Brevity, in his quotation, has produced not only obscurity, but error. I shall best correct it by quoting in full the following passage from the Report of the Scottish Missionary Society for 1833–4, in which the words referred to will be found as originally written, the Report having been written by the author of the History:—

"The intelligence from this station (Cornwall) during the past year has been of a peculiarly pleasing and satisfactory character. We shall give an account of it chiefly in Mr Waddell's own words. He says: 'At this station the work of the Lord has advanced at a calm but steady pace, without any great show or noise, but

* Hist. of Prop. of Christ. among the Heathen, 3d edit., vol. ii. p. 438—foot-note.

quite to my satisfaction—more so, indeed, than at any former period, as it affords more ground to hope that it will be permanent, than if it were of that flashy character which was so common some years ago. Its quiet progress does not, I trust, indicate stagnation, but increasing depth. It is no longer a brawling brook—as, perhaps, every missionary station was at first in this country—but a deep, flo ream, never to be dried up, which will fertilize many en tual deserts, causing them to blossom abundan to the glory of God.'"

CHAPTER V.

1834, 1835.

Voyage to Scotland—Proceedings at home—Scottish Missionary Society—New system of Church missions—Returned to Jamaica—Ride to Cornwall—Congregation and schools—Immigrants—Arrival of Mrs. Waddell—Visiting estates—Evening meetings in negro houses—Planter jealousy—Bible Thomson—Christian Union—New Church members—Brutus—Mary.

HAVING tried in vain all the means Jamaica afforded for the restoration of my beloved wife's health, we yielded to the advice of medical men and of brethren, and reluctantly left the island in June 1834. It grieved us to leave the scene of our labours, in which we had been so happy, and at so deeply interesting and important a period. Freedom was to be declared on the 1st of August that year. The emancipated slaves would need all the guidance of their ministers, and restraints of their churches, amidst the rejoicings and temptations of their new-born liberty. And their emancipation, it was expected, would, like a spring tide, carry forward all mission work triumphantly, and double the numbers of every congregation. The little flock at Cornwall could not benefit, in our absence, by the great opportunity like others; but we trusted that the "Great Shepherd of the Sheep" would keep it safely till our return, and enable us, while off the island, to promote his cause some other way.

One incident of our voyage home deserves to be recorded, that others may be encouraged to trust in God, in times of seemingly imminent danger. The barque *Io*, in which we sailed, was deeply laden with West Indian produce. Between Jamaica and the west end of Cuba we were overtaken by a suspicious-looking schooner, which, when first seen in the morning, was far astern on our starboard quarter, but came rapidly up, and then hung on abreast of us, a mile or so distant, the rest of the day. Our captain thought it looked like a *pirate*. *There were* pirates scouring those

seas at the time; and our unwelcome neighbour gave cause for mistrust.

She was of the real piratical cut—long, low, and rakish—and not only slackened her sailing, and altered her course, when she overtook us, but neither spoke nor showed colours in answer to ours. The course she had been steering was unusual; and whence come, or whither bound, our [illegible]d not understand. There seemed amidships, also, w[illegible]lled a "long tom," covered with a tarpaulin, and [illegible]ore numerous and more idle than consisted with [illegible] lawful trader.

"I don't like the [illegible]y," said our captain. "He is dodging us, and will perhaps see [illegible] he can make of us to-night."

"But why should he wait till [illegible]?" I asked.

"That time best fits his work,' [illegible] the reply; "and, besides, he may be waiting to see what ship that is on the horizon ahead of us." He added, that if we escaped with being plundered, we might be thankful.

"Can you not arm your crew," I asked, "and resist if they attempt to board us?"

"It would be useless, and worse," he answered. "We have only three muskets, and any attempt at resistance would provoke a massacre."

"Can we hide nothing from them?"

"Nothing: let them take what they like, and the quieter the better for ourselves. If they think we have concealed anything, they will apply torture to make us show it: so they do."

I could not tell all these things to my suffering wife, but besought the Lord, with whom it is the same to save by many or by few; yea, most when there is no help.

Night approached; the vessel on the horizon was no longer seen. We thought the rover seemed nearing us as it darkened; then that we heard the plash of oars. In this suspense and alarm I said, "Won't you alter your course, captain, and try to escape him?"

"It would be no use," he replied. "We could not escape him. He is to windward, would see that we suspected and feared him, and be down on us at once. We must keep on our way, as if we *did not see* him or care for him."

The night wore on, and still the rover kept his
tance. "What does he wait for?"

"Perhaps till the moon sets."

The moon at length set about midnight. We strain
watching, but could no longer discern our opponent.
tion was busy picturing horrid scenes, such as we had
in the career of a noted pirate, then prowling about th
Cuba. We could not sleep, and ever and anon thou
the rush of boats and stifled voices. Still we had hopes
as fears, having a good God, a prayer-hearing God, a co
keeping God, to trust in. Day at length dawned;
dreaded neighbour was nowhere to be seen.

"How do you account for his sudden disappearance,

"Perhaps he saw we were no prize. Colonial prod
thing to him. An outward-bound ship with English go
serve him better."

"But why watch us all day, and leave us at night?"

"Well, may be he did not want us to see which way he went, lest we tell some one else."

I gave thanks to God for our deliverance from the cruel ones, by whatever means he had wrought to turn them away. The notorious pirate of whom we had heard, Gibbs by name, was soon after taken by a United States ship of war, and, with some of his crew, met a deserved doom.

My wish was to return to Jamaica, as soon as my dear wife was placed with her friends; but the missionary directors desired me rather to wait till her health should be somewhat re-established. With their consent, I improved the detention at home to raise funds, both for the general purposes of the society, and for the erection of a permanent church at my own station. For this latter object, I received about £450 in Ireland and Scotland, which was raised to about £625 by a legacy from a dear sister, who had died just before my return.

The Scottish Missionary Society was miserably supported. Though the principal representative in the mission field of the Presbyterian Churches of the three kingdoms, both Established and Secession, it had never received *more than* £7000 annually;

and this sum had latterly dwindled down to £4000. The deputations of English societies obtained better collections in Scotland than did those of the native institution. There was a want of spirit in the country at the time. It seemed content to follow in the wake of England, as a mere auxiliary, in the great benevolent operations of the age; instead of rising to do its own part of the work, on its own responsibility, and according to its own genius, with native [illegible] in his "Great Commission," overlooked Scottish [illegible]ies altogether. Perhaps he had never heard of [illegible]presented in Exeter Hall.

At the annual m[illegible]iety in May 1835, I alluded to this disgraceful state of t[illegible]o society, I said, in proportion to its means, could show [illegible] or better work; and it was discreditable to Scottish Christians [illegible]at its means were so limited. It was their own, dependent on them, and managed by them; and for forty years had faithfully laboured, amidst great difficulties, to propagate the gospel. Should relationship be disowned, and its claims be neglected? By the recognition of them, other societies prospered, while ours languished. If our distinctive principles as Presbyterians were worth holding, were they not worth propagating? If we contended for them at home, why abandon them abroad? We should not, indeed, exalt secondary principles and objects to the place of primary, nor neglect the latter for the sake of the former. And if there were no Scottish Missionary Society, then we should help Independent, Baptist, Methodist, Moravian, and every other, to spread the gospel. But why should we neglect our own to help others? Christians must, indeed, love all men, but their own family first and best; and must help all as far as possible, but those most who are most dependent on them. Such principles are not unchristian and illiberal; they are sound and operative in all the relations of life.

The rivalry of Edinburgh and Glasgow, in founding different missionary societies at first, and not uniting afterwards, had all along been a source of weakness. They could not separately fill the eye, and command the interest of the Christian public, nor show such great operations as those of their sister societies in th southern kingdom. They were founded also, unnecessarily, c *the general* principles of the London Missionary Society, a

weakened their interest in the Presbyterian Churches of the land, on which they mainly depended, for the sake of a very few of other denominations who felt no interest in either. How much better had they been one from the first, and avowedly Presbyterian, just as the Baptist, Methodist, Moravian, and Church of England, declare their principles and connections in their names. These are not thought the less of for being denominational, and they are certainly doing more work for God among the heathen, than if they had merged all their distinctive principles in one general society.

Many earnest-minded ministers and members of the churches in Scotland, who deplored the low state of missionary feeling and effort in the country, desired to elevate them by a new plan of operations. They thought that the constitution of Presbyterian Churches afforded an organization fit for carrying on missionary work, and in a way to excite some enthusiasm for it among the congregations, better than the mixed societies had done or could do. The societies, composed of zealous men of God of all parties, were but temporary substitutes for the churches, till the latter should come to a right sense of their duty in the case, and undertake it themselves.

This idea had been ripening for some years. It existed among the students of the United Secession Divinity Hall when I was one of them; and the Jamaica Presbytery, availing itself thereof, had addressed the Secession Church with an earnest request to commence a mission in that island on its own account. It was my privilege to plead the same cause before the Synod of that body while at home, and to urge it on the ground of the emancipation of the slaves, then so happily effected, which called imperatively on all churches that had sought it for them, to improve the event now for their evangelization. As venerable men seemed to hesitate, at the risk and responsibity of a foreign mission, they were reminded, that they were already doing the work indirectly, but less efficiently, by means of the mixed societies. All the Scottish missionaries then in Jamaica were ministers of their own body, besides many in other parts of the heathen world, and they also contributed the funds for their support. It would be easy for the church to do just *as much more directly*, and to manage

the new branch of operations itself. The Synod, to our great joy, unanimously adopted the proposal; and the Rev. James Patterson and Rev. William Niven soon went forth to Jamaica, and the Rev. Mr. Kennedy to Trinidad, to commence a course of noble missionary operations, ever since well sustained.

Never did a principle receive in practice a more splendid confirmation. Carried out with zeal and judgment by that body, especially since it became the United Presbyterian Church; and by the Free Church; and the Established Church; and the Reformed or *Covenanters;* as well as by the Presbyterian Churches of Ireland, England, and Wales, it has exceeded all expectations, and increased both the number of missionaries and amount of funds many fold. The missionary labours of the Presbyterian Churches now may, without shame, be compared with those of their great contemporaries, which, twenty-nine years ago, had outstripped them so far, that the race seemed hopelessly lost. In that time the English societies have doubled their men and their money; the Scotch have increased theirs seven fold. The old blue banner of the Covenant, not wont to hang in the rear, is now seen, where it should ever have been seen, pressing forward among the front ranks of the Lord's hosts, encouraging the hearts of all the King's forces by the numbers and conduct of its followers in the field of battle.

In June 1835, I left Mrs. Waddell to perfect her recovery, and returned to the scene of my former labours. The vessel I sailed in was bound to Port Maria, where I spent a few days with brother Simpson, and then set out for my own place. The length of the way—eighty miles—and the vertical sun at that season, made the offer of a boat-passage to Frankfort wharf, twenty miles forward, acceptable. A boy was directed to proceed thither with horses, and be there in time for us to get on to Ocho Rios, a few miles further, for the night. But the wind failed, and it was long after dark before we reached the wharf. Still, had the boy and horses been there, we could have reached the little town named in time for our bed: but neither boy nor horses could be found. They had been there, said the watchman, and had gone away again, he knew not whither.

A long and fatiguing walk up hill brought me
estate, where I hoped to find what I sought; but th
locked, and the only answer to my calls was the bayi
dogs. Somewhat disconcerted at being in such a pr
now nine o'clock—I returned to the beach, and kn
wharfinger's door, in the hope of getting a sofa to lie dow
but he was in bed already, and would not open to me.
poor man, he had been plagued with "walking buckras,"
supper and bed. Really nonplussed, for there was no ot
I betook myself to the watchman's fire, and sat down to
what I should do; and found I could do nothing but s
till morning. The shed was close to the beach, and
round, and so cool at the time that the fire was welcome
around it made way for me. They were the boatmen
pipes, and cartmen, who had just brought down a lo t
with their grog, beside the old watchman, who was roasting his
supper of fish and plantains. He kindly gave me share of it, and
it was very nice and good. Having taught my companions a few
verses of the Bible and a hymn, which we all sung, and having
prayed with them, I lay down to sleep, wrapped in my boat-cloak,
among the bags of pimento. The bed, if not soft, was fragrant;
the cool night winds rustling among the surrounding trees, and the
gentle sea rippling along the sands, hushed me to sleep, and I
rested sweetly till morning. The boy and horses made their ap-
pearance with daylight, and we proceeded on our journey. The next
day I reached Cornwall, and got a thousand welcomes from dear
old friends, though the absence of one beloved by all was a great
blank to them and me.

The congregation there had been kept well together, and even
increased in my absence, under the good care of Mr. Blyth, and
other brethren; so that I had nothing to complain of. Had I
been on the spot, indeed, the elders said, at and after the great
day of freedom, and had the church been open every Sabbath,
many more people would have joined it, who, being told that I
would never return, and that no church would ever be built there,
were easily led to form other connections. The steadfastness of the
members of the church was a great comfort. It had proved not a
rudis indigestaque moles, but a well-constituted Christian society.

The congregation every Sabbath was about four hundred and fifty; for the people having now every Saturday, and the half of every Friday, could attend regularly. New people also came every Lord's day to join it; and we increased so rapidly that increased accommodation became necessary before that year closed. It was provided, in a clumsy way indeed, but sufficiently, for a hundred and fifty more people by a grea d alongside the house opening into the church, would rve till I could build a proper and permanent place

The people were not yet fully They had to spend, some four, some six years in an interm e state, called *apprenticeship*, which occasioned not a few difficu s in the working out of the great change. All children under six years of age had been made free on the day of emancipation; and nurses being no longer appointed by the estates to mind them, while the mothers were in the field, they were all sent to school as the easiest and best way of their being cared for. The schools, therefore, claimed our first attention. That at Cinnamon Hill had been long discontinued. The children from that and other estates flocked now to Cornwall; and for a time it was a hard task to manage and teach the crowd of little folk, that, both on Sabbaths and other days, came swarming about us. Their best teacher was absent, and others worthy of the name were not to be had. Even makeshifts were in demand; and man or woman who could teach spelling and a little reading, the catechism, and arithmetic, could set a writing copy, and a good example, could keep the children in order, and pray to God with them, would have been accounted a prize. A person, not much below that moderate standard, was ere long obtained in the following way:—

A company of immigrants, gathered out of English sea ports, had been brought to Trelawny to supply the place of the slaves, who, it was feared, would not work when free. They were mostly of that class who were glad to be off, as the country they left was to see them go. Landed at Falmouth, they rambled through the town all day, indulging their curiosity and their thirst—themselves objects of curiosity to all classes—as the people who were "*to save* the country." The negroes seemed not to apprehend

any great danger from their competition, but pitied them, as the party in greatest danger, saying one to another, "Poor buckra!" When night came, some fifty of them were marched or carted to Barrett Hall, and there put into the great empty boiling-house, where, without beds or benches, they were to rest till morning, with such refreshment, in the way of supper, as pails of strong rum and water afforded. Next day they were led to the "cottages," which had been in course of erection for them, which, if finished, might have been habitable; but, in the state I saw them, were not even safe. "They were hardly good dog kennels," said one of those people, "neither air-tight nor water-tight."

The immigrants could not work in the open sun like the blacks, and would not work on a level with them at anything. Disappointed, and irritated with their position and treatment on the property, they determined to let both master and overseer know that they were not slaves, nor even free negroes. Lamps and oil to burn in their cabins being refused, they set fire to one of their huts to lighten the rest. Rations, to the measure of their wants or rights being also unattainable, they seized the overseer, and carried him shoulder high off to the tank, to cure his obstinacy by the cold-water treatment. Soon the proprietor and they were alike tired of their engagement, and glad to dissolve it. He let them go where they liked, and turned to his old hands after all, whom he had still some means of controlling.

Among these strangers was one, not of prepossessing appearance, nor of high qualifications; but, from anything I could learn, a well-behaved and religiously-disposed man, of some Methodist connection. He kept apart from his fellows, associated with the praying people of the estate, attended church, and taught in the Sabbath school. Discharged from Barrett Hall, he gladly accepted my offer to help in our Cornwall day school, and continued with me a year, till he thought himself fit for a higher salary than I could give him. After him others succeeded—some better, some worse—there and at other schools on Spring and Barrett Hall, till the society began to send out competent teachers, and our educational department was put into proper order.

But I had not to wait all that time for good help of one kind. Ere many months elapsed *she came*, "*true* yoke fellow," who had

begun the good work among the children, and with renewed strength and spirit entered on it again. It was late one evening in January 1836, when a neighbouring overseer sent me word that the *Isabella* of Glasgow was off Falmouth. That was the ship I looked for; and next morning, passing down to Montego Bay, it fired a gun when opposite our house, and hoisted a signal.

What a scene that night at Cornwall, when she arrived with brother and sister Anderson. word had flown abroad all day, "Missis come; she come fo e;" and soon as they left off work, and dressed themselves, th ple hasted to meet her. First was our faithful servant Mary, Mammy Brown, and Mother Catharine, and Grandy Bright, all lived near, and had long waited for her. They took he their arms. "My missis, O, you come! Thank great Father, he bring you to we again." Their tears of joy expressed their feelings more than their words. Soon yard and house were full of people, rejoicing and shaking hands with her, as if they would never be done, and with the new missionaries, who greatly enjoyed the novel scene. The boys and girls, her old scholars, with clean shirts and frocks, and bright faces, streamed in with bow and curtsy. "Me glad for see you again, Missis; me hope you well now, ma'am." Then they ran away laughing and playing.

At a hint from the headman, a whisper passed round, and the people all rose quietly and slipped away, remaining outside till we had partaken of refreshments, and then came in for evening prayer, when we closed a joyful day with praise for past mercies, and supplication for the divine presence and blessing to abide still with us, and renew to us grace and strength for the Lord's service in the years to come.

The system of estate visiting formerly practised was resumed, but gradually became altered in several respects, to suit the altered circumstances of the people. From some formerly visited, I was, however, now excluded; and to others gained admittance. In the first class I must mention *Cinnamon Hill.* The proprietor had not been very anxious for my return to his estates; and on various accounts I thought it unadvisable to have meetings in his mansion, from which, even before I went home, I had been almost debarred.

When I requested him therefore to appoint some
my meeting his people, he declined to give either
saying, the negroes had plenty time of their own now
come to me; he could not afford to abridge their hours
This closed my connection with that gentleman, and o
next two years, painful events took place that may rest i
The people of the estate, however, attended the cl
faithfully still, unmoved by their master's opposition.

The proprietor of *Easthams* invited my services, af
years consideration of a request I had formerly made
place. There also, happily, I soon obtained what was
and had been so long, required, a good site for the e
church. The attorney of *Flower Hill*, a large estate fi
also requested me to visit it and preach to the people
for a few months, and had at first good meetings and
gradually the people fell off, and finally ceased to attend, giving as reason that they were Baptists and I was not.

Three other estates, *Spot Valley*, *Success*, and *Lilliput*, were so near as to be within walking distance after sunset. On them I kept meetings in the people's own houses after work hours, without waiting for the permission of attorneys and overseers. The people, now legally free, had a right to the free use of their houses. Yet, as a matter of respect, and to keep down bad feelings, which might in various ways have still operated against the people, I usually informed the resident overseer of my proceedings in that respect. Some allowance had to be made for old ideas not easily eradicated, and for still existing relationships. More distant places, such as *Palmyra* and *Tryall*, where I could not meet the labourers during work hours, were within riding distance in the evenings. And on others, as *Spring* and *Cinnamon Hill*, the people did task work, kept in the field till it was finished, drew off early, and had a long evening for our meeting in their own houses, or under some shady tree in the village.

As we could seldom find a negro house large enough to contain many people, we commenced the plan of building prayer-houses for our own use. The people obtained leave of the overseer, and thereby the privilege of getting sticks, and stones, and lime, and stich, on the property. They gave labour freely; and I fur-

nished boards for doors and jalousies, benches and table. It was all clear gain to the property to have a new house put up in the village, without expense, and a great convenience to us to get a comfortable meeting-house, at so little cost and trouble.

The attorney of Spot Valley, a gentleman of good morals but illiberal views, lived at Montego Bay. He took much amiss my visits to that estate; and as he e[illegible]sed the sentiments of a class, I quote them.

"Pray, allow me to ask, Mr. [illegible]ell, if it be true, that you are in the practice of going to m[illegible]ro houses on Spot Valley, to keep night meetings among the p[illegible]e?"

"Yes, Mr. G——, I sometime[illegible] so."

"Surely you must know that [illegible]ght is a very improper time for such purposes."

"It is the only time we can get. The people are in the field all day. I formerly sought your permission to visit and teach them at 'shell-blow,' as I did on other estates, and you declined to allow it."

"Well, Mr. Waddell, as a member of the Church of England I am bound to support my own church."

"Your church was not doing the work then, and is not now, Mr. G——; but really there is no comparison or rivalry of churches in the case. As to our meetings they are not secret, nor are they late. The overseer knows about them, and sees no harm in them; they are over before nine o'clock, and the doors are always open."

"But you must allow, that it is setting an example which the people, already too much inclined to hold private meetings, will be led to follow, and may be productive of very bad consequences."

"The people have always had their night meetings, and cannot now be prevented. Our meetings will serve to counteract the objectionable ones you refer to. Good Christian instruction can produce no bad consequences."

Another attorney, Mr. C——, always friendly, enclosed me a note from a new overseer on Running Gut, complaining of my meetings in the negro houses. I replied, that the jealousy displayed by his subordinate was unnecessary; as I had always

visited the negro houses, wherever I had leave to visit an estate to teach the people; and that I could not forego the liberty now when they were legally free, and had a right to the free use of their houses, wherever they laboured.

The Rev. James Thomson, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, visited Jamaica in 1835, with a present from the society to the emancipated negroes of a beautiful copy of the New Testament and Psalms to every one who could read it. Known everywhere as *Bible Thomson*, loved and respected wherever known, he went around making friends and conferring blessings. About a hundred and fifty of my people were found worthy of the gift at the very first. They had not, however, been without the Scriptures till then. Before going home I had disposed of a hundred Bibles and Testaments by sale and gifts among them, and after my return about fifty more.

That excellent man proposed a scheme of Christian Union and ministerial co-operation, among the missionaries in our island, good in itself, and becoming in him, as a representative of the most catholic society in the world. A great increase of missionary agency had lately taken place, and a greater was expected, among whom it was most important, for the success of their work, that a good understanding should prevail. To promote this object the following letter, signed by three Presbyterian and two Wesleyan missionaries,* was sent to ministers of all denominations, in the five parishes of the county Cornwall.

Montego Bay, Sept. 15, 1835.—"We, the undersigned, think that now, when the whole island is, in the good providence of God, thrown open for the spread of the gospel, it would be highly advantageous to the cause of our common Saviour to have, as soon as practicable, a meeting of all the ministers of religion of every denomination in the county Cornwall. It would be for the purpose of entering into amicable arrangements with each other, for the spread of divine truth throughout the whole county, and adopting such plans as might prevent misunderstandings, and promote love, peace, and cordial co-operation, among all the

* Namely, George Blyth, James Paterson, William Wedlock, Thomas Pennock, and myself.

ministers of the Lord Jesus, who are labouring in this interesting and important field.

"Hoping that you will approve of this object, we take the liberty of inviting you to attend such a meeting to be held in the Presbyterian chapel of this town, (Montego Bay) the 7th day of October next at 10 o'clock A.M."

At the time and place named a goodly company of ministers of the various denominations assembled. The Rev. John Stainsby, rector of Hanover, one of the few evangelical parish clergymen, was chosen chairman, and progress was made towards arriving at a good understanding of each oth and of our work. The only unplesantness that occurred was t withdrawal of two brethren, and thereby of one denomination.

The cause of their leaving was this: A schoolmaster, employed by them occasionally in ministerial functions, had not been invited to the meeting, and they inquired why he had been overlooked. The brethren who had issued the invitations answered, "Because he was not a minister." The others said that he was a minister of their body. The rest of the meeting had never heard of it, and the chairman asked if he had been ordained? They replied that ordination was not considered necessary by them. It was then asked if he had regular charge of a congregation, and if their society in England recognised him? The meeting would waive the question of ordination, but wished to learn how their ministers were to be known? The information sought was not afforded, and the two brethren left the meeting. We afterwards learned, that the individual in question was *not* recognised as a minister by their society at home, or by the body of its missionaries in the colony. In the printed "tabular view" of their missions in the island, for that and subsequent years, he was classed as a schoolmaster.

Another meeting was held in December, when the resolutions agreed on were printed, and circulated for deliberate consideration. In April a third meeting was held, when they were finally corrected, adopted, signed, and published in the county paper. That was an *Evangelical Alliance*, ten years before the great Alliance was formed in Liverpool and London. It was called simply, however, "The Ministers' Association for the County Cornwall." Its

rules are not unworthy of being put on permanent
were signed by twenty-six ministers—namely, all
Wesleyans, and Presbyterians in the county, two o
England, one Baptist, namely *Bible Thomson* himsen, a
one of the London Missionary Society in that part of
We all regretted that the Baptist brethren held alo
congregations were intermingled with all the others.*

"I. That the scene of our labours is of the most i
important description, sufficiently wide for us all t
diligently, without collision, in the service of our
and even to employ many more missionaries.

"II. That we regard each other as brethren and fell
and desire an increase of faithful ministers to whatev
Church of Christ they may belong.

"III. That it is desirable and practicable for us so to
bonds of Christian fellowship as to promote good understanding and cordial co-operation, in the great work our Lord and Saviour committed to us.

"IV. For this purpose we propose to meet half yearly, in March and September, to confer on the general interests of our Redeemer's kingdom. But we shall not take up any subject that may interfere with the constitution or internal arrangement of our respective churches, or with the control and direction of those who are over us respectively in the Lord.

"V. We shall endeavour, each of us, for the future, as much as may be, to carry on our labours so as not to prove a hindrance to others. For this purpose, while we deem it our duty to spread the gospel in connection with our respective churches and societies, we will avoid encroachment on stations previously occupied, and regularly supplied by another Christian body, unless there be ample scope for more labourers than those already employed at such station.

"VI. We will respect and acknowledge the exercise of discipline by each other; will discourage self-appointed teachers; and will

* One of my elders asked me why there were so many different churches when they all prayed to the same God, had the same Bible, and preached the same Gospel, kept the same Sabbath, and taught the same Commandments. I replied that they were all one family, children of one Father, though with different names, and some little difference in their faces; and that, instead of quarrelling like bad children, which was biggest, best, or best beloved, they should love and *help each other as brethren* in Christ and children of God.

not receive any member from another church, until the minister with whom he or she had been previously connected shall have been consulted, and the cause of separation understood. We will each of us cultivate among the people of our charge a spirit of forbearance and good-will, towards those of other denominations. And should we know of each other's people acting inconsistently with their holy profession, we will inform each other of the case, and thus unite in preserving the [illegible]ch of Christ generally in the bonds of peace, and in practica[illegible] and holiness.

"VII. That we shall observe [illegible]ning of the third Monday of every month, as a time of specia[illegible]er for the prosperity of our Redeemer's kingdom, every minis[illegible]gulating this matter according to his own convenience.

"VIII. All who approve of these resolutions shall sign them; and the secretary shall have power to append the names of others, who by letter shall signify their approval.

"IX. That as the sole object of this association is to establish a cordial union and co-operation, of ministers of all evangelical denominations, these resolutions will be open for discussion and improvement, curtailment or enlargement, at any future meetings of this association."

In the beginning of 1836 my congregation consisted of about five hundred adults, and nearly three hundred children, of whom about five to six hundred might be present every Sabbath. The children were taught in day and evening schools, in classes on the estates, and at church, when about a hundred and fifty regularly read the Scriptures, while the rest were taught in other ways as they could learn. The communicants were as yet only fifty-eight in number, and the candidates for communion only sixty-two. These latter numbers may seem disproportionately small, and they were less than the ordinary proportion at the time, for I felt it obligatory on me to guard against the rush that was then being made all over the island by the freed peasantry to church membership. To testify their gratitude to God for their freedom, they hasted to be church members, and that attained, were too generally satisfied, and began to decline. For my part, I tried to delay *their progress* to the table, though glad to have many under pre-

paratory instruction. Some, however, would not be rest
Easily satisfied with their own attainments, they expected u
so too, and if delayed too long by our sifting process, soon be
impatient, and went where they could more speedily gain
end.

Among those received to church fellowship were two n
Africans, or "Guinea negroes," worthy of particular mention.
was old *Brutus Wright*, of Carlton estate, watchman in th
sion grounds, a cheerful, sensible, well-behaved old man. He
early every Sunday to the services of God's house in his clean
Osnaburgh frock and trousers that a "shipmate,"* good
daughter to him, had always ready. Surprised how he cou
every Sabbath, while other watchmen could come only on
days, I said to him, "Who watches for you every Sunday, a
so you can always come to church?"

He answered, "God watch for me, massa!"

"Very good. But thieves don't care about God. Does nobody steal from you when you come to church?"

"No, massa; thief never steal from me. They 'fraid. All man saby I leave God to watch for me!"

The old man's faith removed mountains. Complaint against him for neglect of duty was never heard. His master once said to me that Brutus had helped to make him a Christian. One time, when a rising of the slaves was feared, and every overseer was on the alert to detect and crush conspiracies, it was told him that voices were overheard at night, in a watchman's hut in the provision grounds. He thought, of course, that it was a meeting of slaves planning mischief, and he went out secretly one night, armed, to watch at the place named. He heard a voice. It was that of Brutus, and none but he spoke. He crept closer to hearken. Brutus was praying, and prayed for "massa, an' missis, an' dem lillie chillen." He thanked God for his supper, and begged him to send plenty rain, to "make the yams grow as big as the moon." That was enough, almost too much for the listener, who could scarcely contain himself at the last petition, and hastened home a reproved man.

* She was called his daughter. *The attachment of the slaves*, who had come in the same vessel, to each other *was like that of blood relations.*

The other was our domestic *Mary Scarlet*. She had been brought to Jamaica young, and lived long with a respectable white lady, whose name she bore, and at whose death, in 1832, she came to Cinnamon Hill. Fit only for house service, she was hired to us, and proved a blessing from the Lord. It was difficult at that time to get bearable female servants. Spoiled by the slave system in general, and particula[illegible]y the "busha house" and "great house" system, domestics [illegible] acquired habits that ladies from home could ill [illegible] were seldom able to cure. When Mary came, m[illegible] in that respect ended. She was an exemplary little woman, [illegible]erson, temper, and conduct, who obtained, as she deserved, [illegible]ect and affection. But she knew not the Lord, and four years elapsed ere she could be received as a sister in Christ. When at length admitted to communion, her heart was full of God's goodness to her and the way he had led her. Though her bondage had not been so bitter as that of many others, it was bitter enough, tearing her from parents and country at first, from husband and children afterwards. The retrospect led her to say, "It no be ship captain bring me from Guinea country, and it no be massa B—— bring me from Duckets come here; God bring me from place to place till he bring me to himself. I don't know him before I come here; and now I'm joined to his holy table."

CHAPTER VI.

1836, 1837.

Church collections—Presbytery formed—Eldership—Temperance society—A needful offence—Family soirees—Committee—A pattern wife—Juvenile society—Care of children—Visits to estates—Various characters—Escape of Mrs. Waddell.

OUR people, now in part free, and earning a little money by extra work, and at extra time, were able to contribute for the support of the mission, and it became proper to teach them their duty in that respect. We had not required it of them during slavery, when they had not even the Lord's day free for the Lord's service, and it was with difficulty they could keep it holy. In their new condition new duties became incumbent on them. So the church-seats were let at a small rate to those fit to earn wages, though still given to the aged and the infirm free.

It was soon after agreed to have quarterly collections. When two of them had been received, about £5 sterling each time, our Cornwall elder addressed me in his usual blunt style, "Minister, that way you make collection no good."

"Why, what is wrong about it?"

"It no good, minister," he repeated; "I tell you true it no good."

"Well, tell me what is so bad about it? Do we collect too often, or ask the people to give too much?"

"Too often, minister!" he exclaimed; "give too much! Hi! No, not half enough. One collection pass they tand long time, tae—ae—ae they forget how to give. Make collection every moon, minister, then they mind."

"But, my friend, I'm afraid we will be no gainers by the change, The oftener we collect the less will they give."

"No, minister, it no so. They will give the same every time."

"I wish it may be so. It would be worth trying. We must call all the elders, *and hear what they say.*"

The session approved; the monthly collections were made, and the annual amount was doubled. On one occasion it fell on the day for the Lord's Supper, when we always had a collection at the Lord's table "to give something to the poor." Fearing the two would clash, I proposed to defer that for general purposes till the next Sabbath. The elders, however, decided against any change, saying, that "the family had come [illegible] for both, and the one would not hurt the other." [illegible] t; both were good as usual.

This beginning o[illegible] ity increased steadily as the people increased in [illegible] y, till we got our new church built and paid for, [illegible] e freely paying above £300 a-year for the support and sprea[illegible] he gospel.

In 1836 a regular election and ordination of ruling elders took place in the church, to meet the requirements of the Missionary Presbytery; as those previously appointed on each estate by myself did not hold their office in accordance with the due order of the Presbyterian Church. Some account of the formation of the Presbytery may, however, be proper before we proceed to that of our eldership.

In 1832 the six Scottish brethren in the island proposed to constitute a presbytery, for ordering the affairs of their congregations in a scriptural way. The Directors of our Missionary Society had difficulty in agreeing with the proposal, fearing some infringement of their authority by an *imperium in imperio;* while the missionaries, having only legitimate objects in view, persisted in their design. They did not seek *authority* from the Directors, who could not give it, not being themselves a church court; nor from the United Secession Church, though ministers of that body, as the society was supported equally by the Established Church. Indeed it was impossible in their circumstances to follow the rules necessary to be observed at home. We went back, therefore, to first principles, assumed the right inherent in Christian ministers in a new country, and, acting by the great original authority, constituted the Jamaica Missionary Presbytery.

When the Secession Church began to send its missionaries in 1835, and a young minister from the Irish Church* then also

* The Rev. Thomas Leslie, of Kilraughts.

joined our society, it was agreed to reconstruct our presbytery, so as to admit them and any other evangelical Presbyterians who might go to the country. In doing so we maintained the ground previously taken, not to compromise our independence by seeking authority from any church court in the mother country; yet it cost some keen discussion with some of the new brethren. We had the example, however, of the first presbytery in Scotland, the first in America, and the first Secession presbytery at Gairney Bridge. It was obvious that we could not be subordinate to a church court in Scotland, where we could not be represented, personally conduct our own causes. While avowing our adher however, to the old authorized standards, Confession of Faith, C chisms, &c., we agreed to retain the liberty of opinion allowed the Secession Church, respecting the power of the magistrate in church affairs, and to leave the question of establishments an open one, though some of the brethren, fresh from the "Voluntary Controversy," would have had us declare against them.

The presbytery was constituted in Montego Bay, 10th February, 1836. Mr. Blyth was moderator, and with him were present Messrs. James Paterson, John Cowan, John Simpson, William Niven, Peter Anderson, and myself, ministers, with elders John Rickard, from Hampden; James Stevenson, from Cornwall; and Aaron M'Callum, from Lucea. Mr. Watson was then in Scotland, and Mr. Leslie, to the grief of us all, had just died at Green Island.

As brethren and congregations multiplied, the presbytery was divided into district committees, the northern, southern, eastern, and western, to facilitate business. These, in 1847, became presbyteries, and their annual reunion a Synod.

A regularly constituted presbytery required regularly ordained elders, and of those named only the Hampden one was of that character. In all our congregations the elders had at first been appointed by the ministers, when the members were too few, or otherwise incompetent, to be entirely entrusted with the electing of them, and when their services were confined chiefly to their respective estates. I appointed mine in pairs, to restrain the domineering to which one alone on an estate was tempted. They were rather disposed to be autocratic. *The traditions* of African king-

ship and village despotism, and the examples of their own rulers, "driver," and "busha," and "massa," whose word must not be questioned, increased the disposition to the exercise of their powers in an arbitrary way. Indeed, the "leader system" which prevailed in some quarters, served as a warning. We guarded against this extravagance, not only by appointing them two and two on every estate, but [illegible] them from the use of private authority, and conf[illegible] of discipline to meetings of session.

Two examples o[illegible] would have liked to manage church affairs, had [illegible]een [illegible], will suffice. One of them, a good but headstron[illegible], of [illegible]natural abilities, and a chief man on his estate, [illegible] nad als[illegible] a "leader" in *Moses Baker's* class before he joined me, accused a young man in his class of something serious, and expected I would at once cut him off. When desired to bring the accused before the session he was offended that his word should be doubted. And when in the session the young man defended himself, so as to be found chargeable with only a minor offence, he was so displeased at being as he said, "counted a liar," that he threw up his office in disgust.

It was painful to lose his valuable aid, and perhaps have him for a rival among the people, while our cause was young and weak, and I tried to mollify him. He replied "Since minister count me for a liar, what use I be again for elder. Nobody will mind me. I no will be elder in the church again." I assured him that I did not count him for a liar, but had confidence in his truthfulness. "Oh, it be all same; when minister no believe my word he count me for liar." I requested him to take a fortnight and think of the matter, before he said any more about it. At the end of that time his answer was the same. I was sorry, for he was a good man, and useful, and I liked him; but his terms were too high, if he thought I must condemn whom he accused, and give up discipline to him. So, acting on his word, I informed the congregation publicly that he was no longer an elder. It took every one by surprise, and him not less than others. He was nonplussed and humbled, and in three months, without my ever adverting to *the subject* again, he came and owned his error, and thenceforth

walked orderly, not seeking to be "a lord over God's heritage, but an ensample to the flock."

Another, who subsequently joined the church, attempted to rule his class arbitrarily, and with a like result. He was a man, of fine appearance and good abilities, a mason by trade, and musician too, who by the power of his arm had kept many feet going, both in busha and negro house dances. When he joined the church he abandoned the fiddle, with the loss both of money and friends; but he learned to read and write, grew in knowledge and usefulness, and was chosen an elder for his estate. At length a difficulty arose; he would carry on his class in a way I did not like, and, sooner than take reproof or correct an error, resigned. One Sabbath morning, instead of coming to church, he sent me a smart letter, complaining of my interfering with him, and throwing up his office. It was read publicly the same day, and his name taken off the roll. It pained me to have to dismiss him that way; but the domineering "leader" spirit could not be allowed with us. He did not wait three months to find his mistake. His class would not stand by him. Every one said to him, "Brother Stewart, you are wrong; you must hear by minister." In two weeks he was back, saying that I had misunderstood him, and asking to be restored to office. He was not restored for a long time; and the whole session was informed that any one acting in that way again would never be restored, while I was minister. No other case of the kind occurred in my time.

When we came to the election of elders, who, chosen by all, should be for all the members, twelve worthy men were nominated by the members. Three of these declined to stand, two on account of their youth, and one because of a daughter who kept him in constant uneasiness. Five elders were required, and every communicant had five votes. The five who had most were chosen and were the fittest. Two were brown men, and three blacks. One of the former was a free man, one of the latter a "Guinea negro." Two were carpenters, one a blacksmith, one a head-constable, and one a "doctor man," or hospital assistant. The whole congregation had been instructed on the subject before the election. Those chosen were instructed after it, and on a subsequent Sabbath regularly ordained.

The estate elders were *still retained* as assistants, under the

name of deacons, and met in session, but the ordained alone decided matters by vote, and attended meetings of Presbytery. It is only justice to them all to say that their labours, fidelity, patience, and prudence, were a great aid and comfort to me, and a great blessing to the church. They came fully to understand and appreciate our well regulated Presbyterian system of elders in session, as distinguished from the "leader system," to which at first they were so prone, and which produced so many evils in other quarters.

Temperance societies were early introduced in Jamaica. The first was formed in Hampden congregation in 1834; the second in Cornwall congregation in 18[illegible] The people were at the fountain-head of rum, and free from the power that had formerly, for the master's interest, restrained their use of it. Freedom, like rain in its season, would necessarily promote the growth of noxious as well as of precious things; and it behoved Christian teachers, like good husbandmen, to be diligent not only in planting the good but eradicating the evil. Temperance societies promised to aid in restraining the desolating vice, that seemed likely to overflow the land.

The subject being broached in a sermon on Proverbs xx. 1, it found at once friends and opponents. Promises were not then required, but only a serious consideration of the matter. The effect produced on our Cornwall elder must be related in his own words, as he afterwards told the story at a temperance meeting:—

"That time minister first preach about this temperance," said he, "I don't like it at all. I was against it much as any man, and went to my house angry; for I liked my glass of grog well. I said, 'Minister want to do too much now; he want to do too much. He say it no good we drink rum, we must leave off. How me for leave off my rum? I won't for I can't; and I don't know what harm it do minister, make him say so much against it. Minister and me will have plenty quarrel about that thing before we done.' My wife sit very quiet, and never say a word, while I quarrels long time about minister and the rum. At last, when I lie down on the bench, she says to me, 'Mr. *Chambers*, what is the matter? I never hear you talk so much

against minister before. What he do make you vex so now? 'Spose he tell you word from Bible before time you hear him. What way you no want to hear his word now? He don't tell you bad word. He don't talk you more than every man. 'Spose he say rum no good for people, it no be you one he mean. Take time and think, and look into it, before you tell him anything.' My wife's words," he continued, "cool my heart a little. I want my drink all that night; but I shame to ask for it, and she never bring it to me, as she use to do; and that Sunday for first time I drink none."

At the distribution of Christmas allowances the church members on Cornwall and Cinnamon Hill were ill-treated. They were taunted as my fools, because they declined to receive the customary bottle of rum, and were even denied the usual sugar, because they would not attend the "busha house" dance. To make amends, I invited them to my house the next evening, and treated them to the best I had. It was an off-hand and successful temperance soiree. With the singing of hymns and prayer we mingled free conversation, stories, and unpremeditated addresses, in which the guests were drawn out to speak their minds frankly about "the temperance," and tell their difficulties. All approved, but some pleaded for time to search their own minds and try themselves. The time of course was freely allowed; but the searching and trying, they were warned, should be in the way of abandoning, not continuing, the dangerous practice, and with true hearted prayer to God, for his grace to enable them to resist temptation. About thirty were won that night.

The fame of that meeting went abroad, and it proved so useful that soon we had others, of members from other properties; till all the most influential people in the church had been brought under these kindly influences. They appreciated our attentions, and in the frankness and confidence of our "family parties," opened their minds, both to speak and hear, and became favourable to our design.

Two or three "old ladies"* came out freely with their ideas on the subject. They had never been drunk, they were sure, and

* "Sister" and "lady" were the usual respectful designations for black and brown females of character. To speak to *or of one as a "woman"* was an insult.

since they joined the church were more careful than ever. But they could not promise to take no more rum. They must have a little sometimes, when their stomach hurt them; "bitters" in the morning, and "antidote" at night. They would not tell a lie, and give a promise they could not keep. Perhaps next year they might be able. It was very good to get the young people to join "the temperance;" but ste[illegible] o[illegible]ple like them, after all they had seen, might be truste[illegible]pany was diverted with their vigorous pleading; a[illegible]tter than seeming but insincere compliance. Th[illegible] by a respectable good man, who approved entir[illegible]nd denounced intemperance; but also pleaded fo[illegible] who, like him, had been all their lives used to [illegible] a little, [illegible] could not at once give up their old practice. The "old ladi[illegible] were delighted with his valuable support, and applauded him frequently, "Well done, brother. Very true, brother."

On these occasions, after stating the question, and so starting the game, I left it to the company to pursue the subject, with the utmost freedom; making sure always to have some, who could be depended on, to manage and sustain it on the right side. And really, the question and reply, joke and story, argument and example, mingled with the coffee and biscuit, rendered these meetings more than sociable; they were most entertaining and instructive. When at length the question was put in the public congregation, "Shall we have a temperance society?" a hundred stood up, as the first members, who had not tasted rum for six months, and vowed never to taste it again. In six months more another hundred had joined, who had likewise effectually tried themselves. Thenceforward it increased steadily and without backslidings; and a rule was made, to prevent hasty admissions and consequent declensions, that voluntary abstinence from ardent spirits should be required for at least three months of every person previous and preparatory to enrolment as a temperance member.

A committee freely elected managed its affairs, which laid itself out to increase its members and efficiency. In one of the meetings of committee, I inquired how much spirits an ordinarily sober *man* might use weekly—say a bottle?

They laughed and replied: "Far more, minister; two bottles, and three if he can get them."

"Yet you don't call such a drunkard?"

"Oh, no, minister, a drunkard will drink a bottle every day, if he can get it, and put no water to it."

Public temperance meetings were held on Sabbath evenings, among the negro houses of surrounding estates, to get at people who did not belong to our church, or neglected too often to attend it. A few trusty members of some weight, from other places usually accompanied me to address the meetings. At Cinnamon Hill, where we had not a few stubborn opponents, William C from Spring, gave some of his own experience, to the follow effect, and in the following style.

He reminded the company of that shameful day, when he we to the church at Cornwall drunk, and the elders had to put him out. He lay down on the grass in the sun and slept till the church dismissed. Then his wife tried to get him home, but he would not rise, and she, taking up his new hat that had fallen off his head, went away alone. He followed her with his eyes, as she went along the road by herself, while all the rest walked in companies, husband, and wife, and children together. When they had gone out of sight his heart smote him, and he followed her home ashamed, and stole into his house, without speaking to any one, and lay down to sleep. His wife brought him his supper, but said nothing to him; only he saw she was crying. She never cursed him, nor quarrelled, nor said one bad word, but did everything good as before. He wished she would quarrel and curse him, and so he could curse her back; but she never gave him a bad word. Then he began to be sorry and vexed with himself. When the day came for minister to visit the estate, minister find him where he was hiding, and talked to him. He could not answer minister, nor look him in the face, and he don't know how he got over it; but from that time he never drink rum again; and now he feels a great deal better without it. He concluded with an advice especially to "the sisters," that they should not quarrel with their husbands, if any of them drink rum, nor curse them, lest the men curse them back and beat them; but should cry for them, and *pray for them, and do* everything good

for them, so they would 'blige their husbands to give up the drink; for no man could stand that.

A Juvenile Temperance Society was subsequently formed, and both time and pains were bestowed, to instruct and persuade the children. They had their own minds on the subject, and understood it beyond what might have been expected. And some had their own difficult[illegible] bout promising. None were expected to join [illegible] r parents had done so—though powerful argum[illegible] of the best kind were derived therefrom—but [illegible] ctions, as they had their own temptations. [illegible] est plan now," said a Sabbath school teacher. [illegible], this the best plan. We must get all the childre[illegible] ance. 'Spose we break off the young shoots fast as they grow, the old stump must soon die." Some were forbidden to join the society by their intemperate parents, and we could only advise them to act on its rules in their own conduct. Others were allowed, their parents saying, that, though they could not themselves leave off what they had been so long used to, they did not want their children to begin the use of it, knowing how bad it was. One father owned to me that his children, who had followed their mother's advice in the matter, had done him good, by refusing to take his money and bottle and go buy rum for him; and when he threatened to flog them had run to the elder's house for protection.

The children of the congregation had become, after the apprenticeship began, the objects of increased solicitude; not only the baptized, rightfully the proteges of the church, but all in any way connected with it. Those under six years of age, declared free from the first day, were no longer to receive anything from the estates. If, neglected by their parents, they became dependent on their old masters, they would come under the law of the apprenticeship, and have to work out their time. When this was explained to the people they recoiled, with natural and good feeling, from the idea of their free children becoming again bound.

For example: on one estate, after finishing the children's lesson, I spoke to the parents, on the care they should take of them, *now more* than ever. They must not look to their old masters to

do anything for them, but to their own efforts and God's blessing. And they must not grudge the additional expense and trouble thereby incurred, but, proud of so precious a charge as a family of free children, must bring them up to serve God; and so they would have credit and comfort in them afterwards. The people approved and promised obedience. Then our elder, being also a head man there, putting two of the little ones before him, with his hands on their heads, replied, "Minister, we proud and happy too much to see our children grow up free about us. We will take care of them, minister, and never grudge what is for their good. We more than happy to see the blessing that come to them. No man can drive them, and order them, and knock them about now against our will, nor flog them as he like, as before time. We thank God for his goodness to them, and will try the best we can to make them know and serve God."

Indeed, in one sense many took too much care of their children, going to the extreme of over indulgence, regarding them as the "king's free children," superior to others, above work, and too good to be corrected. Minister and schoolmaster, alone, were privileged to rebuke or correct them, and of course had to make up for the deficiencies of others. To prevent the idea that freedom implied idleness, we established a working lesson in our school, and for an hour daily they had all to labour out of doors. So many little hands could do a great deal of little work, of which we had at that time plenty to engage them, in our building operations; and they helped it on well.

A few passages from my journal may show the character and progress of our work in various other respects.

"At *Carlton*; and crop being done, we had a good meeting. At the close I noticed a report, that I heard annoyed certain parties among them. Some one said that I had preached against the Baptists, and wished never to see their faces in my church. It was untrue, I assured them; and they might have known it to be so, without my telling them; for during the five years I had preached on that property, they knew how I had walked among them, that I had never referred to the smaller matters disputed among Christians, but ever preached the great and glorious gospel, Christ crucified for sinners. *When their* ministers were out of

the country, I had shown them the same attention as my own people, offering the comfort and protection of our church to them, without reference to the points of difference, and without asking them to make any change in their church fellowship.

"The head driver, a Baptist, replied, that he never believed the story. Some mischief-maker had contrived it. He was satisfied I could not make such a speech. My elder also said that he was glad I had referred to the matter, for it made disturbance among them, and he wanted peace and love. In conclusion, I said that I must preach against sinners, whether Baptists or others, without respect of persons. They all replied, 'Certainly, it is no more than your duty; you are bound to do so.'

"At *Rose Hall* this evening, and visited the sick before the meeting. One of them, a young brown woman, had formerly attended the word of God, till led into sinful ways by one of the white men on the property. Her grandmother followed me to ask money, as I left the house; and when refused, because I had given her enough lately, she replied that she asked it for the sick girl. 'O no,' I replied, 'she must look to the man for whose sake she had left the word of God. I had enough to do with more faithful or more necessitous people.'

"'But, minister,' she cried, 'you no consider; she is one of your children.'

"'Not so, old lady; she left my family. They who hear the word of God and do it, are my children, not they who forsake it. She is not suffering for Christ's sake. If she will leave off her bad ways, we must help her like others.'"

An examination of the inquirers' class of Cinnamon Hill, individually, had been made, for I still visited the people of that property in the evening, in their own houses. There I read a list of all who had not come to me when called to be examined, and intimated that, if they did not appear and give me some satisfaction within the ensuing week, they should be "read out" of the church. This warning brought some, who took reproof and promised amendment. The others were disowned at our next meeting. This roused some of them, who hastened to ask what I had done. They had always been my people, they said, and wished to be always my people, and why had I cut them off? I

must restore them. I cut them off, I told them, because the were careless, and living in sin. They hardly ever came t church; when I went to the estate, I could not find them: and when I sent to call them by the elders, they did come. Therefore they were not my people, whatever they n say; and I could not have the name of them. The way restoration was by repentance and amendment. It would n me very happy to restore them, when I saw the necessary impro ment. Such dealing had a good effect.

My examination of one of the inquirers was as follows:—

"Well, Allan, do you understand what you hear me pre when you come to church?"

"Sometimes I don't understand all you say; but I a brother that have better ears, and he tells me. I always about Jesus Christ best."

"Do you pray to God any other time or place besides in the church?"

"I always pray in my own house; but I no able to pray in the meetings, because I stutter. You must tell the elder not to call me, sir, if you please."

"They used to say you were a thief one time, when you first came to me."

"Before time, minister, I was one of the biggest rogues ever was; but now I do try, and beg God to keep me from such bad ways."

"Well, do you find the change in your way of living any advantage?"

"Yes, sir, I'm a great deal more happy now. My good minister, if a man follow thief ways he never happy in his mind. When he lie down at night, he 'fraid he will die, or something happen to him, before morning. To pray to Jesus Christ is a great deal better."

One of the elders being asked about a youth on an adjoining estate, that I had not seen for some time, answered, "Minister, that boy wild like a bird. You see it picking seed on this tree, and next minute it flies to that one. Then you hear it singing in another. It never settle one place. So that boy; I can give minister no account of *him. I ask for his* house; he has none.

I go to his mother; she don't know where he works. The place he stops to-night don't see him to-morrow. How me for answer for him, minister?"

W. G—— had been one of our good scholars and hopeful youths, but of late had grown careless and faulty. When spoken to at first in private, he showed much indifference; and when called before the session, was bold and obstinate, and replied, as all guilty parties did, "If you want to put me out of the church, you must do so; I can go to some other." His words deeply grieved me. "William," I said, "we don't want to put you out of the church, but to keep you in it, holy and good. But it seems you want to leave it; and you know you are free to go. If any church, however, winks at your sins, it is a bad church for you. And though you go, still we shall look into this business; and if we find you guilty, will not let you escape by running away." The case of that lad distressed me to my heart; for I had hoped much of him; and was all to be lost now? No; by God's mercy, he submitted, corrected his fault, and turned out well, married a good wife, and became a member in the church.

Two of our members on the same estate had a sad quarrel, and used bad language to each other. They were both reproved. The man was humbled and sorry, and held out his hand to the other, saying, "Well, sister, I'm truly sorry that I used bad words to you, and I pray God forgive me, and ask your pardon too." The lady was proud and sullen, and with hesitation, in silence, held out her hand sideways. I shook my head. One of the elders went up to her, and taking her by the shoulders, wheeled her right round to face the man, saying, "No, sister, that won't do; you must make peace with open face and heart." She frowned, then laughed, and frankly held out her hand, saying, "Well, brother, I ask your pardon too."

A journey, which Mrs. Waddell and I made in 1837, deserves to be recorded to the glory of God, for the deliverance he granted to her, in circumstances of the most alarming description. Hearing from Hampden that Mrs. Watson of Lucea was dying, and that our brother there and all the rest of his family were ill, we hurried off to render our aid. The sun had long set ere we got

to Lucea; and there we learned that Mr Watson was living out of the town, two miles up the hill. We proceeded in the dark, and by a road that I knew not—steep, broken by recent rains, precipitous, and fenceless—and had nearly reached his house, when the left gig-wheel sank in a hole, and the horses staggered. I leaped out to take them by the head and steady them, and told Mrs. Waddell to get out quickly and carefully—for I feared we were in a bad place—when, suddenly, the horses gave way, and all went back over a precipice. The noise of crashing was heard, but nothing seen; and I cried in terror for my wife. "Where are you, my dear; where are you?" "Oh, I don't know!" she replied faintly, from below; "but the horses are above me; keep them quiet, or they will kill me." Wild with affright, I shouted for help and lights, without knowing where they might come from, and our little servant boy added his cries; he could do no more. I tried to descend where the horses had gone, to reach and rescue her; but that made them struggle afresh, and again she cried to me to keep them quiet, or they would kill her. Alas, what could I do?—unable even to see them, and my efforts to approach only increasing their efforts to escape. Again I was on the road shouting for help and for lights, which now seemed approaching from different quarters; and again renewed my efforts to descend at another place, when a woman held me back, saying, "Massa, no go there; you will kill yourself; you no saby this place." "My God," I cried in agony, "can nobody help? Does no one know this place? Will no one go down, and save the lady?" "Me will go, massa," cried a young negro; and down he plunged into the bush, and I after him, as I could. Soon he shouted, "I find her, massa," and met me with her in his arms. Taking her into my own, in a kind of frenzy, I regained the road, without feeling her weight, fervently thanking God that she was saved. But was she indeed saved? She looked more dead than alive, as the lamps shone on her ghastly face, and had sustained serious injury, of the extent of which we could not then know. She feared that her leg was broken. In that fainting state was she carried to our brother's house; and great was his amazement to see a crowd of men and women, with torches and lanterns, carrying, seemingly, a *dead person to his door*, and his own excel-

lent wife dying at the same time. A surgeon from Lucea relieved our fears as to broken bones; but severe contusions and lacerations produced fever, and confined the sufferer for weeks to the bed on which she was laid. She did not even see the beloved sister whom she had gone so far to nurse and console, who was insensible when we arrived, and died before morning.

Her deliverance from destruction was marvellous—how marvellous we did not fully know at the moment. A little tree, that had stopped the gig and horses in their descent, some distance below the road, gave way soon after she was extricated from her dreadful situation, and all went tumbling down the steep declivity far into the valley. The horses, though not killed, were sadly cut and bruised. The gig was in fragments, all but the axletree and wheels. The people who had come to our relief behaved admirably, and brought everything to us the next morning, in the very state they found them.

When able to be removed, the dear sufferer was brought home by sea, lying on a matress in a canoe. At Little River wharf our mule cart met us, full of fresh cut grass and pillows; and many kind friends from various quarters hastened to show their joy for her escape, and to convey her safe home. A neighbouring gentleman sent politely to the wharf to offer his easy carriage for her use; but circumstances forbade our accepting it. She shrunk from the thought. If it be true, that in the midst of life we are in death, it is not less so that, in the midst of dangers and death, we may be, beyond all human expectations, in safety. Nothing is impossible to God. To him be the glory for many deliverances, and continual preservation.

CHAPTER VII.

1837, 1838.

Site for new church—Laying of first stone by Presbytery—Voluntary labour—Difficult roads—Church finished and opened—New school-house—An angry father—Begging anec—Journey to Spanish town—Scenery—Native ministry—Cinnamon hill—Obea n—Myal woman—Myal system—Catching the shadow—Lost shadow—The "leader" s—A wanderer—A bully—Fruits of labour.

IN the end of 1836, a site for the erection of a church school-house, indispensable to the consolidation of our missionary work, was at last obtained on *Easthams* estate, about a mile and half west from Cornwall. The congregation rejoiced, and called it Mount Zion.

It happened at that very time that an anonymous note appeared in the "Standard" of Montego Bay, inquiring, in no friendly spirit, what had become of the money that "the Seceder from the Kirk of Scotland living near Little River" had procured at home for building a kirk there, and of which nothing had since been heard. The author of the note was easily guessed; its question as easily answered. The editor, though unknown to me personally, not only gave my reply in his next number, but handsomely supported it—making honourable reference to past events and difficulties, and expressing the best wishes for the future. What was meant for my hurt thus proved for my help, and defence came from an unexpected quarter.

In January 1837, the Presbytery met at our place, and we laid the first stone of the church with due solemnity. The company which assembled—numerous, and of all classes and colours—marched in procession, three abreast, round the ground, while the school children in the centre sang appropriate hymns. Thus we took possession of it in the name of the Lord, and by prayer, after several appropriate addresses, consecrated it to his service. The situation was suitable and beautiful—the crown of a hill, backed by a range of higher *hills, with the sea in* front, and a richly

cultivated country on either hand. There the church would appear a conspicuous object, both by sea and land—a crowning gem in a diadem of beauty. The words of the psalm, so appropriate, could not be forgotten on the occasion: "Beautiful for situation, on the sides of the north stands Mount Zion."

The ground required to be enclosed with a wall, and the people did the work gratuitously—giving their half Fridays and Saturdays to it. The first day sixty-four were engaged; and while the greater part were scattered abroad gathering and carrying the stones, the masons builded. It was pleasant to see them so hearty in the business. Even the neighbouring overseers admired their spirit; "for they had a mind to work." There walked and worked together, "old men and maidens, young men and children"—ay, and old women, too. A great-grandmother was there, with her children of three generations beside her; for she would have a stone in the wall too. With one hand she grasped her long staff, and with the other balanced a basket of stones on her head; and she walked as erect, and talked as cheerily as any of them.

We had the land and considerable funds, the first stone laid, and the ground enclosed, and then for six months could do no more. Good stones were not within reach. Bricks could as well be got from England, as from the places they were made in the island. Wood was too perishable. The spot also was difficult of access, by steep and bad roads. These things caused the offers of contractors for the work far to exceed the means I had, or could hope for. Then the Lord interposed, and providentially opened our way, as he had done through previous difficulties, for the accomplishment of the important object in view. A neighbouring planter rented two estates near us, on one of which he found residing a skilful English bricklayer, for whom he had no employment. He engaged to build the walls of brick, which he could get from Liverpool, almost as ballast, by the ships coming for his estate produce. The lime he could burn on his properties. Carts, cattle, and labourers he had in abundance. The plan, specifications, and terms of agreement were drawn out by myself in the simplest manner; and the contract was punctually fulfilled to our mutual satisfaction, without a word, first or last, of disagreement. The favourable conjuncture of circumstances, which led to

that happy result, was not of long continuance, and indicated, we believed, a special providence.

The carpenter work was managed differently, as no contract could be obtained for it. I procured the materials from the neighbouring towns, engaged tradesmen, and superintended the work myself, aided by a competent white carpenter, who came every Saturday, and directed the most important parts of it. We had some good free carpenters in the congregation, who enabled me to get on with the work in that way; and on Saturdays many more were hired to expedite the building.

The worst part was getting the boards and beams to the spot. They came by boat to the nearest wharfs, two or three miles off, and were thence conveyed by cattle carts. But the carts and cattle could not be hired, and only some estates were willing to lend them, and even then only on Saturdays, and if unemployed on the property, and if the regular cartmen could be engaged to work them. Many a time the Friday was spent riding from place to place, engaging the means of conveyance for the lumber on which the tradesmen depended, and happy was I when success attended my endeavours. Sometimes failure obliged me to dismiss the hands; sometimes the carts broke down, and increased the difficulty of getting up the stuff. Sometimes the boards lay on the roadside till after the Sabbath, and were carried up, one by one, by the school children on Monday. Yet I never had occasion to say a board was stolen, though all overseers said that nothing were the negroes more addicted to steal. There were few days that I was not first on the ground in the morning, and last in the evening, going thence to some neighbouring estate to keep meeting with the people, though, indeed, less regularly than formerly. It did occur to me sometimes, that missionaries, who had churches and school-houses to build, had too much to do. It was too much, besides gathering and teaching the congregation, to have to gather funds for building purposes, then gather the building materials, and the workmen to build therewith; and, after all, be responsible for any remaining debt. But the work must be done; and, as there was no one else to do it, God gave strength. To Him be the praise.

The church was finished *the last week* of June 1838. \arge

enough for eight hundred people of all ages. We took leave of our old place by a discourse on the words, "Who hath despised the day of small things?" Both retrospect and prospect were interesting. Great trees grow from small seeds, and the good seed of divine truth which had been planted there, and was already bringing forth fruit, would continue to grow and bear fruit to the glory of God, and for a blessing to generations yet unborn. That week was the busiest of all weeks, and the last day of all days, and the last hour of all hours; for lamps had to be lighted to finish the work and sweep the house, and leave it ready for public dedication to God the next day. At last all was ended, the doors locked, and the people paid. They gave three cheers, shook hands, wished each other a good night and good morrow, and departed contented and happy. The house of God was built without injury to man or beast, and without a single case of intoxication, or even the smell of rum on the ground. Wearied and dirtied as any of the workmen, how joyful and thankful was I that the Lord had enabled us to erect that house for his great name, and to do it for a sum that we could hope to pay—one-third less than it could have been done for in any other way.*

The noise of saws and hammers, which had resounded all day in seating the church, rung in my head all night, and when morning dawned, the sense of relief was unspeakable, as the conviction gradually grew that the church was finished, and all anxieties and labours about it ended. To God alone be the praise. Two brethren were with me for the duties of the occasion, or my mind would not have been so much at ease; and that day, 1st July, one thousand people, few being strangers, united with fervent hearts to consecrate the building to God, and made an opening collection of above £40 sterling.† The congregation, for whose use it had been put up, consisted of nearly seven hundred and fifty adults, and three hundred and fifty children—including one hundred and thirty full members, and one hundred and fourteen candidates for communion, the remainder being inquirers.

* It was 66 feet long, and 48 wide, with a gallery, and the whole cost, from the purchase of the ground to the hanging of the bell, including a session house, was £1500 sterling.

† That was nothing to the opening collection at Mr. Knibb's church, as he told me himself—above £600 sterling in his own house by his "leaders," and above £100 afterwards in the church.

hool-house near the church was begun after and finished
t, where Mrs. Waddell and I taught daily about a hundred
y children; till our brother-in-law Mr. Kay arrived and took
of it, to our great relief.

CHURCH AND SCHOOL, MOUNT ZION.

day on which it was commenced, 25th August 1837, was
nished by a rather remarkable scene. The public service
er, and happy voices were heard descending the hill, when
llent man—Charles H——, he who had declined the elder-
e preceding year because of his daughter—came hastily
g us, much agitated. He held out in one hand a coral
e, or what was so called, and a pair of great flashy ear-
nd in the other a stout "supplejack."

, minister," he exclaimed, "see these things. You know
hen I have charged Mary Ann not to go near that great
and to take no presents there. Now, I find these on her,
she got from —— yesterday, and what more she has been
I don't know. I have flogged her well; and now I want
nd ask him why he must always teach my daughter to be a
d."

man was justly angry, *and we shared his* feelings; for we

formerly; and no doubt another display of what "insolence" would ensure him a double pu another plan," I said. "Call back the people. whole affair. Then pound these cursed bauble between two stones. The people will gather t and tell the story every place. It will reach hi him ashamed." He did so, greatly to the sur heard and saw him. The affair got wind, and reported that the offender, who had so abused hi fluence, was telling fair tales to exculpate hims even his own servants that he meant no harm my poor wife had with her young women's class

A few hundred pounds were required for ou over what our people might be expected soon to r that our cause had friends enough in the colon on for the amount, if the subject were fairly bro After the first stone was laid, I improved the ti a printed statement of the case, and by personal grant from the House of Assembly, or from th was assured, could be obtained. By both pa being appropriated then for such purposes; an

given £50 a-piece to three different chapels lately, and, coming through Falmouth, was asked for £20 for the kirk there. "What claim this last has on me," he said, "I know not, except that I once went to hear Mr. Thorburn preach; and I think that sum too much for a sermon."

"Some times a person," I replied, "has got more than that of good from a sermon."

"Well, at my time of life," said he, "a man should have more sense than to be either the better or worse of any sermon."

"Worse he should not be," I answered, "while he has the Bible at hand, and can judge all he hears thereby. But he might be the better of it; for it has pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. Flint and steel can strike fire."

He laughed incredulously, wished that my preaching might always benefit my flock, and bade me good-bye.

The attorney of *Spot Valley* was no great friend of our mission; but he was a decent moral man, as has been before stated, though a *wee bigoted*, and he deserved to have the respect shown him of being asked again to favour our cause. He most urbanely replied,—

"It really is not consistent with my principles, as a member of the Church of England, to aid in the erection of dissenting chapels. I'm bound to the support of my own church."

"Certainly, every man must naturally be somewhat partial to his own, and assist it chiefly; yet may assist others too, not as dissenting but Christian places of worship. In the present case, there is no English Church within ten miles of mine, and therefore no competition between them. The only question in the present case is, Shall the people be Christians or heathens?

He was firm to his opinions, and replied, "I am sorry, Mr. Waddell, that I cannot resign my own convictions in your favour."

A rich old Scotchman in Montego Bay, who had risen from the lowest station, was notoriously close-fisted. The word *kirk* had, however, reached some ears and hearts, inaccessible, seemingly, to all other sacred sounds, and might touch some responsive chord in him. So I made known the case to him, as we walked along the street together towards his store, and tried to move his better

feelings. "An' ye want money for your kirk, ye tell me?" was his reply. "Na, na; I hae naething to gie ye. Gin ye hae ony-thing to gie me I'll tak it; but I hae naething to gie you."

At the door of another store I met the junior partner of the firm, and asked for his senior. He replied that indeed there were too many beggars now-a-days; nobody could give to them all.

"Pray, Mr. R——," I said to him, "don't refuse before you are asked. I did not come to you. I know to whom to apply."

The senior, with a quiet smile at what he had overheard, gave me two doubloons,* and I was leaving the house, when the junior called to me.

"Come now," said he, "I'm not such a bad fellow after all. Here is something for myself," and he gave me good humouredly one doubloon.* Ten years afterwards the same gentleman went with me to others in the town, to get funds for our Calabar mission; and was less easily put off with a refusal than I would have been.

In pursuance partly of the same object, I visited the capital and Kingston, combining it with another to which Mr. Cowan and I had been appointed by the Presbytery. A Dissenters' Marriage Bill was before the House; and it was deemed advisable we should see the originator of it, and other members of Assembly, to represent the views of our mission on some important points, and propose certain improvements. This journey led me through some new scenes in St. Ann's parish, which deserve a brief description.

I had crossed *Roaring River* before, but never stayed to explore its beauties till then. There a hundred streamlets come pouring in tiny cascades through a wood, over roots and rocks, a labyrinth of rushing rivulets; which unite as they approach the bridge, and dash in full volume over the ledge of rocks, immediately above where the arch is thrown. Thence the foaming torrent dashes along through a deep rocky channel, amid overhanging woods, in a succession of falls to the sea, not half a mile distant.

Further on, between St. Ann's Bay and Ocho Rios, a new line of road had been made near the sea through pure white marl hills like chalk cliffs, and over several lovely and romantic streams

* A doubloon is £3, 6s. 8d. sterling.

While my horse was feeding, I ascended one of these, which came pouring, not through deep and dark rocky ravines, but between verdant banks clothed with shrubbery; and in the course of a half hour's walk up gentle hills of luxuriant pasturage, came on a succession of beautiful and not inconsiderable cascades, any one of which would have adorned a nobleman's demesne; while the spaces between were just a series of rapids, where the waters leaped, and foamed, and sparkled under the meridian blaze in the most delightful and refreshing manner. What an affluence, what a waste, of natural beauties the whole enchanting scene presented. Who was it that said so truly, "The world has not been half cursed after all?"

While refreshing myself under a shady tree, and enjoying the delicious sea breeze, cool from the glorious blue ocean under my eye, I said to a negro boy that came by, "Well, my boy, did you ever hear of heaven?" "Yes, massa." "And what sort of a place do you think it is?" "Massa, it must be a very cool place." "Yes, my boy, you are right. The Bible says, 'The sun shall not light on them, nor any heat; but the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne shall lead them to living fountains of water.'" I never could sing the hymn which says,

> "No midnight shade, no clouded sun,
> But sacred high eternal noon."

It is fit only for an Icelander. The thought makes an inhabitant of the ecliptic shudder."

At Ocho Rios I turned towards the interior, up a road which I was told would lead to *Goshen*, where our brother, Mr. Jameson, lately arrived, had settled. It was called the "gully road," and was a strange and ancient looking way, but whether a work of art or a natural formation could not be known. Its name partly describes its character. It led inwards between ranges of forest-clad hills, and was walled on both sides by continuous lines of moss-grown rock, mantled with creepers, like old ivy-clad masonwork. No stream flowed there, nor was the way encumbered with loose rocks, and masses of debris, and heaps of sand, like an old water-course. The surface seemed of smooth solid rock. It was a piece of antiquity; as if it had been made or discovered by the Spaniards, and then forgotten. Neither man nor beast appeared for miles, nor watchman's hut, nor provision ground, nor any sign

of human labour on stone or tree. Fine timbers grew untouched, or lay rotting where they fell. All was old and grey, silent and solitary. After plodding mile after mile through that gloomy and lonely avenue, without seeing a living thing or means of outlet, I began to be anxious for some escape from the defile before night. At length the way brightened, the hills opened, the summit was reached, human habitations were discovered, and by various, though unusual, paths, I gained my destination. I had been misguided in taking that way. The right one, called the "barquadier road," led from Frankfort wharf, where I had spent the night with the watchman, two years before, up the sides of the mountains, and through the magnificent scenery of the White River, with which I had the pleasure, at a later period, of making a delighted acquaintance.

At Spanish Town we had satisfactory interviews with the author and supporters of the Dissenters' Marriage Bill. The necessity of giving it a retrospective effect, so far as past marriages could be certified and registered, was admitted, and also the necessity for guarding against irregular and clandestine marriages by ephemeral and self-constituted ministers.

Of these self-constituted ministers there were in Kingston alone six or seven, chiefly of that body called Native Baptists, founded by George Leile. Some of them had been leaders in other congregations, but set up for themselves, and induced their classes to adhere to them. The following is a sample of the men and their doings. The Rev. Mr. W——, of the London Missionary Society, Kingston, told us, that a party of them had come and offered to join his congregation, if he would allow a man whom they had chosen for their minister to be his colleague. The man of their choice was not yet one of themselves, having never been baptized, according to their ideas, but he was willing to be immersed for the sake of office, and had gifts and graces enough otherwise to please them. He could read a little, and talk much, and pray loud and long, and was just the man for them. Refused by Mr. W——, they were not baffled. Like Micah of Mount Ephraim, they took and consecrated him, and he became their priest; for they led him to the sea, and baptized or submerged him there, that he might be qualified to do the same for others.

A few extracts from my journal will bring other matters, that occurred from time to time during the period of this chapter, into view, and present our work in its varied aspects.

Early in 1838 Mr. F——, a well-known Christian gentleman, from another part of the country, came to Cinnamon Hill, to take charge on behalf of a new proprietor resident in England. My lease of Cornwall House was expired, but Mr. F—— allowed me to continue in use of it, and also acceded to my desire of having weekly meetings among the estate people as aforetime, and allowed the old school-house—a most suitable place, not too near the great house—for the purpose. Thus, after two years and a half of exclusion, I was restored. It did not much matter, as to the teaching of the people, for I could visit them in their own houses, though not so conveniently. But, for my own public vindication, I wished a reversal of the former prohibition, and obtained it.

We did not enjoy the advantage long. A young gentleman, related to the late proprietor, resided there, and took upon him to interfere with us. The chief justice of the island, Sir Joshua Rowe, on his circuit, came, as formerly, to spend a day at that estate, on his way to Montego Bay. It chanced to be the day for our meeting. The people were assembled. I had finished the children's lesson, and was beginning with their parents, when a house servant brought me this message, "Young massa don't wish no meeting to keep, for he have His Honour the Chief with him."

I replied, that if His Honour or any one were sick, we would abstain from singing, and otherwise keep everything quiet.

Another message informed me that "His Honour the Chief is not sick; but young massa no wish meeting here this night."

I sent word that, had I known sooner that our meeting would be disagreeable to them, I should have held it in the negro houses; but it was now too late to change, and I hoped to be allowed to go on with it in peace.

We were proceeding with the duties of the evening, when a third time the servant returned, with positive orders from "young massa" to go elsewhere with the people at once.

I answered that I dared not break up a meeting engaged in the worship of God at any *man's bidding.*

We were not troubled again; for Sir Joshua, I learned, had requested the rash youth to let me alone. But we went no more to that place. One of our elders gave up to us a good house he had built for himself, saying that he had no children, and his old kitchen could do for him and his wife still.

One Sabbath evening, in a meeting of session, B—— of *Success* estate was charged with having gone to a reputed Obea man to help him out of a scrape. M——, the Obea man, was one I had often exhorted, without knowing his character, but always in vain. He pretended sometimes to be stupid, unable to understand what was said to him; and at other times excused himself from coming to church by his watchman's duties in the provision grounds. Of late a great change had appeared in him, and his testimony on this occasion surprised me, by the intelligence and change of views it evidenced. He said that B—— had come to his hut with the usual fees, money and rum, begging his help, for he was in trouble, and no man could get him out of it like M——. Instead of complying, he reproved B——, saying that he had given up all these bad ways, and begun to hear the gospel; and why should B——, who had long time heard the good word, want to go back to them again. He advised B—— to follow the light as he was trying to do, and to confess his sin if he had done anything bad, and repent, and pray God to help him, for he only could. Old M—— spoke with a clearness and animation quite refreshing, and his evidence confounded poor B——, who, self-condemned, had nothing to say.

"*May* 11, 1838.—G—— T—— came to-day to explain his wife's case, which, he assured me, had been misreported. She has been long in bad health, and nothing the white doctor could do was of any use. A Christian sister, however, who was staying with them lately, had made his wife a drink of herbs, which, in the middle of the night, caused her to sneeze violently, and cast out of her nostrils two pieces of bottle glass. These he showed me, and he believed they had caused her sickness. How they got into her head he could not tell; but sure he was they came out of it in the way he described, and now he expected she would get better."

This strange story, which he told with the utmost gravity, and

expected me to believe, was in every particular destitute of tr
The fact was, that he and his wife had gone to a Myal woman,
great repute on Iron Shore estate, for a cure. That woman's mode
of practice being *secundum artem nigram*, or of a genuine African
kind, was one we discouraged, as both unlawful and deceptive.
Her system was to extract from the diseased body the vitiating
substances, which some unknown enemy had, by magic arts, im-
bedded there. By sucking, or sneezing, or retching, she caus
the pins, glass, or nails to be extracted from the sufferer's flesh.
This came out at our next examination.

"*May* 20.—G—— T—— and his wife appeared before
session. She admitted having gone to the Myal woman, by
husband's desire, for the cure of her sickness, and showed a p
of bottle glass that had been sucked out of her shoulder, and s
that since then she had felt better. In vain were all attempts of
the session to convince them of their error. The example of
Ahaziah, who died in the sickness for which he had sought a cure
from a strange god, was no warning to them. She knew when she
was sick and when she was well, and that was enough for her.
They were both suspended from membership, till they should show
more both of faith and sense."

It may be well to state here what more we knew at that time of the *Myal* system, which came a few years afterwards to be so fully revealed. It must not be confounded with *Obea*, to which indeed it was wholly opposed. It affected to cure the sicknesses, and remove other evils, which the Obea produced. The Myal practitioners counted themselves angels of light, and called those of the opposite craft angels of darkness.

It was part of the art and power of a Myal man also to *catch the shadow* of a deceased person, and retain it for purposes of necromancy. It must be caught at the grave, at or soon after interment; therefore in the dusk of the evening, when burials usually took place, or by moonlight, a fitting time for such mysterious proceedings. In the midst of the people encircling the grave, the Myal man saw, what was unseen by others, the shadow or spirit of the departed hovering over its last tenement; and he tried by many violent gestures, leaping and grasping, to seize it, or by strange voices to *charm it, as it flitted* about and evaded him.

When he succeeded, he secured it in a tiny coffin ready for the purpose, to be buried in the same grave, or deposited in the house, and under the bed, of the practitioner for future use. Sometimes it could not be easily caught, and escaped to the pastures or bush, whither the by-standers followed the Myal man in pursuit, over hedges and ditches, stone dykes and all difficulties, following may be a fire-fly, or night bird, anythin- nothing, till the leader had gained his object and secured th st.

This kind of work was long l secret. It had begun to be disused, checked by severe le ve repression and increasing Christian light. The Guinea n never spoke to "Buckra" of their "country fashions;" ar till we had Christian young men growing up around us coula in information be obtained on those subjects. Even they spoke about them with such reserve and dread as the idea of "a familiar spirit," a "medium" of communication with the invisible world, was fitted to create.

The delusion went the length of supposing that the shadow could be lost even before death; that some one could steal away another's soul. I knew a girl about sixteen years of age, who was greatly afflicted with the idea that she had lost her shadow. Some one had stolen it, she said; and she went seeking it by the bushy banks of streams, or round the gigantic cotton tree, or in other haunted spots, by moonlight, among all the shadows of such places at such a time. She was not lunatic, I was assured by her friends, who brought her to me for a cure; and though they did not believe in such things, they affirmed that many others did. My prayers and good words were unable to relieve her mind and dry her tears; my faith perhaps being too weak to cast out devils.

These strange superstitions came from Africa. We found them afterwards at Calabar. Some persons were believed to be able to call up departed souls, and question them on important business. Others believed not only that the soul or shadow could live apart from the body, but that the body could live apart from it, as is the case with the inferior animals, destitute of a soul like man. The chief of Old Town had a sacred grove, near a spring of water, where his soul was kept safely; and he complained that the *labourers* belonging to the mission house there, who were cle

the ground all about, went too near the sacred spot, and tr
his soul. "You always tell us," said he to the mission
every man must mind his soul. Why do your men go t
soul at that place?" The Calabar word for soul is that used
shadow. In his last sickness he believed that some one had pos
sessed himself of his soul, and bottled it up to prevent its r
ing to him. He even complained to the kings of Duke
and Creek Town that some one had stolen his soul; and
rulers had proclamation made that the audacious thief, w
he might be, should let the shadow escape, or whenev
tected, die the most terrible death. Nothing availed, howev
cure his delusion or restore his lost spirit. The chief of a
town having been long ill, got persuaded that certain perso
stolen his soul or shadow, and buried it, and so held him
in sickness. He charged them with it, and desired they shou
clear themselves by the poison ordeal. The accused did not say
that the charge was absurd, or unheard of, but simply that they were not guilty of the crime imputed to them, and wisely refused the dangerous trial.

The following cases are bad: but missionaries have been accused of reporting only what is good of their work, and do well to state the worst. The home churches are so eager for good news from the mission fields, they will hardly hear any other. Unless they see signs and wonders, they will not believe. Missionaries may send home complete and impartial accounts of all their operations, but only the best will be published or read. In this my final report I wish to give examples of it in all respects.

One Sabbath evening a young woman, Sophia, came from Palmyra to join our church. She had belonged to another, and the leader of it came to prevent her being received. I knew the man, having taught him to read, and now he presumed somewhat on my civility. He said that I should not take her, for she had misbehaved in his class, and only wanted to escape discipline by coming to mine. When the girl was asked what she had to say for herself, the leader interposed, saying that she should not be heard; because, said he, "in our church nobody is allowed to speak after the leader." "*In ours,*" I replied, "we hear both

sides for the truth's sake." The girl spoke to the man's confusion. She had behaved badly, she confessed with shame and tears; but he was the very man that had made her do so. He had followed her continually, and because he was her leader, said he had a right to what he wanted; so that she could not get forward to baptism, for he always kept her back by one excuse and another; till she had to give in to i[illegible] at last, that he might bring her to the minister fo[illegible] she repented of her sin, and now wanted to leave the c[illegible]s [illegible] they did such things. If I did not think good to receive [illegible] added, she would wait as long as I pleased, but would n[illegible] go back to that man's class again.

The leader was confounded for a [illegible]hile; then boldly declared it was all a lie, and said, that was the reason why in his church they never let anybody speak against the leaders, for they would tell too many lies on them. By his account, Sophia's story was a piece of pure malice, because he had rebuked her sins.

My elders proposed to call in some others from the same estate, who were waiting outside, and hear what they had to say about it. One of these latter, a shrewd old man, belonging also to the same class, asked the young woman at what time all that had happened. She told him. He asked her again if she had told anybody at the time. She replied that she had told her mother, and her aunt, and uncle Henry. Every one said that that was the point; and to determine it I sent off three trusty elders, with all the parties, to investigate the matter further on the estate. In due time they returned to inform me, that everything the girl said was proved to be true; and that more of the man's wicked ways had been discovered than she mentioned. "How," I asked, "how could that man have the face to come and accuse the woman, knowing that he himself was guilty?" "Because he thinks," they replied, "that she will fear to speak against him, and that you won't hear her. So they all do." I took care the man's iniquity should be reported to his own minister, and that he should be deprived of the office he so abused.

William S—— was one of the first on Cinnamon Hill who *joined the* church. He got married, learned to read the Scrip-

tures, and prayed with fervour, good sense, and piety. He was one of the most promising of the inquirers, and his admission to membership seemed certain among the first. Till the middle of 1831 his character was good. Then to my surprise an unfavourable rumour reached me. He had sinned a great sin, but resolutely denied it, till in time the proof appeared beyond contradiction. When dealt with by the church, he did not repent, but went on in his sins, and caused others to fall. We grieved over him as over a lost son. It was our first great disappointment and sorrow.

On my return to the island in 1835, he entreated to be received again. He had gone, he said, from bad to worse, and done things he was ashamed to think of, and could not mention. He was destroying himself, and begged, in the most earnest and affecting terms, to be restored to his lost place in the church, as the only chance of his recovery from the paths of the devil. He was humble and penitent to all appearance, and was received again on a trial of eighteen months.

Ere his probation expired he fell again under suspicion, and when privately spoken to, seemed indignant at the imputation. He was tired of being always blamed, he said, and would not submit to it any longer. If I liked to believe everything bad of him, I might do so. He would answer no more. Recent quarrels with his wife being alluded to, he sprang to his feet, and threatened to make her suffer. I had to lock the door on him till he cooled, and promised not to trouble her. She had not exposed him. On the contrary, she took his part, and flamed up against those who, she said, had disgraced his name. They both concluded to leave the church, and go where they could live in peace.

In a few weeks his guilt was proved beyond dispute; but he had joined another church, and was there soon baptized and received to its communion. Five years elapsed; and in 1841 he again returned to us, desiring to be re-established in his first church connection. We would not receive him as a communicant, however, but appointed him the eighteen months of trial which he originally lost. Alas, he did not stand it, and was a third time and finally cut off from our congregation. He seemed to have lost even shame, and no longer *to feel compunction* for his sins. Yet

he would sometimes show face in church, as if nothing had happened, till he finally disappeared from our view, by leaving the estate and parish.

One case more may be mentioned. Edward J—— was a troublesome inquirer on Cornwall. who quarrelled with everybody, and beat his wife. ed to cut him off, because of his continual bad c ar of being involved in his sins. We therefo the pew he had so seldom occupied, and the abused, by coming late or drunk, and putting the disturbance of the congregation. He repli him cruelly; and now all his sins would lie destruction be on our head. We told him, how e other church, as he had often threatened to do. It would rejoice us to see him become a better man anywhere.

The rest of his career must be told. After he became fully free he went to a distant parish, we knew not where. His friends gave out that he was dead, and put on mourning. A few years subsequently he was discovered married to a second wife, and his first being still alive, was prosecuted for bigamy, and sent to the house of correction for eighteen months.

The following observations closed my report for 1838 to our missionary secretary, and may fitly close this chapter:—

"Such have been our labours in the use of right means; but where, it may be asked, is the fruit of them? To those accustomed to the rich produce of the gardens of the Lord in Britain, which have been so highly cultivated, ours may seem of small value. They who have not felt the toils of the first settlers in the wilderness; the anxiety with which fruit, however little, was looked for; the joy with which it was gathered, cannot rightly estimate our position. The forest is but recently and still but partially felled, the ground imperfectly cleared, wild seeds fill the soil, pernicious weeds spring everywhere luxuriantly, requiring unremitting efforts to obtain good returns of even the commonest kind.

"There is, however, something to show for past labours, in a thousand persons brought under regular instruction, and submissive to it; in four hundred persons living in holy and honourable

marriage, and a hundred more in single purity, who once lived in all abominations; in a hundred and forty disciples at the Lord's table, and above a hundred more desiring the privilege, of whom there is reason to believe that they fear the Lord, and are living soberly, righteously, and godly. The numerous classes of young people receiving Christian instruction regularly, promise abundant good fruit. Two hundred and seventy members in the temperance society, and £218 sterling of free contributions during the year, are also good fruits of their own kind. With such first-fruits we may hope for an abundant harvest in due time."

ROARING RIVER.

CHAPTER VIII.

Apprenticeship and freedom ... ng—The great day—Disorders checked —Disputes about wa ... villages—Mount Horeb settled—Wild country—Swimming ... Mr. Kay—Aggression resisted—Lamb's River—Wedding par ... An old hunter—Mount Zion Church—Contributions—Temp ... of troubles and joys—A black speech and white reply—Tol ... unter—Various prayer meetings—Rose Hill village—A house God's n ... The slave-ship, its capture, and cargo—Death of young B——

THE Act of Parliament for the emancipation of the slaves had fixed two periods for terminating the apprenticeship. The predials, or field-labourers, who enjoyed the benefit of the half Friday and Saturday every week, were to serve till August 1840. The non-predials, or domestics, who could not be so much away from their household duties, were compensated by an abridgment of their time of service, and were to be released in August 1838. This distinction did not work well, and was likely to produce still worse effects, when the one class should be freed from servitude and the other continue bound. The conviction was growing, that it would be for the interests of all parties, to terminate that anomalous intermediate state, at the earlier period. The abuses of the apprenticeship, which seemed to be employed in some parts of the country, less to prepare the people for their freedom than to take vengeance on them for it, had led to a powerful agitation in England for bringing it to an immediate end. But the period could not be abridged without an Act of the Colonial Legislature; and there were differences of opinion on the subject in the country. In the belief that the House of Assembly would rather yield to petitions from within than to pressure from without, I transmitted one from the session of our congregation, in favour of the early termination, which was read and allowed to lie on the table.

The island legislature agreed to the proposed abridgment, an *the great* day of full freedom drew near. It behoved the teach

to prepare the people for it, by cautioning them against unreasonable expectations, warning them of difficulties to be met and overcome, and giving them faithful information of their exact position in society, and their new duties as freemen. Our congregation was called together one week-day, to be instructed on these points. The impartial stipendiary magistrate of our district took part with me in addressing the people, and there were many of the neighbouring overseers among our hearers. We advised them about their work and wages, and the arrangements they should make for their houses and grounds. We admonished them also against making extravagant demands, which, throwing the estates out of cultivation, would throw themselves out of work, and produce more suffering than they could anticipate. Some of them were in danger, also, of getting into habits of idleness, and of rambling about, taking jobs here and there; others of wasting their earnings on pride and show—horses and guns, for which they had no use, and against all which they were faithfully warned. A few thanked us for our good advices; a few others grumbled that we spoke all for the masters. The overseers approved of all we had said, though they thought we were making the people too wise on some points.

Hearing that there was dissatisfaction among the people about our advices to them on the Friday, I alluded to the subject again on the following Sabbath. "Some people," I said, "have most erroneous views of the nature of their freedom, as if they were no longer to be under any restraint, and indulge hopes that can never be realized. Because I endeavour to give them true views of their new condition, and guard them against hurtful pride and folly, they say I am not their friend. But I am their real friend, too true to deceive them. They found it before in the war time, and they found it when the apprenticeship began, and they will find it again, before they are many months older. I cannot befool you, my friends, with flattery, nor hold out the prospect of advantages that cannot be righteously gained. Your freedom will furnish you with the best opportunities for benefiting yourselves and your children. But the best blessings of freedom must be worked out for yourselves, by patient industry and good Christian conduct."

Some of them came to me afterwards, saying, "Minister, don't let the crooked speeches of a few ignorant people vex you. It no be we all talk so; only some foolish women and boys. We know your advice is good, and will follow it."

During the last week or two the people suffered from longing; and their restlessness delayed the operations of crop; which it was very desirable to have finished off before the day of emancipation. Their impatience made them sick, and they filled the hospitals without knowing what ailed them. Medicine did not reach their case. Overseers and magistrates said they were shamming, but could not use harsh measures. For once I interfered in such matters, and not only spoke pointedly on the subject in church, urging every one to do his duty, and finish off honourably, but went to the hospitals, and quickly healed, by kind or sharp words, some for whom doctors could do nothing; and then to the cane-fields, to urge the workers to make redoubled efforts, and close their long bondage like Christians. Some of the planters candidly acknowledged the value of these services. The overseer of Cinnamon Hill owned that but for them he could not have finished his crop in time.

The eve of their freedom was spent by the people everywhere in their places of worship, to praise the Lord for the peaceable termination of their weary slavery; and that night the estate hospitals were emptied of their patients, whose ailments were all miraculously cured. The song of jubilee from every village awoke the next morning's sun, and soon processions with appropriate banners were seen in all directions, wending their way, with the voice of sacred melody, to the central point of attraction, the church. Over the church streamed a great ensign, with the figure of a cross, and the motto, "By this we conquer." Over the school another, with an open Bible, and the words, "Christian education." As the different companies arrived with their flags, they formed a great circle, hailing their colours with joyous acclamations. One bore, "This is the Lord's doing." Another, "No bond but the law." Another, "Wages are better than whips." Another, "We will work for our wives and our children." Others had similar mottoes. Assembled in the church, they were taught that only

where the Spirit of the Lord is could there be true liberty; and there, all standing, renewed their vows to the God of their salvation, and promised not to abuse his great boon by any misconduct, but for his great name's sake to be better as free people than ever they had been as slaves. I knew of no blot among our people to disfigure that glorious and happy day.

Some ill-disposed, disorderly people, however, had begun even a week too soon, to pervert their freedom to unworthy purposes. I had been from home for a few days, and on my return late was astonished to hear the noise of rioting and revelling in the Cornwall negro houses, which neither Mrs. Waddell, nor the elders of the church, nor the constable of the estate, had been able to prevent. L——, a wild fellow, had erected a booth, proclaimed a ball, and gathered a company of loose and disorderly people from all quarters, whose singing, and drumming, and dancing, disturbed the neighbourhood. I hastened to the spot, but found all suddenly enveloped in darkness and silence. A fire-stick waved discovered some persons hiding, but none that I knew, except L—— himself. He waited not to hear me, but furiously threatened, that if I should come that way again to spoil *his* meeting, I should not leave the negro town in a whole skin. I had no right, he said, to come into his yard; for he might do what he liked in his own place, and have what company he pleased. Because he had a black face and I a white one, made me do so. But when the first of August arrived, he would see who would meddle with him or his dance. He would be as good as me then, and would split my skull if I came into his yard that way again.

The man was so furious he would listen to nothing I said, and the people having all skulked off, I returned to my house. Immediately the place was lighted up again, and the ball resumed; and the revelry continued till morning. Nor did it cease next day, till I reported it to the visiting magistrate as a nuisance, and he sent constables to pull down the booth. L——, in his rage, threatened the life of one of the constables so employed, for which he was soon after arrested, and sent to prison. Thereupon quiet good people rejoiced to find, that worthless fellows like him would not have liberty to do as they liked, and disturb all their neighbours.

The bondmen were now free, and it remained to be seen how they would use their freedom. Would they confirm or disprove the malign predictions that had been so abundantly uttered concerning them. They were so lazy, said some, that coercion was needful to make them work. Their wants were so few, said others, and so easily supplied, that they had no sufficient inducement to steady industry. They needed the training of advanced society, and the stimulus of artificial wants, to rouse their energies and teach them to value money, and exert themselves to obtain it. It was feared, therefore, that they would abandon the sugar estates, and squat in the mountains, living in African indolence and barbarism, on the produce of their own settlements. Some, who should have known better, joined in prognosticating these evils.

Those who knew the negroes best discredited these strange anticipations, and facts ere long disproved them. The emancipated peasantry went to the opposite extreme, and were then as unreasonably condemned for having in excess the very qualities previously deemed indispensable, and in them so deficient. Eager for money, they would do double work daily if sure of getting double wages; and came to have so many new wants that no possible wages, it was said, could satisfy them. Their provision grounds, so far from engrossing their attention, were partly neglected for the sake of foreign food, till the scarcity of native breadstuffs enhanced their value. It was ship bread, and flour, and rice, and corn-meal they wanted, with salt fish and salt pork, luxuries before, but now in daily demand; with a corresponding improvement in dress, above their condition, the planters said, and which the pay of sugar cultivation could never afford.

But we have anticipated the course of events, and must go back a few steps. No sooner were the people free than disputes arose between them and their former masters, about the wages of their labour. The former required too much, the latter offered too little, each party trying to make a hard bargain. That the negroes should haggle was to be expected, and all the more if they saw an attempt to overreach them. But it was mean and unworthy of the employers, who should have offered at once what they knew they could give. There had formerly been a sort of standard of "four *bitts*," or 1s. 6d. a-day for able hands, in jobbing gangs, when hired

out by their owners. The people thought they should get the same when working for themselves, and scorned the offer of two bitts, that was generally made them by their owners and overseers. The Scottish missionaries recommended their congregations to ask and take a shilling a-day, with their houses and grounds free, and the estate hospital supplied and attended as formerly. They had ascertained that the estates could afford that rate of wage, and thought that altogether it would be the best arrangement for the people. The latter agreed to it, but the planters refused to give it; and not only threatened to turn them off the estates, but generally served them with notices to quit, which, if enforced, would have ruined the properties. They could not, of course, mean to drive away the people, but wished to show their power, and to be able to do so as occasion might require. Whatever they meant by so harsh a proceeding, it had a pernicious effect, as they afterwards found, for it put the people on looking out for places of their own. Owing to these disputes the labourers were idle for two or three weeks, even where disposed to be reasonable and industrious. A few extracts from my journal will show the state of things then.

"*Aug.* 7.—At the close of service in Cinnamon Hill village I asked if they were all in peace. No, the elders said, there was confusion about work and wages. The estate would give only 'two bitts' and the people asked a 'macaroni' or shilling, which the overseer said he would not give, though the estate should go to ruin. The old Baptist leader had been instructed to send his people to work, but not to take the 'two bitts.' They had done so, while my people refused to turn out without an agreement. Both parties appealed to me. I told them, that whoever liked to work for the pay the estate offered must be at liberty to do so, unmolested by any one, as every one knew his own circumstances and ability. Whoever wanted more must make terms beforehand; for they could not claim more after the work than might have been promised before it. Otherwise when the labour ended the quarrelling would begin; and they had better sit still than rise up and fall.

"As I spake so it happened; a clamour filled our ears, coming from the Great House yard, for those who had worked all day received the wages offered. In conclusion, I advised my people to

go again to their young master, and offer their services on the terms we had agreed to, a 'macaroni' or shilling a day, lest they be accused of idleness. They might also offer to do job-work, cleaning the canes or pastures by the acre or piece, every family taking its own, and making the best of it. If refused they must go elsewhere, and look for their work where they could find it."

"*Aug.* 8.—To-day I rejoiced to see from the top of the hill overlooking Barret Hall, the boiling-house smoke curling high into the clear, calm air. The people were all employed on fair terms finishing the crop. They had resumed work on the 6th, but, seduced by strangers, struck yesterday for higher wages. To-day, expecting my visit, and ashamed to be found idle, when the terms we had agreed to were offered by the estate, they had turned to again, and as the overseer testified, were going on well. There I had the pleasure of eating the sweetest sugar I ever eat, *new free made* sugar."

"*Aug.* 9.—Preached at *Palmyra* to-day to a great crowd in and around the old Great House. To the surprise of all, the overseer was there too; but whither to watch or pray he knew best. The people were off work, dissatisfied with the terms offered, but quiet and willing to stay on the property and cultivate it for what was fair and reasonable. The overseer had advanced from his first offer of 7½d. a day for able people; but would not rise above 9d., and so everything was at a stand. The people thanked me for the visit, and requested another soon."

"*Aug.* 12, *Lord's day.*—Gal. v. 13–15; 'Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty,' &c. The congregation was exhorted to arise like men, refreshed with blessings, and perform their duty honourably as free men and Christians. They should no longer regard themselves as poor despised negroes, incapable of doing anything great and good—no longer say, 'black people cannot do things like white people.' Called by God to freedom and Christianity, they should co-operate with and join their deliverers in all works of love, for the honour of their Lord, and the good of their fellows."

"*Aug.* 21.—To-day at Cinnamon Hill, I was glad to find the people working at a fair rate of payment, the same which they would have taken from the first day, and which has been stubbornly refused them. How unwisely have the overseer and young

master acted, losing time, and labour, and the good will of their people."

"*Aug.* 23.—Held meetings at the Spring and Running Gut yesterday and to-day, and found the people everywhere employed at fair terms."

"*Aug.* 26.—*Lavinia* came to complain of *Sweetland* of Spot Valley, who had employed her and others to assist him in cleaning a pasture, and then withheld part of their payment. He said that the overseer condemned the work as ill done, and had kept back part of the price from him. I gave them letters to the overseer, and to another overseer, who was requested to act as an umpire, to survey the work and adjudge the price. This gained Sweetland all that had been agreed on from the estate; but still *Lavinia* complained that he kept more to himself than he gave to them who did the work, and they resolved never to work for him again."

These few extracts show how things were going on about us then. Thenceforward work was everywhere resumed, but these weeks of dispute had a permanently bad effect. The notices to quit shook the attachment of the negroes to their old places; and when they saw the ejectment process summarily executed on one here and another there, the people and their household stuff thrown on the road, they saw the necessity of providing themselves with more secure homes.

It must be admitted that some of the labourers, in various quarters, behaved unreasonably and provokingly, by working off the estates where they lived, and wishing withal to sit rent free. Some of the estates behaved as ill on their side, by charging double and treble house rent, deducting something on account of it from the hire not only of the man, but of his wife and children. Considering the amount of labour at their own time, and sometimes of money, that the people had laid out on the erection of their houses, though the ground and material belonged to the estate, it should have been admitted that they had some right in them, even after they became free, and little more than ground rent should have been charged. The interest of the estates was to keep the people, assured that soon and generally they would for the same payment work at home, rather than abroad. But I

fear that personal feelings and old grudges sometimes entered too largely into these disputes, and produced permanently bad effects.

In several parts of the country *free villages* arose with every appearance of order and prosperity. They kept the best of the people together, near their churches, and near the estates, their places of employment, while independent of them for residence, and thus simplified the relation between employers and employed. *Cargen* and *Goodwill*, established by Mr. Blyth in connection with Hampden Church, were model townships of that class. It was ill for the Mount Zion congregation that no land fit for the purpose could be procured in our bounds; and for some years the acre or two round the church was all we had to offer as a refuge to our people. Some of the best of them, therefore, industrious, intelligent, well-behaved men, who had saved money, spoke of going to live in the high mountains, where the best provision grounds could be bought cheap, and they could enjoy their independence.

Averse to lose my people that way, and to their being lost to the cause of God in the country, by their dispersion through the interior, I proposed to purchase a run of mountain land, and divide it among them, that they might keep together, and form the nucleus of a new mission station. The plan was agreed to, and a portion of "Nairn" coffee pen, then in the market, was bought, and consecrated to God by the name of *Mount Horeb*.

This "mount of God" was eighteen miles south-west from Cornwall. The district was in part already occupied by free people of colour. Our brother, Mr. Patterson, when in Montego Bay, used to preach in the neighbourhood, and when going to his new station on the south side, had commended it to my care. It was a peculiarly wild region of mountain summits, towering bare cliffs, impenetrable forests, deep dells, and narrow defiles. Twice had blood and ashes marked the track of servile war all over it; in the recent insurrection, and forty years before in the Maroon war. The old settlers had thereby acquired the character of reckless, turbulent people. Yet they hailed our proposal of a mission station among them with joy, promised to attend church, and send their children to school, and united in a numerously signed petition to the Presbytery to take them under its care. Thenceforward a

noticeable reformation began to take place in their minds and manners.

The day the building of the house was commenced was a great day in those highlands; and the hundreds of people, mustered from the cliffs and the valleys, uniting in praise and prayer, their voices re-echoed from rocks and woods, presented a blessed contrast to the gatherings and sounds of former times, and the deeds of devastation enacted there.

Half of the land we bought was too rocky to be habitable, but was useful as furnishing the best hard wood building timbers. Some of the places we got into with the surveyor could not be explored, and can hardly be described; defying alike his chain and my pen; solid masses of bare rocks, a hundred or two hundred feet in breadth and depth, sheer precipices of great altitude, some of which could not be ascended, and others could be descended only by the help of tall trees which shot up in front, and spread their arms over the edge of the cliff. We came elsewhere on a valley of confusion, where old Chaos seemed still to reign. Beyond it rose a mountain in ruins, as if turned inside out by a recent earthquake, and left in its convulsions. Heaps on heaps of great jagged rocks were piled up from valley to summit in the most horrid ruin and disorder imaginable.

The church and school-house was opened September 1839, and Mr. Kay was appointed the catechist and teacher. He was a faithful and devoted man of God, whose labours, too soon cut short in 1841, were blessed for the good of the people, some of whom, I doubt not, will for ever thank God on his account.

On my way home, the day after the opening, having been too long detained paying off the work people, and settling other affairs, I was caught suddenly, while yet among the summits, by a tremendous pour of rain, and obliged to rush for shelter into Hampton mill house. A trickling streamlet I had crossed was soon an impassable torrent. For some hours it teemed so impetuously, and with such thunder and lightning, as can be seen only in a mountain region of the tropics. The streams of electricity seemed to hiss, as they shot past, audible amidst the tumult of the elements. I thought of Blair's critique on Virgil's

"*Densissimus imber*," and his sneer at the "heavy shower," as poor conclusion of a thunder storm. He had never seen t deluge he treated so contemptuously.

On descending to Flamstead Estate I found the river there, th I had often crossed, sweeping along in great volume, swollen a rapid. Attempting to enter I was deterred by some women, w sat there waiting for its subsiding, and who shouted to me not venture, or I should be drowned; so patient waiting was the on resource, as there was no bridge within many miles. Soon young black man rode forward on a strong horse, and, regardle of the women's warnings, plunged into the river, saying that had crossed rivers before now. Ere they reached the middle bo horse and man went down, completely over head, and were swe away. The women screamed for help, and happily the youth, he rose again, seized a branch which overhung the river, and su tained himself till the people came. The horse, freed from h burden, got out some half mile lower down the stream.

Another traveller rode up designing to cross, but wisely pause when he saw the river and heard what had happened. It had b gun to fall, however; and after waiting an hour he invited me go with him to another and broader ford, which he thought o horses could now swim. It was my first attempt in that wa and I let him lead, of course, to see how he got on. By God mercy we both crossed safely, and without difficulty, though th first plunge, to one unused to it, was not a little startling, and had not expected to sink to the waist, and that of the horse th head alone would be above water. Two other rivers were still t be crossed, but less dangerous; though one of them, a few da before, had carried away a horse and gig and destroyed them, th driver narrowly escaping. By the goodness of God I reache home safely, and suffered nothing from the soaking.

The work at Mount Horeb was one of faith. The missiona society, unable to risk the expense, did not encourage it, nor f the same reason did the presbytery. It involved me in gre additional labour, and an amount of personal responsibility th worldly prudence would have forbidden. But, assured of being i the path of duty, I went forward trusting in God, and did n trust in vain. When the school-house was paid for, a dwellin

house was begun, which, with ten acres of land, were set apart free for the mission. The price of the land sold to settlers, and of the building materials taken off the rest, nearly paid the first cost. The contributions of the church and school went to meet the teacher's salary; and the outlay on the buildings themselves was defrayed from various sources, both home and colonial. Year after year funds were obtained beyond my expectations, and sometimes came in unexpectedly from unknown quarters. To God be the glory.

One very unpleasant circumstance connected with Horeb cannot be passed over in utter silence. It brought me into painful collision with another missionary. When I founded that station, thirteen miles from Montego Bay, and ten miles from the nearest church in any direction, I hoped, as the population was small and sparse, to escape rivalry and opposition. How much was I distressed, then, ere a year elapsed, to learn that the Baptist minister of that town was preparing to establish another station within half a mile of ours; where was no longer need or room for it. He had already four or five large churches under his care,* ten or fifteen miles apart from each other, containing four thousand four hundred communicants, and two thousand five hundred inquirers. These were more than sufficient for his time and strength, and received but a fortnightly or monthly visit; and it did seem, therefore, an injustice, not only to our work, but to his own, to interfere with us, after we had been involved in much expense, and the place was sufficiently occupied.

Mr. Kay, having written to the gentleman referred to without receiving any reply, requested me also to remonstrate against the proposed intrusion. My letter was equally disregarded. Having some years previously been similarly treated, on a similar occasion, I bethought me of Absalom's plan of bringing Joab to a conference, and published the case in the *Colonial Reformer* (appealing from him to all missionary brethren in the island, who had desired to prevent such collisions by the conferences of 1835 and 1836), and also in the *United Secession Magazine*, of Scotland, as an appeal to the churches at home, who could not wish their mission-

* Montego Bay, Mount Carey, Shortwood, Bethel Town, and Gurney's Mount, in the parishes of St. James, Hanover, and Westmoreland.

aries thus to intrude on each other, and waste their funds in merely sectarian operations.

Some our people had purchased land higher up the country, led by old connections, before *Horeb* was secured. Their place, *Lamb's River*, required a missionary, and the settlers around agreed to invite one. [illegible] ght miles from the nearest church, which had but a n [illegible] it from the nearest minister. When Horeb was [illegible] ; order, Lamb's River presented itself to be [illegible] llowing entries occur in my journal in connectio [illegible] fort.

"*Nov.* 1, 1839.— [illegible] n my way to *Lamb's River*, where I had promised to spen [illegible] bbath and marry a young couple; but an old couple at Horeb were waiting for my help in that way too. They had lived happily together for many years, but wished now to comply with the divine order. When the ceremony was over, the hearty old fellow gave his old partner such a shake of the hand, and loving congratulations, as made her laugh, and, perhaps, blush, could such an amiable weakness have been visible on her sable cheeks.

"A messenger from Lamb's River urged me to hasten, as the couple there were all ready. The path led over a "river head," where a small stream gushes forth from a hill, but only to take a peep at the light of day, and retire again into the next cave. A second time it reappears, increased in volume, and flows openly and honestly in the face of the sun to join Great River, and with it to the sea. Heavy rain hindered my journey, and made me thankful for a night's lodgings in the house of Mr. B——, a coloured settler with whom I had foregathered on the way. It was a pity to disappoint the "young people;" but living already in "country fashion," without leave or blessing, their dinner alone would suffer from the delay of another day.

"The Sabbath morning dawned calm and radiant, fresh and exhilarating, after the previous evening's rain, and the sound of psalm-singing rose sweetly and solemnly on the still air, from a prayer-meeting in the vicinity. Soon afterwards a horn was heard at a distance, the signal for morning *mass* at *Seaford Town*, where a colony of Germans, both Protestants and Romanists, have

settled. The former outnumber the latter, but accept the services of their priest, who obligingly reads the Lutheran liturgy, after concluding his own service. He manages, however, so to intermingle something of his own with it, that the mongrel worship will probably succeed in bringing both Lutheran and Reformed back to Popery.

"A good congregation assembled early in and around Mr. B——'s house, to hear the preaching of the gospel. Immediately afterwards, Mr. G——, the gentleman to be married, led the way to his own settlement, the farthest back of the new clearings; and it was pleasant, after passing through some wild woodland, under the gloomy canopy of dank and dense foliage, to come out suddenly on an opening, with a house and garden, signs of human life in the forest solitude.

"The bride, a comely and well-dressed young woman, was daughter of one of the Germans lately deceased. Her mother and brother were with her. Mr. G—— was a white man, and not at all of the lowest class. He had at one time taught with ability Hampden School. The contrast was great between them and their dwelling. Unfinished and unfurnished, it afforded mere shelter; but the loving pair were happy in each other, though destitute of all ordinary conveniences. As yet it was but half floored, the walls, though wattled, were still unplastered, and the spaces for windows had neither sashes nor jalousies, being closed at night with shutters. The sun was excluded, but wind and rain could beat through the wicker work all round.

"The furniture corresponded. At dinner I sat on a half-barrel; the happy pair opposite, on a long box, side by side. A plank reaching from stool to stool served several guests. What constituted the table was concealed by the cloth, but it rested against the partition which divided the "but and ben." We were all happy, and our host made his apologies, for the want of comforts, with an ease that showed how little he felt the loss.

"After early evening worship the guests departed, and I retired to rest. A mattress on the floor, screened off from the rest of the house by a curtain, served every necessary purpose for repose; and when my friend renewed his apologies, I could truly assure him they were unneeded, that it delighted me to be under

his roof on so happy an occasion, and to aid him in getting back to the path of Christian duty, and the position he ought to hold in society.

"Next morning we visited *Seaford Town*. The immigrant's houses were mostly shells, like the one I had been in. Their gardens and provision grounds were creditable to their industry; but an acre of land seemed an insufficient allowance to each family. They looked sickly and sn[illegible] The country fevers and their intemperate habits have [illegible] a few already in the grave. Having no market town [illegible] Montego Bay, twenty-four miles off, and no beasts of [illegible] to carry their produce and themselves, they must either [illegible] d buy at roadside stores, to great disadvantage, or walk to [illegible] etter market, and carry their own burdens, at the risk of their [illegible]s.

"The Protestants were glad to hear of our design of having a church there. The superintendent recommended an application to the trustees for a site, on a part of the township, which would serve for the whole district. That was prepared and left with him to be forwarded the same day. A petition to the Presbytery was also drawn up, and received the names of nearly a hundred adults, native and foreign settlers, to which many others of persons absent, would, they said, be afterwards attached.

"In opposition to this movement, the Romanists were led by some party to petition the House of Assembly, for a grant of money to erect a chapel; and they tried to cajole their companions, of the opposite faith, into the belief that it would do for them all. But I got scent of the scheme, and succeeded in defeating it, by correspondence with members of Assembly, and showing them the facts of the case.

"The following story illustrates the condition of the first settlers in that quarter. Many years previous to my visit, a free coloured man lived by hunting in the woods, and was noted for his prowess against the wild hogs, which abounded thereabouts. He might be away for days, but never returned empty-handed; for he was not one of the slothful men who 'roast' not what they take in hunting.* His smoked meat supplied his family, and

* Prov. xii. 27. The reference in this verse must be to the drying by fire of the flesh taken in hunting to make it keep, the plan commonly followed in warm countries. The *Hebrew word for* "roast" is the same as that for "singed" in Daniel iii. 27.

his frequent absence caused them no uneasiness. At length he went out, and returned no more. The forest was searched for him in vain. Years rolled on and settlers multiplied, allotments were made, roads laid out, and the woods cleared, and every man explored his own portion. At length, in a remote and deep valley, two skeletons were found side by side—those of a man and of a bear. They told their own sad tale. The hunter had brought his prey to bay, and lost his life in the mortal struggle."

Lamb's River Station was subsequently placed under the superintendence of the Rev. James Niven of Friendship, Westmoreland, being nearer to him than to me, and received its present name, *Mount Hermon.*

My visits to the new stations on Sabbath occasionally did not materially affect the congregation at Mount Zion. An able teacher, Mr. Scott, had charge of the school there after Mr. Kay went to Horeb, and conducted the Sunday services so efficiently, that the church was never again closed on the Lord's day. The advantages of our increased church and school accommodation were soon manifested in the increased attendance on both, and the good order the latter was brought into, previously unattainable. The children were classified, under the teacher and his assistants, in the school-house; the adults under Mrs. Waddell, myself, and others, in the church; and the congregation became like a great Sabbath school.

Regular forenoon and afternoon diets of public worship were, of course, maintained, with what is called a sermon in the one part, and lecture in the other part of the day, according to the good old Scotch plan; and these services, though simple, now required more careful preparation than formerly; for the congregation had become more mixed, and our people also generally more intelligent. But the work of Christian instruction could not be effectively carried on, among the sort of people who formed the bulk of most missionary congregations in the colony, by mere *preaching*, as commonly understood. They were not used to give the continuous, close attention, which the full and regular exhibition of the great topics of the Christian faith require. They had not the *previous mental* training neces-

sary. Babes require not only a different kind of food from men of full age, but a different preparation of it. I mean not to reflect on the mental capabilities of the African race, nor to countenance erroneous theories as to its position among other races of mankind; but refer merely to the state in which we found the people, deteriorated, probably, by ages of barbarism and slavery, and to the means best adapted to their mental and spiritual improvement.

When fairly s[illegible] church, the congregation resolved, so soon a[illegible] for, to become answerable for their minister's [illegible]e the home funds free to send out another missi[illegible]s needful to guard them from thinking that then [illegible] done all their duty, and that all beyond would be gra[illegible] matter of generosity—an idea that has crippled the energies of some old and able congregations in the mother country, and reduced them to comparative inaction and indifference. I wished to teach them that the support of their minister was only a debt of honesty—the payment of labour; and that the debt of love and piety did not begin till that were done. A *freedom's offering* was, therefore, proposed on behalf of the missionary society, August 1838, and £24 was the result, while the monthly collections and seat-rents that year came to nearly £200. Early in 1839, a congregational meeting was held, and addressed by various brethren, when the duty of all Christians, and very especially of Jamaica Christians, to send the gospel to the heathen, was well stated and enforced. A missionary society was then organized, to receive by regular collectors, from all members, monthly gifts according to their ability. That year the contributors amounted to two hundred and fifty, and the amount received to £66, while other receipts for the same year on account of the church debt reached £240. In 1841, the missionary contributions reached £135, including an extra contribution on account of the new mission to Africa, proposed that year. The monthly collections and seat-rents raised the sum to £358; and the children paid in school fees £55. At this last period t[illegible] communicants numbered two hundred and forty-five, and the c[illegible]didates ninety-three, while the inquirers were about four hund[illegible] These last, however, did little in the way of money-giving, tho[illegible]

some of them paid seat-rents in the church. They were not governed by Christian principle, and we could not urge them by any other motive. Thus the kingdom of God was growing among us—the blade, the ear, the full corn in the ear. Some grains took long to ripen. A female member, after contributing three years, suddenly ceased, and said to the collector, "So many years I give money to convart the world. It no convart yet?" Poor woman! she took more time than that to be converted herself, and was hardly well converted after all.

The cause of missions and of temperance was one. The latter provided the means to support the former. Both were united in our prayers and addresses at our monthly missionary prayer-meeting. On one occasion, having read an account of the injurious effects produced by the trade in rum in the South Sea Islands, I invited any one who liked to speak on the subject. Jacky C—— of all men, unexpectedly presented himself. He was a Guinea negro, and spoke in an extraordinary mixed and peculiar dialect, to the following effect:—

It was not long ago, he said, when he would drink a bottle of rum every day, ay, two if he could get them, and not think he did wrong. "Coolmassa"* one day passed his hut, and told him better he leave off rum. But he got angry, and bawled after "Coolmassa," and told him he would never leave off. Next day his heart came down, and he began to think of what "Coolmassa" told him; and he thought he would try, as everybody was trying, to put away the rum. And so he did, and he keep on try; and now, by God's power, he never taste it, and he find himself a great deal better without it. Now, when he join the temperance society, what need any man say he cannot give up. Now the free come and do plenty good for them, and they must try and do good too. Before time nigger man eat his victuals out of a pan with his fingers. No man have plate and knife and fork; only white people, and them that live in buckra house. Now even he, a watchman, can have his plate and knife and fork too.

The *soiree*, or "festival," as we called it, was introduced as a rational entertainment, to promote the great cause of temperance

* Teachers of all kinds were called schoolmasters.

and of social improvement. By substituting something of a refining nature, for the rude and demoralizing "balls and suppers," which had formerly attracted the people in the negro houses, it would help the process of transformation which was going on from slavery to freedom.

Our first *soiree* was prepared in the school-house by the teacher, Mr. Kay; but it was a new thing, and few were disposed to risk their shillings for what they knew not. The attendance fell short of our expectations, and the receipts of the expenditure. They who came did, however, so enjoy and applaud their entertainment, that many united with them in desiring another. Not the least earnest advocate was one who, as fiddler on Cinnamon Hill, had often helped the follies we wished to destroy. He declared that our school-house party was better than all their "balls and suppers;" and so good an authority attracted many. But if our first failed by drawing too few, the second nearly failed by drawing too many.

Aug. 1, 1839.—We celebrated the anniversary of freedom by a public service in the church, and designed the evening festivities to increase the enjoyments and improvement of the day. The preparations for the entertainment induced many of the congregation to remain, who had not bought tickets of admission; and when they smelt the great pots of fragrant coffee, and saw the trays of mugs, piles of bread and butter and cheese, and baskets of buns, covering long tables, they began to clamour for tickets, and would not be denied. To a limited extent, depending on my own stores, I willingly yielded to the demand; and the additional coffee and sugar, biscuits and butter, were procured. That only increased the evil, by increasing the demand for tickets; and I protested against issuing more, lest our preparations should be insufficient; but our elders replied that we had "enough for thousands and millions;" and the people said that they did not care if they tasted nothing; they wanted only to be in to see and hear.

At last I had to lock up my desk and positively refuse to give one more. I might as well, however, have given them all at once, and taken their money; for there was no keeping them out. When I got to the school-house it was crammed. Every one

said we must go to the church, and the necessity could not be denied; thither, therefore, all rushed, carrying in with them all the idlers, and others about the doors, who had no tickets. It was a blunder, but the thing could not be helped, and it never occurred again. It taught us a great lesson, and ensured future regularity.

After prayer, praise, and a short address, the coffee, with bread, and butter, and cheese, was served, and quickly disappeared. The company had eaten nothing since breakfast, and were ready for supper. There were above four hundred people to be fed; and messengers were abroad gathering supplies from all quarters, for love or money, which were disposed of as fast as they appeared. The school children intermingled their pretty songs, the teachers and myself our anecdotes and speeches, to gain time and promote good humour. The youths who served displayed the utmost alacrity and good temper, trying to meet all demands. Yet some of the company received too much attention and others too little. Persons complained here that they were neglected, there, that they had got no bread and butter, elsewhere, that they had tasted no cheese. Some cried that the second coffee and sweet buns had never gone their way, and one or two that they had tasted nothing all night. That was an extreme case, perhaps an exaggeration.

When all was done that could be done, the grumbling was not done. I explained that they had themselves to thank for any irregularity or deficiency, by delaying so long to take out their tickets, and proved that we had accomplished wonders in such difficult circumstances; having served so many hundred mugs of the best coffee, so many hundred great slices of bread and butter, and cheese, so many hundred sweet buns and biscuits, in short, more than enough to give two courses apiece to all who had bought tickets.

A buzz of astonishment and admiration rose around me. "Think of that, minister," cried an assistant, whose honour as well as mine was at stake. "Think of that! such thousands of everything! and they say they have not got enough yet!"

"It is a shame," said another, "some people have got in that don't know how to behave themselves.

"And maybe," said a third, "some of them never got tickets."

"Where has it all *gone to?" shouted* some one from behind.

"Down your throats, to be sure," answered another.

"Or may be into your pockets," cried a third.

A general laugh supported this retort. "That is it, minister for true," added an assistant. "They fill their pans and pockets and then say they eat nothing all night. Better you make we g search them."

We had gone direction, and it was time t restore harmony ds won a unanimous verdict i my favour. " ister; plenty, plenty;" rose o all sides. "E Which man say him no ge plenty, tell lie." m fool people, minister, we al satisfy."

The annoyance f and all uncomfortable feeling soothed, when the magic lantern was exhibited. It was, indeed a very good one, presenting subjects from Scripture, natural history, and astronomy, and amazed and delighted the company Excellent addresses were then delivered, one of which, by Chambers, our Cornwall elder, cannot be forgotten.

"You know me from time, my friends, when I used to drinl rum, what a vengeance man I was. I would chop a man witl my cutlass in a minute; I would fight ten men. When our minister come first to the country I would sometimes buy a five gallon jar of rum at one time to sell. But I drink the most of it; and i don't last me five weeks. When he tell me of the temperanc and say, better I leave off rum, I don't believe him. But I try and God help me, and I give it up; and now, I'm younger an stronger than I was then. I been to many balls and supper where they drink rum, and before this time they draw blood. I we come here this night to drink rum there will be murder befor we part. Now, we can come like ladies and gentlemen for true and we'll not shame to see each other a morning. This is ou free. If you slave to rum, you don't free to this day. This is glorious meeting. See, our white brothers come sit and eat witl us. Before time they would never eat with black people. Bu we are brothers now. They never call us brothers before till w dead, and they read over our grave—God take our dear brother.*

* It was the law or custom for some of the "book-keepers" to attend slave burie a portion of the English Church service, probably as a means of preventin

Only one thing I must say about our white brothers now, they don't repent, they don't believe the gospel, they don't pray. If I have said anything to offend any one, I beg pardon."

"No offence at all, brother Chambers," many answered; "you say quite right, every word is true."

One of the white gentlemen present, an Irishman, and once a Romanist, Mr. Keilher, rose and replied, that he thanked Mr. Chambers for his good advices, was very glad to call him brother, and hoped that he, for one, was the better of what had been said to them.

The moon was now high, and the hour late, and the meeting separated in great good humour, many saying that they wished we could keep on till morning. It was a success after all, yea, a triumph; and left a good balance to help our new station at Horeb.

The people became fond of these temperance festivals, and they were held thenceforth every August and Christmas. It was, indeed, no easy thing for us, twelve miles from a town, to manage such a business, even with the good aid of some of our church members; for the heavy end of the burden still lay on us. But having acquired experience we avoided former errors, and carried out a simple, effectual plan, which accomplished every desired object.

At our next meeting, I said it was sacred to freedom, temperance, and missions, and should be conducted both honourably and pleasantly. I expected that my people knew better now than to be guilty of such meanness as, I heard, used to be common in their own rude negro-house parties, of filling their pans and pockets with all they could seize. There was plenty for all, and it should be well served, but nothing should be carried away. The poor had to come after for the fragments. Two travellers, I told them, were one time hurried from their dinner by the impatient horn of the coach guard. One of them stuffed a roasted fowl into his pocket, to eat by the way, saying that he had paid for it. "And you have paid for the sauce too," said the other, pouring it in after the fowl. Our waiters had orders to do the

and ceremonies. I attended the funerals of my own people, and conducted service in my own way. Overseers and book-keepers read the prescribed form over each other. "That is all we can do for him," said a careless fellow as he shut the book and turned away; "for the rest God help him." "Why don't they ask minister to read for them?" said one of our members at an overseer's funeral. "May be they fear," replied another, "that he will say something they don't like to hear."

same with them; and whoever pocketed the buns must pocket the coffee too. The story served its purpose, and the people enjoyed the joke too well to render a practical application of it necessary. The coffee had been stored as prepared in a half puncheon under the pulpit; and I could assure them it was the real Jamaica "brown stout," there was not a headache in a hogshead of it.

Our music on some of these occasions was helped by two clarionet players, belonging to the congregation, who led the singing well, and the instruments did not sound discordant in the place and company, like "the wee profane fiddle."

Our Carlton elder, Reeves, spoke like an experienced Christian of the duty of his race in their new condition, and of the divine aid they might obtain in performing it, discoursing sweetly of the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of God's children.

Chambers gave us another of his original and telling addresses on temperance, and acted a conversation between a tippler and a rum puncheon. "Ah, I'll have a drink now," said he, thumping the cask.

"If you do I'll flog you," replied the puncheon.

"Ah, but I will, and I'll see who will flog me."

"You'll see, ay, and feel it too; I've flogged stronger men than you till they couldn't stand; flogged them dead. Look at such an one and such another one, that wouldn't let me alone, what I did to them."

Some of the assistants spoke with good effect. One of them, however, not usually tedious, was rather so on this occasion; till another, after secret confab with his fellows, slipped up behind him, and in an audible whisper said to him, "Very good, brother John; very good indeed. That will do now, you had better be done." The hint was enough.

The celebration of August 1840 was our greatest triumph. The church was filled both above and below, about seven hundred being present, and everything went on delightfully. I avowed myself a total abstainer, after long and careful examination of the subject, both theoretically and practically; having found that I could do a half more work of any kind on water than on wine or malt liquors, with less fatigue at night, and with more certain rest, and more complete refreshing, before the next morning's sun called

for new labours. Whether in preaching or in travelling, by night or by day, I found the water best, alike under meridian sun, and evening dew, and drenching rain, best both for body and mind. Immediately several stood up, and avowed themselves total abstainers too, from conviction, and after long trial.

Brethren from Hampden and elsewhere advocated the same cause with the best effect. It was found to be necessary, for the maintenance of our temperance society, that we advance towards total abstinence. Our temperance members were being continually tempted to use strong drinks, unknown to them in the days of slavery; and the prohibition of rum alone seemed tacitly to sanction shrub, wine, and porter, though the two former were known to be manufactured in the island, and to be composed largely of the native spirit. The occasional use of them also by the missionaries, how temperately soever, countenanced the less temperate use of them by others, and opened the door for various abuses. Why should we unnecessarily cast a stumbling-block in our brother's way, or lay a snare in our own? Why should we insist on our right to indulge moderately, when we found it abused by others, for whose welfare we cared, and not rather exercise our other equal right to abstain, for the good of those who had not the power of self-command with ourselves? How beautifully would our power be exhibited, when we could say that we abstained from what was lawful, lest weaker brethren should be tempted into what was unlawful. How becoming would it be in us, public teachers, to avoid all appearance of evil, and to stand far away from temptations which had destroyed others, not inferior to ourselves, and which, if we presumed, might prevail against us also, to the ruin of everything precious, both for time and eternity. Were Christian ministers always proof against the growth of an insidious liking for the stimulant? Could I be sure of standing where others, mightier than I, had fallen? These reflections led me to renewed and vigorous efforts to promote the total abstinence rule among our people; and during the rest of that year I held meetings in all the villages around, called the roll of my people thereon, and dealt personally with all of whom I stood in doubt, on that particular subject.

We did not, however, view the temperance and total ab-

stinence principles and practice as opposed or requiring different arrangements; and never thought of dissolving our first society to construct another more advanced. They belonged to each other, as the beginning and end of one great work, and, therefore, we received all who promised to renounce distilled liquors, and to be temperate in the use of other kinds in the hope that they would not only keep their [illegible] go on to perfection." The *teetotallers* were the [illegible] veterans of the temperance host. The other[illegible] ers and recruits who, by discipline and prac[illegible] expert in the war, and soon reach the front ra[illegible] ere not despised, nor those who fell out abar[illegible] ay. Thus we marched on without strife or ri[illegible] and at the end of 1840 the adult members were nearly five hu[illegible]d, while the juveniles were above three hundred in number.

I cannot pass from the subject of our *soirees* without mentioning something more about the white man who so kindly and sensibly replied to our black elder's admonitions. Mr. Keilher was originally from the south of Ireland, but had been long in the colony before I knew him. He had advanced in the planting line to be an overseer, and pursued, like others of his class, a wild and reckless course. When he came to our neighbourhood he had fallen again to be a book-keeper, and soon after his short speech in our church lost his situation, and was once more adrift. He went to Westmoreland parish where he had formerly been an overseer; but the sight of his old haunts brought back such memories that, dreading a repetition of former scenes and practices, he stopped at the outer gate, turned, and rode away. Back again he came to our quarter, resolving to take any situation where he could attend the church, rather than venture again among his old companions.

The Lord opened his way, and he got on from one thing to another, and rose once more to be overseer. He attended church, taught in the Sabbath school, and joined the Lord's table. His uniformly good conduct, morally and professionally, recommended him to a reformed attorney who wanted a Christian overseer, for a *large estate* in Trelawny. There he attended our brother Mr.

Anderson's church at Bellevue, and became an elder in it, and, with one exception, approved himself a truly converted man, yea, and in that instance too, by his sincere repentance. At length the all-devastating cholera numbered him among its victims, in the midst of untiring labours for the relief of others; but his end was in peace with God and man, and in the blessed hope of eternal life.

After the people became free, their village *prayer-meetings* could be better regulated than formerly. The elders had usually held them twice weekly, on Sabbath morning or evening, and on the evening of some other day. It was, however, most desirable that our church members, heads of families, should be trained to conduct family worship, intelligently and devoutly, in their own homes. For this purpose an *itinerating prayer-meeting* was commenced, which met in their houses by rotation. The brother in whose house "the family" met, was expected to open the meeting himself by reading and prayer. If he could not read, one of his children might read for him. To receive "the family" creditably, they wished to have their houses in good order, and seats for their friends, though some of the neighbours brought their stools with them. They must have a large print Bible, too, for the occasion, with a chair and table for whoever presided. In some instances the "big ha' Bible" was purchased, and duly inscribed with the records of marriages, births, and deaths. They must also have peace in and out of the house, the want of which would cause the meeting to pass one by. These and other good objects did this "moveable feast" tend to promote, and it was quite successful.

Early *morning* prayer-meetings were also held in several villages, where the people used to be up with the dawn, and, no longer requiring to be at work before sunrise, could profitably spend half-an-hour in devotional exercises. Surely it was right to give God the first portion of the new day, and by his grace prepare for its trials and toils. At *Cornwall* our own family met with the villagers regularly for this purpose, the hour of prayer being announced by my boy to all sleepers, sometimes to the disturbance or amusement of our guests, by stroke of instruments not always sweetly resounding as a gong or bell.

Female prayer-meetings, or mothers' meetings, were also pro-

moted by Mrs. Waddell. Women trained to field labour alone, and influenced all their lives by the requirements and associations of slavery, were deficient in some ordinary domestic duties, even after conversion, and needed motherly Christian advices in their new circumstances. Her endeavours were not unrewarded. She was encouraged by their good attendance, their Christian knowledge, and by their s[illegible]s, and intelligent prayers. Their disagreement[illegible], and quick tempers, surprised and distresse[illegible] times, but they were easily appeased. Some [illegible] added, were as fine specimens of the Christi[illegible]orbearing, and forgiving, as we ever knew.

In 1840, *Rose Hill* school and village were founded. By the death of one person, and the arrival of another in the island, our way was providentially opened for purchasing a few acres of land, in the eastern district of my congregation. The spot being equidistant from Barrett Hall, Carlton and the Grange was quite suitable for our purpose. Near to it, at "Benledi Cottage," I had a school at one time for our people. Among the negro houses of Barrett Hall also, at another time, an attempt was made to supply the want. Here it was kept by a black youth, unable by lameness for estate labour, but with a mind for learning and teaching. The proprietor, riding by one day, espied some of the children conning their lessons under a tree, and asked them what they were doing. "We read book, massa," replied they with a merry grin. "And who teaches you to read book?" inquired he again. "Richard, massa." "And who teaches Richard?" "Parson teach we all, massa." "Indeed! I suppose parson will soon teach the goats to read." "Yes, massa!" shouted the little blackies, in great glee at the funny idea of goats for school-fellows.

The ground purchased crowns one of the highest points of the hilly range between Falmouth and Montego Bay. The view from it is magnificent, over the sea northward, and over all the richly-cultivated parish of Trelawny eastward and southward, its fertile plains and hills, and black forest-clad mountains, to a distance of twenty or thirty miles. Sixteen building lots were surveyed, which some of our best people immediately bought, and a

double lot was reserved free for school and teacher's house. There was only one unpleasant occurrence connected with the settling of that township; and the story is instructive enough to be told.

J. B—— was a young man of good connections, in fair standing as a member of the church, a mason by trade, and married to a good steady woman. When he got possession of his portion he ceased his missionary contributions—though only sixpence monthly—till he should have his house erected. The elders urged him to perform his duty, saying that he was neither sick nor poor; was in regular work, on good wages, and was as well able both to build his house and keep up God's work as any one else in the congregation. He disregarded their admonitions, and persisted withholding his monthly subscription.

I spoke to him of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his command to preach the gospel to every creature, of the necessities of the heathen, and the obligations he was under to share with others the blessings so freely bestowed on himself. The sin of keeping back his portion from the Lord's work was stated, and even the danger of building his house with the Lord's money. He not only remained unmoved, but grew bold and impertinent; and sharply asked me, if I wanted him to steal to bring money to the church? "Well, James," I said, in conclusion, "remember, unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it. God may yet, in some way you don't think of, claim it at your hands."

James became hardened, neglected church, sported a fine horse by riding about on Sabbath-day, and lost his place at the Lord's table. Ere long, complaint, made at first in vain to himself, was made to me by one of the settlers, that he was trespassing, had removed the surveyor's land marks, and was putting up his house partly on the neighbour's ground. He denied it. I proceeded to the spot with map in hand, measured the land, and showed him his error. He refused to be convinced, said I wanted to cheat him, and give his land to another, and then urged on his building, as if possession would constitute a title. The surveyor was sent for; he ran his lines right through the body of the man's house, and ordered him to pull it down and remove the materials. Besides all that loss he had *to pay for the re-survey.*

We were sorry for him, and still more for his wife, who was not to blame, and who never neglected her duty in the church; and in the hope that he had learned wisdom by experience, we helped him to begin again. But, though experience teaches fools, as the proverb says, there are some fools who cannot learn. Their folly is not in the husk, but in the heart; and though you should bray them, as Solomon [illegible] among wheat, with a pestle, yet will not their f[illegible] om them. James was still one of that class. [illegible] him to correct his fault; but now, more tha[illegible] house required all he had and all he could do.

At last the house [illegible] at Spanish wall cottage, of two rooms, with jalc[illegible] shingle roof, and kitchen outside. But he had incurred debt, and must sell his fine young horse to discharge it—the horse of which he had been so proud, and which had been so great a snare to him. He fastened it by a long rope on its neck, near his house, where it could feed all night, and be ready for the purchaser the next morning. But lo, in the morning he found it lying dead. It had got entangled in the rope, and was strangled. He became a sadder, I hope, also, a wiser man. Others took note of the facts of the case, and learned wisdom by his experience.

In 1839, a Spanish slaver was captured off the south coast of Cuba, and brought into Montego Bay, where about four hundred emaciated and miserable objects, male and female, were landed. A special magistrate allotted them, on proper terms, to responsible parties, for a service of two years, till they could learn the language and ways of the country, and take care of themselves. A large number of them were brought to Cinnamon Hill, and thereby under our care for their Christian instruction; and happily, we were able to afford it to them, by the aid of Guinea people on the same estate, who spoke their different languages. Among them were parents and children, brothers and sisters, taken at the sacking of their native towns, and in other ways customary in the trade. A good humoured little fellow, who ultimately came into my service, was sold by his grandfather, with whom he had been living, in payment of debt. On board the slaver he found his

sister and a little brother. The former had been sold for rum by the man she trusted, the latter kidnapped.

The one who came to me had the name George Buchanan given him by the estate, but subsequently took my name. He soon learned to speak English, and gave a lively account of the capture of the slaver. While waiting at Popo, on the Guinea coast, he heard, that if an English man-of-war should meet them at sea it would take them to a good country, and set them free; and every day after they sailed, he and other boys looked out secretly for that English ship. "But," said he, "we neber tell Panish capin;" for the captain had taken four of the boys into the cabin to wait on him. After a long time, one morning, the man on the look-out at the mast-head, called to the captain, who took his glass, and went aloft to spy. Soon he called to the seamen on deck, who began to run about, and do many things to the ropes and sails. George peeped and saw a little ship, very far away, which came on, and on, and on, after them, and grew bigger and bigger. When it began to come near he saw fire and smoke, and heard "boom-m-m." This frightened the Spaniards, who ran about, as George said, doing everything up and down the ship. But he and the other boys began to be glad. Then Englishman fired another big gun very loud, "boom-m-m-m-m," and he heard something go over their heads, whiz, and through the sails, tearing and breaking everything. Then the Spaniards made haste and got into boats, the captain calling his cabin-boys to follow; but George and another hid themselves, and stayed in the ship, till he saw the English sailors come on board; then he leaped, and shouted, and clapped his hands, and all the slaves on deck leaped, and shouted, and clapped their hands, and then the others below shouted too. At this happy conclusion George shouted and laughed, leaped and clapped his hands for joy over again, when telling the story of his rescue.

These new people were well received, and kindly treated by the old hands on Cinnamon Hill, and soon showed they were among those who cared for them. The different appearance they presented, to that of some of their neglected, naked, dirty shipmates elsewhere, was extraordinary. They were soon able to earn money and began to lay it out in *good articles* of dress, proving how

human improvement is intimately connected with clothing, which ministers both to the moral feelings and personal comfort, as well as elevates the wearer in social position. Some of the newcomers married their shipmates, became acquainted with the principles of the Christian faith, and were baptized. They even brought their freedom's offering, like others, to add to the collection we made for a mission to Africa, in acknowledgment of the good they had go[illegible]ry, and their continued interest in the old c[illegible] however, continued at Cinnamon Hill after [illegible]ngagement was completed. The greater numb[illegible] state, as no longer required, and we lost sight o[illegible]

In February 1840, [illegible] an of my acquaintance died, and we had hope in his death. In many respects his case was particularly interesting to us, though at the time it could not be publicly mentioned. It was one of a class of events in missionary experience, which must remain unknown, till lapse of years and other changes remove the objections to their being made public. The person referred to was well connected, had been religiously brought up at home by pious parents, and for some time after coming to the colony conducted himself irreproachably, and towards myself in a friendly manner. He came, however, under bad influences, took part with an old offender against me, and at his instigation insulted and threatened me in my own residence. His conduct deeply grieved us; for he did not, we believed, know the cause he had taken in hand. For a long time we experienced his unceasing hostility. At length he went home, and after a year's absence returned greatly improved. Glad to hear good accounts of him, and deeply concerned for his spiritual welfare, for his own sake, his people's sake, and his father's sake, I frankly offered a renewal of former friendly intercourse, without reference to what was past. The main cause of disagreement was gone, and it became me to make the first overtures of reconciliation. He accepted them, expressed the pleasure he would have in seeing me, and delayed not to return my visit, and give proofs of his better state of mind.

Ere long it was told me one night, on my way home, that "*young massa* was very sick." I had seen him only a few

previously well enough, but West Indian fever brings one quickly very low. The next morning, when preparing to go and see him, a note came from a neighbouring proprietor, his relative, saying that he was very ill, wished to see me, and to "*take the sacrament.*" This last very unusual request startled and perplexed me. He was not a member of the church, nor yet fit to be one. Nor was I an Established Church minister, to be called on to dispense sacred ordinances in that way. The holy communion was not one of the good offices which our renewed friendship could warrant me to offer. I did not approve of the administration of it as a preparation for death, and was not willing to begin a practice, which was but a remnant of popish superstition—one of the "last rites of the church." Reserving my determination, however, as to the administration of the sacrament till I should see him, and be better able to judge, and, seeking divine guidance in my dealings with him, I proceeded to his place. It happened that on the way I passed the people at work, and calling the elder, learned from him a fact, which left no doubt as to the course to be taken. A soul was to be saved or lost that day for ever.

The sufferer was much affected on seeing me, wept, and pressed my hand, and then, as I wished to be alone with him, directed his attendants to withdraw. To the question if there was any burden on his mind, he answered promptly and decidedly, "None whatever." The answer disappointed me, but revealed his real state of mind. He added that, indeed, he had been very inattentive to the duties of religion, and as he had never taken the sacrament, would like to do so now, not knowing how his sickness might end. It would obviously, however, have been to encourage a fatal delusion to have acceded to his wishes. The "spiritual consolation" might prove a deadly opiate. His case needed a different kind of treatment. He knew not that he was a sinner, or was hardened in sin, and required to hear the message, "Repent, and believe the gospel." I tried gently, therefore, to dissuade him from his desire for the Lord's Supper at that time. It was only a memorial of the death of Christ, I said, and not necessary to salvation, nor of any efficacy as a preparation for death. We should therefore say no more about it just then, but speak of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners. We could die safely, and go to

heaven without the sacrament, but not without the Saviour. should, therefore, first of all, look to Jesus, the Son of God a Redeemer of mankind, who died the just for the unjust to br us to God, and who is able to save to the uttermost all who co to God through him. When he recovered he would, I hop give up himself to God as one alive from the dead, and we sho be glad then to see him join us at the Lord's table. He answe sadly that he did not expect to recover, and feared that he v ill prepared to die.

As he was in pain, and could not converse much, I read su able portions of the Scriptures to him, such as the 51st Psa and 32d Psalm, and 3d chapter of John, to show him that burden of sin was what the best of men had felt, and what must feel, who desired peace and pardon; and that they confes their sins, and their need to be sanctified and renewed in or to their salvation. He should feel the same. A deep convict of his sins, whether private or public, in heart or life, was ab lutely necessary. He was reminded also that, "He who cover his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesses and forsakes th shall find mercy;" and urged to a full and honest confession his sins to God as evidence of repentance, and necessary to peace. He seemed to feel keenly what I was saying, and I add that, while sympathizing with him, I must speak the truth a Christian minister, and, in his situation, would thank any m who should deal faithfully with me. He interrupted me, say with ardour, "Oh, I thank you, I do thank you indeed." Hav quoted the precious assurances of the gospel, that Christ Je came into the world to save sinners, even the chief, and that blood cleanseth from all sin—a text that had saved myself a others from despair and death—and that there was joy in hea over one sinner that repenteth, I asked him, "Do you beli these precious truths?" He eagerly answered, "O yes, I beli them every one." "Well, take the comfort of them," I add "when you pray to God and confess your sins, by pleading promises, and asking forgiveness in the great Saviour's na Take the salvation so freely offered in the gospel. Your heave Father is now dealing with you, I trust, in great mercy and lo to draw you to himself, and make you a monument of his grac

His head pained him dreadfully, he said, and he could bear no more just then, but requested me to pray with him, and to return on the morrow. He joined in the prayer, with great earnestness and many tears, and thanked me fervently for the visit, in a manner that showed he had taken well all I had said.

The next day was Sabbath, and it was evening ere I could see him. He was worse, he said, and the result too truly proved it. Again I requested that we should be left alone; and no sooner were we than he exclaimed, "Oh, it is a fearful thing to look back over a misspent life." This painful cry was also a hopeful one. He was now feeling the burden of his sins, and could the more appreciate the consolations of the gospel, yet he did not soon seem to take the benefit of them. He was directed to the "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world;" was encouraged by the parable of the prodigal son to cast himself unreservedly on God's mercy, assured of a hearty welcome in Christ's name; and promised that if, like the thief on the cross, he confessed his sins, even in the agonies of death, and besought his Saviour, he would find pardon, peace, and life. He listened with rapt attention, though obviously in great anguish of mind, as well as pain of body. The reconciliation of God in Christ, the full atonement by the blood of the cross, and the continual intercession of our great High Priest in the heavens, were set before him, and seemed to allay his fears. Sweet hymns, which he must have heard in his home days, were repeated to him, such as "Jesus, lover of my soul," "There is a fountain filled with blood," and "Rock of ages cleft for me." These gave him some consolation, and he repeated them in whispers after me, and drank in every word. While I hung over his pillow, and tried thus in soft accents to pour peace into his soul, and raise it to the God of hope, he stretched up, clasped me round the neck, pressed me to his heart, and kissed me impassionedly. We were both greatly affected and mingled our tears.

It was time to close our interview. His head was distracted, he said, or he would be glad I could stay with him longer. When I prayed he joined audibly, and repeated every word with astonishing fervour. He did not expect, he said, to live till to-morrow; but if he lived he would be glad to see me very soon, and if he

died he wished me to write to his father, "and tell him everything," and to his sister with his dying love.

Not doubting of seeing him again, I returned home, comforted with the evidence he had given of godly penitence; for "the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart he will not despise." Scarcely did I sleep that night thinking of him, and praying for him, and preparing a balm for his wounded conscience of the best truths and promises of the word of God; and I was early astir to go to his relief. But, alas! scarcely had the sun arisen when a messenger arrived with the sad tidings of his death. The messenger, a Christian youth, had been with him all night, and informed us that he often prayed to God, and some times asked for me, if I was come yet to pray for him; and that he said he was willing now and ready, since his hour was come, and the Lord called him, to go to his Saviour. We had hope, therefore, in his death, that he was a brand plucked from the burning, and that the angels of heaven were that day rejoicing over another sinner that had repented.

CHURCH AND DWELLING-HOUSE, MOUNT HOREB.

CHAPTER IX.

1841–1844.

Journey to south side—Gentle Hill and Fairfield—Cold water system—Journey to Mile Gully—The forest and subterranean rivers - Thunder storm in the forest—Death of Mr. Patterson—Infamous conduct exposed—Presbytery of July 1841—Fatal year—Domestic scenes—Journey to Port Maria—Outbreak of Myalism; its causes, and strange proceedings in various places—Remonstrance with Baptist missionaries—Cane fields on fire—Young people begin to fall away—White and black immigration both failed—Better system proposed—State of congregation.

IN January 1841 our Missionary Presbytery met at *Coco Walk*, in Manchester parish, near the southern extremity of the island. Our brother, Mr. Patterson, after leaving Montego Bay, had settled there, in a wide district previously unoccupied, and commenced operations of the highest character, founding a noble church and school, and several important stations. His church had received the name of *New Broughton*. The journey thither from our place was long, nearly eighty miles the shortest way one could go, and much longer by the best way. But the value of our temperance, or rather total abstinence principles, had been proved before then on long journeys, and the old limit, of forty miles a day or thereabouts, was no longer adhered to. I was unavoidably detained a day beyond my time in leaving home, and resolved to take the shortest way over the mountains. It would require me to make out above sixty miles over rough roads the first day; but would enable me to join the brethren early on the second. An incident of the journey cannot be forgotten.

I had two horses, one of which carried our changes of raiment and provender, and ran loose the fore part of the day, being thereby fresh to carry myself the latter part. My servant, a deacon in the church, rode a strong mule. For some hours in the noontide we rested, and fed ourselves and horses in the forest shade, beside a cool stream, and thus refreshed got through the mountains early in the evening. On the level roads of the south

side we could increase our speed, and required to do so, to reac the Manchester mountains with daylight. The appearance of th range which, running from the interior to the sea, bounds th plains of St. Elizabeth eastward, was very impressive, as it ros like a Titanic wall, black and massive in the twilight gloom.

Our destination for the night was *Fairfield*, where the Moravia brother Lorn, a primitive bishop, resided. It was five or six mil up the hills, yet visible from below, so steep and continuous wa the ascent thither. Two roads led to it, a long roundabout ca road, and a shorter but worse one up the face of the mountai called ironically "Gentle Hill." The sun had set; I wished t get to the mission station before eight o'clock, the hour of evenin prayer, and resolved to take the shortest way. A boy whom met on a mule engaged to guide me, while candidly telling m that "the pass was very bad."

He led the way, and on we went. Soon the appearance of roa was lost in the bush. The ascent gradually grew steeper th further we advanced, till I had to cling to the horse's neck t keep on his back. The shades of night and of the overhangin wood rendered everything invisible. Neither "pass" nor guid could I see, and I had just to give my horse loose rein to find h own way after the boy and mule. Up and up we clambered, ti I repented having ventured on such a way. But there was n turning back. The boy said he knew the way, and could ride it we had no resource, but trust and follow. The ascent became a length easier, and hoping we were nearing the top and our rest, called out, "Boy, are we near the place?" His answer carrie no comfort, "No massa, far way till." Ere long he cried aloud "Massa, we come to bery bad place here; take care; sit steady we go over one big hole." "My boy," I replied, "I can se nothing, and can do nothing; I leave myself to God. My hors must find his own way. Mind yourself; we follow you." Th warning was repeated to my servant Jeffs, and we proceeded, with out seeing or knowing where lay the danger. In due time w reached safely the friendly roof we sought, where a kind and fra ternal welcome enhanced the rest and refreshing of the hospitabl dwelling.

Brother Lorn was not a little surprised to learn how far we ha

ridden that day, and still more that we had come up "Gentle Hill." Many people, he said, feared to come that way in day light; none ever ventured it at night; and he spoke of a sheer precipice, at one place, of great depth, where the pass was narrow, and obstructed by jutting rocks on the upper side, and one false step would have been inevitable destruction. That must have been the "big hole" the guide spoke of. God had led the blind by a way they knew not, and given us new occasion to adore his merciful providential care.

The following morning, as we proceeded toward Coco Walk, my servant pointed to a rudely carved image at the head of a grave, near a negro hut, and mentioned that such things had once been common, that prayers had been made and fowls offered to the figure, as representing the deceased, and that when the grave sunk the offerings had been renewed, to avert the danger it portended of fresh victims.

The return journey, the following week, was made in one day, by starting from *Mile Gully*, Mr. Aird's station, which reduced the distance to about seventy miles. It was midnight ere we reached Cornwall, and we were indeed much fatigued, but not otherwise the worse of the effort. On another occasion I rode as far in the same time—from Goshen to Cornwall—without being sensible of any bad effects. So much for the cold water system in tropical countries. The only precaution I used, against the chill of the night after the heat of the day, was to put on dry underclothing about sun-down, and if possible get a wash. The water inside and out had a cooling, strengthening effect; other drinks would have had the very opposite, and made me liable to chills and fever. My faithful attendant Jeffs always referred to Samson, in proof that abstinence from wine was necessary to strength of body. His remark on the length of the way, never having been so far from home before, "Minister, the world big, hearee," was rather amusing.

These long rides were, of course, not undertaken as a matter of choice; and when, eighteen months afterwards, the Presbytery met in that quarter again, for the ordination of Mr. Aird, I took a new way through Trelawny into Manchester. It was not shorter, but could be somewhat more equally divided, and offered the long

desired pleasure of an evening with the Rev. Mr. Vine, of the London Missionary Society. The road for many miles over the mountains the second day was unmade, and, for about ten miles through the forest, was not even laid out; but the resident at "Ulster Spring," the highest estate on the north side, kindly supplied a guide, without which, he said, I should lose my way. Going through these woods we crossed two streams and heard of a third not distant, which are rei hings. They all rise in the same mountain reg ng a few miles, sink into the ground; and all r ong subterranean course in opposite direction flows north-east, and reappears in St. Ann's t pen, as formerly described. *Hector* river flows ses again in St. Elizabeth, forming one of the river. *Mouth* river flows north-west, and shows itself again at *Fontabelle*, in Trelawny, where it joins the Martha Brae river.

Returning by the same route the following week, I lost my way for some hours, and was exposed in the forest to such a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, as was appalling, and could not be described without seeming exaggeration. There was no shelter; but I cared less for the exposure than for the risk of being stayed by the rivers, or having to cross them in flood; while the way was so cut up by the torrents, and in many parts so steep and broken, that the poor horses were plunging every step among rock stones, tree roots, and mud holes, in danger of breaking their legs, or throwing us off their backs. By divine mercy we reached the streams while yet fordable, and fervently did I thank God when safe across them; for the rising cloud up the valley, and the sound of rushing waters, told that the flood was pouring down, and would soon be sweeping all before it.

Only six months afterwards, January 1843, I was called on, unexpectedly and most painfully, again to journey to the south side of the island, to take charge of the station of our brother Mr. Paterson, then no more. Accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Robson of Glasgow, he had been on his way to the meeting of Presbytery at Cornwall, when the mule he drove started off violently down a steep hill, and threw him out of the gig. By the time the animal was stopped, and his companion could return to the spot, life was

stinct. He must have fallen on his head, and died from concussion of the brain. His corpse was brought back at night to the weeping family he had left well and happy in the morning; and tidings of the lamentable event overwhelmed us all with grief, when looking anxiously for the arrival of these beloved brethren to our meeting.

The mention of Mr. Paterson reminds me of a conversation we had together, a few months previous to his death, when he had come north to supply Hampden Church, in the absence of Mr. Blyth and his family in Scotland. He had heard whispers there of an infamous affair which, despite all attempts at secresy, he thought should be exposed, and he came to Cornwall to consult about it. A virtuous, but simple-minded, young woman of colour had been deceived, by a sham marriage with a planting attorney; another planter with "The Book of Common Prayer" having acted the part of a clergyman; the subordinate white people of the estate alone being privy to the transaction. Too late she found that, instead of being a great man's lawful wife, she was but a dishonoured creature, like so many others of her class.

"Can nothing be done," said Mr. Paterson, as we rode together to Montego Bay, "to expose and punish such an outrage on religion and good morals?"

I had once known the man. He was from Scotland, and from a good minister of my acquaintance. In Jamaica he had prospered in worldly things, but sunk deplorably in his moral character; for "the prosperity of fools destroys them." My reply to our brother's question was, "Please God, we'll see what can be done to unearth that fox."

The next number of the county paper contained a note from "Querist," referring to the report in pointed terms, and desiring further information, in order that such infamous transactions might be publicly condemned, and the actors therein be expelled from society, too long cursed with such abominations.

The question made a sensation, and was everywhere repeated; but who could answer it? The culprit answered it himself; for, thinking he was discovered, he thought to escape by a bold denial —bringing forward his dependants on the property, where the

horrid deception was practised, to testify to his innocence. Nothing could have better served our purpose. He had pilloried himself, and become the object of universal scorn. The country laughed at him; for no one believed him or them, while all wondered at their audacity.

A second letter from "Querist," though it failed to bring out the pretended clergy[illegible]iet, though no longer hid, provoked the par[illegible] they threatened the editor with a prosecution [illegible]tion by inuendo," unless he gave up the name [illegible] In some alarm, he applied to "Querist" for le[illegible]e, or security against a prosecution. The lat[illegible] threat, refused the leave sought, but assure[illegible] perfect safety in any case. In a few days more, [illegible] d the end of the affair as follows:—"The whole band of culprits were in convocation yesterday at J——'s store, to hear 'Querist's' decision. In an hour the bubble burst. They determined to discontinue the paper—a very dreadful sentence indeed, amounting, as I told them, to the loss of 4s. 2d. a-year, old currency. We shall hear no more, I imagine, of the prosecution." They tried many ways, however, to find out and punish the author of their exposure, but all in vain.

The meeting of Presbytery, in July 1841, at Mr Jameson's place, Goshen, was, perhaps the most important of all its meetings. Besides usual business, two great subjects engaged attention. One of these was a mission to Africa, from our Jamaica congregations. The other was a fraternal letter to the brethren of the Baptist Missionary Society, concerning certain practices in their congregations, which seemed hurtful to the cause of Christ in the island. Both subjects must be deferred—the first to form the subject of a separate chapter; the second, because a year and more elapsed before it produced any effect, during which time other important events fall to be related.

Never had our mission been so strong as it was then. By a series of severe providential dealings, however, it was quickly reduced to a state of comparative weakness. The latter part of that year was a remarkably sickly period. Fever of an unusual type prevailed, which affected the most healthy districts and

people; and, insidious in its attacks, often reached a critical stage before danger was apprehended. The Rev. William Scott, of *Hillside*, in Manchester, clerk of Presbytery; Dr. Aitken, a "beloved physician," of *Goodwill*, Trelawny; Mr. Kay, at *Mount Horeb;* Mr. Buchanan, and Mrs. Simpson, of *Port Maria;* a child of our widowed sister, Mrs. Kay; an infant of our own—were among the victims of that fatal period in our mission. At the same time, Mr. Simpson and Mrs. Kay were long dangerously ill; Mr. Blyth and his family had to return for a season to Scotland in bad health; and were soon followed by Mr. Anderson and his family, and two of the catechists. Before their return, the death of Mr. Paterson, already mentioned, was added to the long roll. The labours of those who were left in the field were necessarily greatly increased by so many being removed.

A domestic scene of that sad time will not, perhaps, be deemed an unpardonable intrusion. November 1841, our third child was born—a stout, healthy-looking, little fellow as could be. It was the Sabbath, and while engaged in the duties of the day at Mount Zion, I got tidings of his birth, and, with the congregation, gave thanks to God on behalf of both mother and child. That day week the mother nursed her sick infant, while I met the congregation; and soon after my return in the evening, the little sufferer died. Who can see an infant in convulsions, without suffering, perhaps, more than it? But who can suffer in such a case like the mother?

Our eldest child, not three years of age, had all day watched with great concern her little brother, till at last she became overpowered with sleep, and while she slept, he died. Awaking she saw him laid out on the sofa, and covered with the mosquito net, as formerly when sleeping, and she ran to her mother with a joyful exclamation, "Mamma, baby will soon be better now; baby sleep."

"Yes, my dear, baby is well now," replied her mamma, "and will never be sick again." The words were those of calm resignation, though the heart was full of anguish.

Turning to me, in happy ignorance, she repeated the good news: "Papa, baby is well now, and will never be sick again." Her innocent pleasure for a moment increased our pain.

The next morning, when the little corpse was placed in its little coffin, she cried vehemently against the good sister, Miss T., who performed the sad duty, because "she shut up her baby in the box." Again, at the grave, near the church, whither I brought her with me, when she saw box and all lowered into its long home, and the earth thrown over it, she could not restrain her cries and tears, appealing to me, not to let them "cover up her baby." Nor could she be appeased till assured that God would keep her baby safe, and bring it up again at the last day. That comforted her, as it has ever done older [illegible] er such bereavements; and she often afterwards [illegible] t God would keep her baby safe, and bring it up [illegible] day.

The people were [illegible] hat my infant had not been baptized. I had o [illegible] their entreaties to hasten the baptism of the [illegible] I considered the ordinance to be a preparation [illegible] ath, and believed that they were just as safe, i [illegible] loving Saviour, without as with the "christening." Now I confirmed my words in my own case, while acknowledging the great duty of consecrating our infant to God, in the appointed way, had he been pleased to spare it. But He had not given us time, and I would not violate due order by undue haste, when it seemed unlikely to live.

The next day two stout girls were sent to Mount Horeb, to bring home to us the orphan infant of our late lamented brother Kay. It was born but a few days before his death, was less than three months old, and was then among strangers, as its mother had never been able to nurse it. Carefully the messengers performed their duty, and dear little Bessy smiled when received into my arms at the door of its new home, and to the bosom of its new mother. We received her as from the Lord, in place of the one he had removed from us.

Our widowed sister had accompanied her brother, Mr. Simpson, to Port Maria, preparatory to sailing thence for England with her family, and wished to see her infant before leaving. We took it to her, and learned a new lesson in travelling on that occasion. While we were in St. Mary's parish, unusually heavy rains flooded the country, and destroyed the roads and bridges, rendering the use of wheeled vehicles impossible. On our return journey, the

gig was taken asunder, and sent by boat to Ocho Rios, twenty-three miles on our way. That stage Mrs. Waddell and I rode. The infant was wrapt in a shawl, slung round my neck, supported on my arm, and covered by an umbrella. The roads were in shocking bad order, in some places impassable, obliging us to take long circuits. But the precious little burden lightened the way by its smiles and goodness; and the Lord's gracious care brought us safely home.

The wild outbreak of Myalism, in 1842, was one of the most startling events in the history of Jamaica missions, and showed how deeply rooted the old heathenism of their race still was among the negroes. It was noticed in a former chapter,* and explained so far as then known. As the corrective of *Obea*, it wore a benign aspect, and was favoured by the negroes; while both, as corresponding parts of one system, formed an extraordinary superstition. Anything might serve as the means or instrument of the malign Obea influence, and placed in a person's garden or house would find its way into his body, and afflict him with incurable disease, or blast his property and labours, producing all kinds of misfortune. A person under that curse felt condemned; his health and interests were ruined; everything went wrong with him; he pined away and died. The hidden "poison" could be discovered and counteracted only by its proper Myal antidote, which the initiated alone knew. The power, which could detect and eradicate the subtle and malignant evil, was regarded as a real saviour by the befooled people. Some Obea practitioners were not scrupulous, it was said, in the use of means to effect their end. As you may as well kill a person, it is said, as frighten him to death, if they found a strong-minded man, whom they could not terrify by their arts, they would use something more effectual than imaginary poisons.

These superstitions had been restrained during slavery, by severe repressive laws, and the vigilance of owners and overseers, not in the interests of religion, but of the proprietors, who would not that any power but their own should be felt or feared by their slaves. It was supposed, therefore, that they had died out among

* Chap. vii., p. 137.

the Creole negroes, though the old Guinea people were known to be still addicted to them. That was an erroneous idea. The instructed Christian people alone had abandoned them, regarding them with mingled feelings of dislike and fear, as both wicked and devilish; but the great mass of the slaves were bred in the most absolute faith in these things, and had the greatest terror of them, though cum[illegible]rn them to their masters.

Long suppresse[illegible]ted, these African superstitions began to [illegible]pation, when the old laws against them we[illegible]ce. The introduction of several thousand n[illegible]aken from captured slavers, favoured their res[illegible]he Creoles attributed peculiar skill in the b[illegible]d Guinea negroes, so did these latter to its more recently imported professors.

After the occurrences formerly mentioned, instances took place here and there, from time to time, previous to 1842. The most considerable of these was at the *Spring* Estate, about the Christmas holidays of the previous year. A kind of frenzy seized on some people there, but none of my people, who went about crying that the estate was poisoned by Obea, and that persons had been killed by it, the cause of their death being discovered near their graves. Then everything bad on the property was attributed thereto; and the disciples of that belief set themselves to discover and purge out the *poison*, wherever it existed. Men and women thus affected ran about the negro houses, as if deranged, and even to the field, stopping the people from their work, and calling them to prayers, breaking into houses to dig out the Obea, which the devil had set in them, and fighting in the name of God all who were supposed to be guilty of practising the infernal art. This strange delusion did not originate on the *Spring*. It came from *Iron Shore* Estate, where persons addicted to such practices had always been known to exist. My own people complained of, and did not join them. About the same time there was a riot at *Running Gut* Estate, caused by the new Africans having prepared what the Christians called an Obea stick, which I took from them, as a dangerous club in a fight, and so quieted them.

In July 1842 the delusion broke out again in one of its principal seats, *Flower Hill*; and a company of its agents invaded *Blue Hole*

to cleanse that estate from its sins and miseries. They were sent by God, they said, to purge and purify the world, they had the spirit, and were Christians of a higher order than common. Most or all of them, I am sorry to say, were members of one of the principal missionary churches. It was the strangest combination of Christianity and heathenism ever seen. After these fanatics had spent several days extracting the supposed pernicious substances from the houses and gardens of their own class, with singing, and dancing, and various peculiar rites, and had declared their purpose to enter and search every house in the village, my people were alarmed, and reported the matter to me, desiring advice how they were to act. Of course, I told them by no means to open their doors to them, nor to follow them elsewhere; and if violence were offered to force an entrance, they should go to the overseer and the attorney for protection.

It seemed needful I should visit the place, and have a special meeting with the people; and the following Sabbath evening I went, accompanied by a few trusty elders and members of our church. We used to meet in the old "great house," but on this occasion were attracted to the village by the noise of the Myal proceedings. There we found them in full force and employment, forming a ring, around which were a multitude of onlookers. Inside the circle some females performed a mystic dance, sailing round and round, and wheeling in the centre with outspread arms, and wild looks and gestures. Others hummed, or whistled a low monotonous tune, to which the performers kept time, as did the people around also, by hands and feet and the swaying of their bodies. A man, who seemed to direct the performance, stood at one side, with folded arms, quietly watching their evolutions.

Entering the circle, I attempted to address the assembly, but was unheeded. The dancing women engrossed all the attention. Addressing him who seemed the president, I requested him to quiet the people, and let me speak to them. He did so in a moment, and most gently. They were silent, and I mentioned my object, and proposed they should come with me to the former place of meeting in the old Great House. They objected to move from the spot, and desired me to stand and preach there. Some proposed I should first sing a hymn, and I commenced one; but

observing how much it affected them, ceased, and began to pray. That calmed them for a while, but soon they grew impatient, and resumed their own song, and the dancing women their performances. Turning to the manager, I said, "If you don't keep these mad women quiet, we cannot go on with the worship of God." Thereupon a strange hubbub arose. "They are not mad." "They have the [illegible] t be mad yourself, and had best go away." [illegible] o on; we don't want you." "Who brought y[illegible] do you want with us?"

Those who ac[illegible] not entered the charmed circle, and were so[illegible] ne and each other, and surrounded by group[illegible] sion. Some friend brought me a chair, and, s[illegible] ught to gain a hearing. I had come in peace, I said, to preach the word of God, and wished they would stay the tumult and let me proceed. Such a disturbance was not worthy conduct. In vain I spoke, however; none heard; the assembly was in an uproar, and seemed as if it would come to blows. It had divided into two parties, independent of my followers, and they were quarrelling among themselves. I called my people to me, and charged them to keep quiet till the strife should cease.

One big, bold fellow addressing me, said, "What right have you to come into this yard? Did you ask the owner's leave? You should go to the meeting-house, and who liked might follow you, and the rest stay here."

"That is what I wanted at first," I replied, "and you all told me to stay and preach here. And now you won't hear me, and blame me for staying. Is that reasonable or right?"

"Make ring, make ring," cried several voices; and the crowd fell back, and the dancers came out as before. At the same time I pushed my friends forward to fill the space, and whispered to them to give the women no room. "Fall back, fall back," was again cried out; but my people would not, and some of the estate people, who now stood by us, remained to embarrass the *figurantes*. The women thus baffled became frantic, and dashed themselves from side to side, driving over some of their own class, and tearing themselves with rage.

The master of the ceremonies, finding his party defeated,

them off, and retired into a neighbouring house, where they began to sing something like a hymn, and closed their ceremonies, it was said, with prayers. Finally, they retreated to their own estate, abusing the Mount Zion people, who had spoiled their work, and the Blue Hole people, who had joined us against them. They were terribly disconcerted; for they had all day been engaged in that yard to cleanse it from the hidden poison, had discovered the very spot where it lay concealed in the earth, just under the chair on which I stood, and were ready to conclude their operations, by digging it out, but for our unexpected interruption.

Blue Hole contained, as formerly mentioned, two great religious parties, besides those who attended my church. One of them had invited the fanatics, who were "of the same faith and order," from *Flower Hill*. The other, the Wesleyans, had been partly led away by them, and partly cowed; but, gathering courage from our appearance, took part with us, as I expected, and defeated the designs of their rivals. Then they gathered round us, and thanked us for coming to their help, apologized for the ill reception we had met, and promised us a better one the next time I should come, when they would all attend and hear the gospel. We returned to our homes rejoicing in the success of our expedition.

These deluded people came no nearer to us at that time, but estates farther inland were made the scenes of their operations. The following notice of their proceedings appeared in the county paper, on the 21st September:—

"Myalism has lately extended its ramifications over a section of country, including sixteen estates, from Iron Shore to Moor Park. This extraordinary superstition has evinced itself in fearful paroxysms, bordering on insanity, accompanied with acts of violence on those who attempt to restrain it. Lately, a set of these people took possession of a meeting-house on *Palmyra* estate, and commenced their orgies by singing, or yelling, and dancing in the most frantic excitement. The overseer and bookkeeper, attempting to restrain them, were assaulted with stones and other missiles, with a degree of ferocity perfectly demoniacal. On *Millenium Hall* a similar manifestation of this extraordinary infatuation was made for several nights, till the proprietor had them taken into custody and brought before the magistrates."

Palmyra being within my bounds, and some of its people members of our church, I appointed a meeting there, and called two trusty elders to accompany me. We met in one of the negro houses. Some of the Myal people joined us, and tried to create an excitement. While we sang a hymn, one of them walked up and down before the company, in an agitated manner, with looks and gestures indicati[illegible] of "the spirit" coming on him. His companions displayed [illegible] ers seemed likely to catch the infection. I [illegible] lown, and keep quiet. He said he could not. [illegible] er leave the house. No, he would not. He m[illegible] other, I told him; and he as stoutly replied t[illegible] ither, and continued his distracting movement [illegible] her too much; so, putting down my book, I s[illegible] e, my good fellow, we have had enough of this," took him by the shoulders, and put him out. His confederates needed only a nod to follow. Outside they kept up a constant fire of abusive and threatening language, against our church and elders, while our meeting lasted, and then retreated to join their own band and commence their own wild play. It rejoiced me to have the co-operation there of the new Baptist leader, a better man than his predecessor; for he helped us cordially in warning the people against the Myal error, and was glad of our help. In fact, without us he was powerless; for his own class had joined the Myal company, and taken possession of his prayer-house for their heathenish practices.

The following account of the proceedings of these people in another district appeared in the *Cornwall Chronicle* the ensuing week:—

"On Sunday afternoon, this town (Montego Bay) was alarmed by the sudden appearance of a man covered with blood and wounds, who represented that he and others had been assaulted, in resisting a party of these people endeavouring to force their way into the Baptist Chapel, at Salters Hill, during divine service, to celebrate their mystic rites.

"On Monday, the police proceeded to Latium and Guilsbro', where they apprehended about forty persons, who were joined by others of their party on their way to town. Before the magistrates they conducted themselves in an extraordinary manner.

Their heads were bound with cloths or cords, and while they swayed themselves to and fro, continally repeated, 'We no mad; who say we mad? It is the Lord Jesus Christ. We de dig out all dem badness. Ush, ush, ush.' Their Obea articles, wrapped in old crooks, and some ill-looking compound in bottles, were produced to the amazement of the court."

The Myal people approached us again at *Content* Estate, where many members of Hampden Church lived, though, happily, none of them joined the fanatics. It was needful to be on the alert, however, and Mr. Jameson, who was supplying Hampden congregation at the time, wrote to me to meet him there. I did so; and we had a large, orderly, well-sustained, and most interesting meeting. One of the speakers described a rare scene he had witnessed among the Myalists the previous evening. They had caught a Guinea man, reputed to be a practitioner of Obea, whom they found hard to purge from his old sins. They laid him on his back, and baptized him by a new form, which had the merit of uniting all forms in one; for they poured eight pails of water over him—a sprinkling as good as a ducking. He struggled mightily to get up during the operation, but was held firmly down, while the party danced and sung round him for a full hour, to exorcise the devil. At length they bade him rise, confess his sins, and call on the name of the Lord.

Mr. Drummond, the teacher of Hampden School, described as follows what he saw of their doings:—"They were yelling, wheeling round, and striking against one another in a frightful manner, and would not hear me speak to them. One young man was beating himself, and spinning about, till he fell down in convulsions. Afterwards, several men and women went reeling and staggering about, moaning and striking themselves. Two of the party, young men, seemed possessed of the devil. One of them had been at our school. Next morning he wept, and said he did not know what was the matter with him. Soon after he rolled on the ground, and then ran up and down like a mad dog. I took hold of them, and they trembled all over, with eyes fixed and staring. The next day they came to me composed; but feared "the spirit" would return on them again in the afternoon; and then, they said, they knew *not what they were* doing, and felt no pain.

If it was God's spirit that was in them, or the devil, they could not tell, nor could they restrain themselves."

Hampden Estate was soon after invaded. The sudden death of a woman there, without obvious cause, produced a consternation among the people, and gave occasion to the fanatics of *Gale's valley*, where the Myal was strong, to rush in with their help. The effect was deplorable; for ther[illegible]y old Guinea negroes on Hampden, still imbue[illegible] superstitions. "We know not what to do," wro[illegible]. "It has come in like a flood. Many of the [illegible]ith Myalism, and doing all they can to 'get the [illegible] the graves, and praying to the dead for that p[illegible]ders and myself have been doing all in our powe[illegible] till we are quite exhausted. We are to have a public meeting [illegible]e Hampden village to-morrow afternoon. Will it be possible for you to attend?"

I could not attend the meeting referred to; for our eldest child was at the time sick almost to death. But I sent four excellent substitutes. The proceedings of that meeting were reported to me, in the following graphic letter, by Mr. Edgerley, then our teacher in Mount Zion School:—

"The meeting was held in the village, and attended by two or three hundred people, of whom the half were strangers. Mr. Drummond prayed, and read suitable portions of Scripture. Then I addressed the meeting, spoke of their ingratitude to a gracious God, and to their faithful minister now away from them, and called on them to reflect and turn to the Lord. Mr. Leys spoke in an impressive, collected, and most serious manner. To both of us they paid much attention. The reception our friend Chambers met was different. His knowledge of their mysteries, of which he gave a lively dramatic representation, in a most effective manner, called forth the loudly-expressed displeasure of the guilty parties, while those on our side were convulsed with laughter. Stewart was less fortunate in his reception, though his style and arguments were serious and severe. He was continually interrupted by the Myalists, skulking behind among the plantain trees, shouting, hallooing, and contradicting all he said, so

* *The* Gale's valley people opened certain graves to release the spirits which they said *were confined* therein.

that he could not proceed. The serious and attentive part of the audience rose up in amazement, and a scene ensued which passes description. Mr. Mussendon jumped on the table, waved his hat, and entreated a hearing. He begged them to turn away from such lying vanities, but effected nothing. Our opponents closed shoulders in a line, and cried, 'After all Obea dere, and we must pull 'im.' Never did I see such a scene."

Steadily rebuked by the faithful dealing of the church session, and of the brethren who supplied for the absent minister, the strange infatuation died out on that estate, and did not appear in any other part of the Hampden congregation. The wave of excitement and delusion rolled on and away, the ebullition around us ceased, and the people afterwards seemed ashamed of their sin and folly.

The superstition did not, however, die. It has lately re-appeared to pervert the blessed work of revival, which God gave his churches in that island last year (1860-61). How strange, that as formerly it has appeared in connection with a corruption of Christianity,* which, erring on the subject of the Holy Spirit's work in man's heart, accepted the delusions of the Myal spirit as if the operations of the Spirit of God.

It has been already mentioned that our Presbytery, in July 1841, prepared a respectful, but frank and faithful expostulation, with the brethren of the Baptist Missionary Society, on their system of operations in Jamaica. A year afterwards, we learned, to our surprise, that it had never been received by them; and on inquiry, found that, owing to the sickness and death of the Presbytery Clerk, soon after that meeting, it had not been forwarded. That letter, it must be observed, was not controversial. It had no reference to the hackneyed questions of "subjects and mode," or of church government, but dealt with other matters of high importance in the church of God. Nor was it written with any view to being published, though its publication became afterwards unavoidable; nor in concert with other parties, though similarity of views led other parties to similarity of action about the same time.

* *The American or native Baptist system.*

When the oversight was discovered, our letter and the subject of it were no longer private. The London Missionary Society brethren had heard of it, and referred to it in the "Exposition" which they published of the same subject. Three of the Baptist brethren themselves, Messrs Whitehorne, Kingdon, and Reid, had done the same, and been dismissed by the society for so doing. And several brethren of [illegible] had expressed themselves freely to the same [illegible] ese parties referred to the action the Presbyte[illegible] ae matter, in proof of unity of sentiment. By [illegible] ers also, when at home in 1842, our communi[illegible] y appealed to, in proof that not one or two only [illegible] at our whole body, were in opposition to the syste[illegible] e Baptist mission. And in a great meeting of that society in [illegible]ndon, called in reference to these very things, its most eminent missionary from Jamaica referred to the Presbytery's letter, which he had never seen, in such a way as left us no choice but to publish it, with the evidence on which it was founded.

A joint committee of the two denominations in Edinburgh, having looked into the matter, recommended a thorough examination of it to be made in Jamaica, by a similar mixed committee. To such an impartial tribunal the Scottish missionaries were willing to submit. But though our statements were, of course, denied in the island by the parties addressed, the proper tribunal was never named, nor the investigation of our charges made. The Presbytery's letter being still, therefore, virtually *sub judice*, is given in the Appendix.*

This brief reference to that discussion, which extended over two years, is not designed to renew it. Having taken part honestly with my brethren in that controversy, I could not now, by silence, seem to shrink from the responsibility incurred. Indeed, after the publicity it obtained, and the place it has found in the History of Missions,† any seeming evasion of the subject would be liable to serious misconstruction.

A name so renowned and honoured in the missionary cause as that of the Baptist Society, we knew, could not be lightly nor safely called in question for anything. The fathers of its missions

* *Appendix, No. I.* † Brown's Hist. Prop. Christ., third edition, vol. ii. Bapt. Miss.

were ours too. They belonged to the whole church of God. But, in the conviction that it testified needful though painful truth, the Presbytery was not to be deterred by great names, whether of East or of West Indian missionaries, from what it truly believed to be a solemn duty, of great importance, to our one Divine Master and his holy cause.

Events that have occurred in that colony, since the period referred to, have confirmed the views we expressed, to the conviction of all parties, and also have tended to promote a correction of the evils. We learn from the secretary,* lately in Jamaica, that great improvements have taken place in its congregations there. He specifies the purification of the churches by the exercise of discipline, though attended with a great reduction of numbers; the restriction of the power of the leaders, who had previously got the people too much into their own hands; the better instruction of the leaders, and their greater responsibility to their pastors; and, lastly, the increased acquaintance the pastors had with their people, and the more thorough, because more personal and direct, supervision of them. These were some of the points which formed the subject of the Presbytery's "Remonstrance." The secretary found, however, that the missionaries were too few for their congregations, as each had two, three, or four under his care. Knowing the country, the people, and the work, we most heartily join in his desire, that a great increase in the number of faithful ministers may soon take place, so as more nearly to equalize them with that of their congregations.†

The working of freedom, during the period embraced in this

* *New York Herald;* report of Mr. Underhill's speech.

† The following passage, from the speech of the Rev. Mr. Hogg of Jamaica, to the United Presbyterian Synod in Edinburgh, last May, merits the best attention of the Baptist Missionary Society as well as of our own:—"Take warning by the history of the churches of another denomination, and ponder this striking fact, that our Baptist brethren, who, some twenty years ago, were urged by Mr. Knibb to separate from the parent society, have, as the result, had to become pastors, many of them of four or five churches, instead of one, in order to secure a competent support, being independent of foreign aid; and now, according to Mr. Underhill, they report only eight or nine shillings per head as the givings of each member, while the brethren of the London Missionary Society, like ourselves, who have acted on a different system, report more than the double for each member as the result of a better system, and of more thoroughly and efficiently working each separate station. Sir, you must not 'let go the rope;' you must not too speedily or too entirely leave these your infant churches to their own resources. The moral influence of your connection with them is far more valuable than *you at home here can estimate.*"

chapter, must be adverted to before we bring it to a close; and it will be best described now, as it was then, in my annual reports to our society: "The estates are all taking off crop, and the people working well. During the past year everything has improved, and the interests of the country look well for both masters and servants." "Freedom is working well. The scarcity and high price of sugar at home is [illegible] as has been represented, to the labourers being too [illegible] k, and too greedy to take moderate wages. N[illegible] k for the best wages they can get; but they [illegible] ey can get, rather than be hungry or naked. The [illegible] een perfectly peaceable; the estates of this parish a[illegible] cultivation; and the crops everywhere look well, except on [illegible] estates, where the fault does not lie with the emancipated p[illegible]try. Experienced planters assure me that they have no fears for the future." "In some parts of the island, indeed, the planters complain that they 'have not a command of labour.' Perhaps they want to have the labourers too much at command, as in former days—want to get labour on their own terms, enough and to spare, after they have driven away their old hands by mismanagement. Judicious overseers and attorneys assure me that they can carry on the cultivation of the estates very well with the people still on them, treating them civilly, and paying them fairly."

The following occurrence may be mentioned to the credit of the people, as showing the good spirit which animated them, and that they were not the indolent, avaricious creatures represented:—

One Sunday, in May 1841, the bell had tolled; and the congregation, assembled at the church doors, was entering the house, when an agitation became apparent, and a whisper of "Fire" ran among them. Smoke was rising from a cane piece on *Spot Valley* Estate, two miles off, easily seen from our elevation; and I desired the people of that place who were present, and evidently most uneasy, to go home and take care of the property. As the smoke increased, so did the alarm in the congregation; for months of drought had brought the whole country into a combustible state. The fire became visible, and I desired the Cornwall people to return and look after their estate, which lay next to and on the leeside of *the other*. A strong sea-breeze was blowing, and the flames rapidly

spread, and advanced towards Cornwall cane-fields. The people of Cinnamon Hill were desired to hasten and help their neighbours; and their departure made a great blank in the congregation. Soon a message came for more help, and every one in church able to work ran, leaving only useless old people and children with me. The danger was great; for the cane-fields continued uninterruptedly to the sea-side, and there spread east and west for miles, full of dry leaves inflammable as tinder. The flames continued to spread furiously, with vast clouds of smoke, and a tremendous rushing noise and rattling, like volleys of musketry, caused by the swelling and bursting of the ripe canes. At length, after several hours of incredible exertions, the fire was driven up towards a newly-dug piece of land, and there suppressed, when within a few yards of seizing on another portion of the standing crop, which would have conveyed it over the country. It was evening before the people could be dismissed; and then hundreds of acres, which in the morning had been clothed with luxuriance, were left a scene of blackened desolation.

A multitude of people from all quarters, who had not been to any church, poured out at the first alarm, to "fight the fire," and worked with all their might. The women carried water, running with earnest cries. Gangs of men on one side, with branches of trees, beat down the flames; on another side, with their bills, they cut roads through the canes, in advance of the fire, to break the communication; and drawing aside the dry leaves, piled the green tops over them. Never did I see people work with such energy, yea, fury, and frequently in imminent danger. They were sometimes, they said, like to be roasted alive, and had enough to do to escape from the flames; for the wind rising, carried great sheets of fire and masses of burning leaves over their heads, like an eruption, yea, over the road and the river, as the people said, "like a horse galloping." When the prairie is on fire, travellers flee before it. On this occasion the negroes faced the fire, and fought it for half a day, till they had it subdued. And for that great service they neither asked nor received pay. It was God's day, and the work was His work for the day. They got right hearty thanks, indeed, and as much sugar and water as they could drink, and were satisfied to have *done their duty.*

Some evil resulted from emancipation, of a kind, and in a way, that the missionaries alone took account of. It was not, indeed, a natural or proper consequence of the measure, but rather appeared, as weeds do among the corn, nourished by the same sun and rain, which God gives to bring forth and ripen the precious fruits. The young people soon began to feel their growing strength, and to abuse their liberty. To a great extent they threw off moral restraint, and forsook t[illegible] parents and churches. The Scottish missionaries had perhap[illegible] more to complain of in that way than others. Uniting the[illegible] l with the church, from the first, and giving great attention [illegible] education of the young, they had their children under as go[illegible] aining and control as their neighbours. But when a gener[illegible] fection of the youth of the country took place, those of our congregations could not remain unaffected.

Though the elder people, generally, worked on the estates where they lived, the younger too frequently took employment elsewhere, and formed irregular habits and connections. Parental authority, weakened by slavery, which set the master above the parents, was not soon re-established, and by freedom alone could not recover its lost position. Young people had become their own masters, could support themselves, and therefore act independently of their fathers and mothers. Nothing short of the grace of God could supply the place of the natural instinct, and early habit, of filial obedience. Overseers of estates needing labourers encouraged them, without inquiring whence or why they came, gave them any empty house, and left them to themselves. This disorder, unforeseen, took their ministers by surprise, caused them great sorrow, and prevented to some extent the realization of the hopes once fondly entertained, of the moral and religious blessings that would follow emancipation.

The schemes of Immigration which were originated after the emancipation of the slaves, must be briefly adverted to. It has been already mentioned how one of the earliest attempts to introduce white labourers on the estates failed. The next idea was to people the crown lands of the interior with Europeans, of a better class than the first adventurers. For this purpose, *Barrettville*,

Ashantully, *Middlesex*, and other townships, were commenced, to receive the new colonists. But the attempt was found a vain one, after the loss of vast sums of money, expended in introducing these people. The strangers, though children of toil, were unused to work under a vertical sun and in tropical rains. They knew not the changes in their manner of living required by their new circumstances, were far from market towns, and without carts and horses, unprovided with many necessaries, ignorant of the causes and symptoms of the most frequent and fatal disorders, and destitute of medicine and medical attendance. Thus, under a brilliant sky, in a fruitful and beautiful country, and amidst teeming life, so many sickened and died, that the rest lost heart and hastened to leave the colony. The townships deserted were sold for trifling sums, in ridiculous contrast to what they had cost, and white immigration was abandoned, after proving a fruitful source of fraud, licentiousness, and death.

Some parts of the country, it was said, had not a sufficiency of labourers, and schemes were concocted to procure a supply from abroad, at the expense of all the inhabitants. For example, the House of Assembly voted from the public taxes £152,000, for the three years, 1840–42; to import free negroes from the African coast. How unjust, to oblige the native labourers to bear any part of the expense of introducing rivals and supplanters, to provide servants for masters who could not keep their old hands when they had them!

Free negroes are not numerous, however, on the African coast, especially among the native tribes, and after four thousand five hundred were obtained from Sierra Leone, and other British settlements, the supply was exhausted. These, be it also observed, were obtained only on condition of being sent back again to their own country after a few years of service in the West Indies. Coolies from the East Indies were next procured, but proved weak, and unfit for heavy cane field labour, and soon, by their diseases, became public burdens, while their idolatries and depravities debased and corrupted the native peasantry, more than they had been before.

The favourite scheme then, for a while, was that proposed by one who had been in *Africa, and knew* that free labourers were

not numerous there. He proposed to hire slaves from their masters on the coast, free them in Jamaica, and, after their period of service, send them back loaded with wealth, civilisation, and religion, to bless their native country, and induce others to take their place in the cane fields of the west. Only those willing to be deceived could have been [illegible] the inconsistencies, absurdities, and deceptions of such [illegible] an. It was a fraud, and would have cheated all [illegible] ne. Had government sanctioned it, the slave [illegible] would have been revived, and all slave trading [illegible] ve adopted it. The owners on the coast would n[illegible] people sent back to them, if they were freed in Jamai[illegible] enslavement of emancipated people would have been a[illegible] er to be allowed. The unhappy slaves would find their promised freedom and its attendant blessings all a delusion. They would be forced to give the greatest labour for the smallest pay, and be bound to their respective places by stringent vagrant laws. Happily the infamous deception was exposed both in Britain and the colonies, and the pet plan was never carried into effect. It was not soon abandoned however. Ten years afterwards an attempt was made to work it out at Old Calabar, where I saw a letter addressed to king Eyo, by a Liverpool house, requiring him to furnish ten thousand men, women, and children, for seven years service in the West Indies.

These various plans and proceedings were reviewed in a series of letters, in one of the island papers, and suggestions offered as to another, and probably better, method of increasing the labouring population. While the colonial rulers, I said, were ransacking their brains, and treasury, and all countries, for workpeople, and obtaining only a few at a monstrous expense, they neglected the sanitary regulations necessary for promoting the natural increase of the native population. Their own emancipated peasantry, every one of whom was worth any two they could import, might, under proper conditions, have been expected to increase at a rate greater than any possible increase by immigration. Ere now, they might have added fifty per cent to the population, and ere long have doubled it. Unhappily, most of those who had a permanent interest in the colony were absentees, and with few exceptions, its

affairs were managed by others, whose connection with it was too brief to induce them to bear a present loss for a future gain.

Numerous *dispensaries* were required to supply the want of the old estate hospitals. Vaccination should have been enforced and made universal. The *estate villages*, the chief seats still of the labouring class, should have been opened, and purified, and brought under police regulations, and not suffered to continue, as in the former state, hot-beds of vice and disease. *Wedlock* should have been encouraged and protected among the people, and large families rewarded,* *with the proviso of legitimacy.* Some effectual check should also have been placed on the dissoluteness of the planter class, both by greater inducements to overseers to be married men, than had formerly been afforded, and by a decided repression of the old system of demoralization. In this last named particular the reformation of manners required to begin at the fountain-head; and, under any circumstances, could be promoted less by the legislature than by the proprietary of the country. In co-operation they might certainly have greatly restrained the wasting evil, the blight of the colony;. and should have done so, if not from the highest considerations, yet from the lower one of fostering and promoting the population of the island, on which their own worldly prosperity depended.

The small-pox and cholera, which subsequently devastated the country, proved how necessary, and how neglected, were some of the precautions mentioned. It is a fact, that in the negro village of Cornwall Estate, where I had some of the sanitary measures above mentioned carried into effect, with the concurrence of the people themselves, and of the manager, of course, the cholera took little effect, while Cinnamon Hill, and others around, were nearly depopulated.

This chapter may be closed with a brief view of the state of *Mount Zion congregation*, in 1844, when I was called to leave it, in order to commence a new work on the other side of the Atlantic. The roll contained the names of about 1150 persons. The communicants were 270; the candidates above 70, who met me weekly in class; inquirers above 450; children nearly 400. The

* During slavery, the mother of six living children was released from estate labour.

average congregation on the Lord's day was about 700 of all ages, whose appearance in the house of worship was most becoming, both as to dress and demeanour; while their daily conduct, in their worldly connections and affairs, was not generally inconsistent with their Christian profession.

The *schools* were in good working order. That at *Mount Zion* was taught by Mr. Dickson and Miss Taylor, and attended by a hundred children daily. That at *Rose Hill*, taught by Mr. and Mrs. Mussendon, reckoned about sixty in regular attendance. *Mount Horeb* held its ground, both on Sabbath-day and throughout the week, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley, till they joined me in our African enterprise.

The *Temperance Society*, in both its branches, numbered close on 800 faithful members. *Daily visits to the estate villages* were regularly maintained, for preaching and catechizing; but none could have weekly visits as formerly, owing to the number which then called for these services. The *prayer-meetings* were well sustained, varied by occasional prolonged concerts of prayer, agreed on by brethren in the colony, or by the mother church at home. These were generally well kept up, and afforded gratifying evidence of the increased spiritual life we desired.

Little room was left, in the district of country we occupied, for expansion or increase. The ground on every side was occupied. Five new congregations had come into existence, within a range of twelve miles of Mount Zion, besides those previously formed, and hemmed us in; and the people generally were attached, by some sort of connection, with some Christian body or other. The character of my labours had, therefore, changed from the missionary to the pastoral. When the raw material is worked up, the finishing and perfecting of the work requires and obtains more attention. When there is no more new ground to be broken up and reclaimed, the old requires to be the better cultivated.

In every part of my missionary and pastoral labours, the co-operation of the church session was invaluable. A second ordination of elders had taken place, after some of the first had gone to the mountains, or been removed by death. They understood their position and duties in the church, and generally performed them with fidelity. The meetings of session were frequent,

well attended, and often protracted to a late hour, especially before the communion, observed quarterly, when the roll of members was carefully examined, and inquiry made into the attendance on the means of grace, performance of church duty, and conduct in the various relations of life, of every individual.

Evidence was abundant that the Lord had graciously blessed His work in our hands, and to Him be the praise. No labour in the Lord is ever in vain. "The husbandman hath long patience, waiting for the precious fruits of the earth, till he receive the early and the latter rain." He may have to sow his seed in tears, but will surely come again, bringing his sheaves with rejoicing.

CHAPTER X.

Mission to Africa—Buxton begin—Causes of delay—Friends of the cause multiply—C —Appointed to that mission—Parting scenes—Wrecked o ervices there—Passage to New Orleans—The Mississippi—O re, and other occurrences—Novel scene at the mouth of the r —Present state of our Jamaica mission.

FROM the day the sun o eedom arose in 1834, it was hoped by all friends of Africa that, among the emancipated Christians of the West Indies, valuable agents would be found for propagating the gospel in the land of their progenitors. The subject engaged the attention of our Presbytery in 1839. But on many essential points we were so deficient in information, that we could resolve only to make it a matter of reflection, inquiry, and prayer. At its meeting, in 1840, we resolved to come to our next meeting prepared for deciding the grave question of a mission to Africa, from our Jamaica congregations.

Ere the appointed period came round, the necessary information was unexpectedly supplied. A venerable and honoured relative in Dublin sent me Sir T. F. Buxton's book, just then published, on "The Slave Trade and its Remedy," which opened up the whole subject. And when the Presbytery met at Goshen, in July 1841, and resumed consideration of it, the conviction was produced in all our minds that the way was ready for our going forward. We felt bound to take some decided step; yet, seeing that the gravest consequences would result to ourselves and our congregations from our decision, we suspended business; and, under an inexpressible solemnity of mind, devoted the rest of the day to prayer for divine direction.*

When the subject was resumed next morning, a deep feeling of

* An express messenger was sent off that evening to Kingston for a dozen copies of Buxton's work, which we learned had just arrived there for sale, that all our congregations might be fully instructed on the subject.

awe was on the minds of all present, as each gave his opinion in favour of the new mission, and expressed his readiness to go forth on it, if called thereto by his brethren, and approved of by the church at home. It was a renewed and unreserved self-consecration to the cause of our Lord and Saviour among the heathen; and some who were present on the solemn occasion, not members of the court, have said that they could never forget the impressive and affecting scene; nor could they restrain their tears of joy, that God had inclined the hearts of his servants to offer themselves so willingly for the new and arduous service.

The resolutions of the Presbytery on the subject expressed its conviction, that the time was favourable for renewed efforts, on behalf of the evangelization of Central Africa; that it had strong claims on the church of God, and especially on the Christians of Great Britain; that the best agents for the purpose might be found in West Indian churches, and among missionaries already acclimated and experienced; that our congregations and ourselves felt the deepest interest in it; and that we offered ourselves to the mother churches of our native land to undertake the service.

In accordance with these resolutions, the Presbytery earnestly entreated the missionary society, and the church, with which its members were connected, to undertake this work; and appointed the northern district committee* to correspond with them, and use other necessary steps for carrying its views into effect.

The ardour of purpose, with which the Presbytery determined on this new mission, was seriously tried by various discouraging events, which for a long time prevented it taking another step. The breaches made in our ranks by sickness, death, and absence from the field, during the ensuing eighteen months, have been already mentioned. The disastrous termination of the Government expedition to the Niger, which was sent to found a colony, and open the way for missionary labours, in the heart of the continent, crushed the hopes of the nation for a time, and led us to examine anew the ground on which we were proceeding. The cold and discouraging reception that our proposals met with, both from the society and the church to which they had been made, might well have induced us to abandon the design. They

* Mr. Blyth, Mr. Anderson, and myself.

frowned on it as premature, displaying more zeal than judgment, not accordant with the state of dependence in which our Jamaica church stood, both for means and missionaries, and as highly presumptuous, after the failure of vastly greater efforts by others than we could possibly put forth. The letter from the secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society, on this last head, was enough to frighten us, by its long array of previous failures.

Such repulses and hindrances not only enforced delay, but compelled the reconsideration of our cherished project. The Presbytery, however, faltered not. At its meeting in 1842, at Stirling Park, Westmoreland, the station of the Rev. William Niven, "it was agreed to record that the desire of members to aid in introducing the gospel into Central Africa is unabated, that they view the proposed mission with increasing interest, and entertain the same sense of their duty in relation to it as at the first, willing to go forth to the help of the Lord in the conversion of Ethiopia."

As our design became better known, however, in Scotland, and the novelty of the idea wore off, it ceased to startle people, and began to be viewed as practicable, and even desirable. The Rev. Dr. Robson, of Glasgow, in Jamaica for his health, entered heartily into it, and advocated it warmly on his return home. The brethren, Blyth and Anderson, at home for health in 1842, successfully pleaded the cause, and also that of the Presbytery's Academy in Montego Bay, where the coloured missionaries for the service were to be trained.* In Liverpool they found friends who took up the cause most heartily, met captains trading to Old Calabar, and received such favourable accounts of the people's willingness for education and civilization there, that they transmitted, by a friendly hand, formal proposals to the king and chiefs of that country to settle our mission among them.

Before the middle of 1843, the following letter was received from the gentleman who took out their letter in reference to the subject of it :—

"On arrival at Old Calabar, I stated to the king and chiefs the propositions you empowered me to make. They were received favourably. A tract of ground has been pointed out, which, I

* Then and since admirably and successfully conducted by Mr. George Millar.

think, is exactly what is wanted. The situation is high, dry, and as fertile as any ground about this part of the country. You will not find a great deal of difference between the natives and what a few years ago was the state of the negroes in the West Indies; and will find this part of Africa much better than you anticipate. I may with confidence say, prepare to come. All things are not as yet settled; but I do not expect any occurrence unfavourable to your wishes. I merely send you this early notice, that you may be preparing. By another opportunity you shall hear full particulars."

Months elapsed ere we heard again; for correspondence with the Guinea coast was then slow and irregular. Half a year might pass without the sailing of a ship to or from it. At length the promised letter arrived, and filled us with joy.

"At a consultation of the chiefs, held this morning at the king's house, it was settled, that to sell the tract of ground required was out of the question. The land, however, will be at your service, to make such establishments on as you may see proper. It will be guaranteed to its occupiers for ever; a law will be passed for its protection; and the colonists will dwell in peace and safety, none daring to make them afraid. There seems no doubt of your obtaining land, when once here and established, sufficient for plantations for a number of families. The king and chiefs say they are desirous of your coming amongst them, and are full of the scheme, hoping to have their children taught in English learning. The spot of ground intended to be presented you is between the two towns of Old Calabar and Henshaw Town, which lie about a mile apart. It runs from the river as far as the inland boundary of this town.

"We, the undersigned, king and chiefs of Old Calabar, having consulted together, agree to those things before written, and request you to come amongst us.

"King Eyamba the Fifth.	Egbo Jack.
Henshaw Duke.	Adam Duke.
Mr. Young.	Bashey Offary.
Duke Ephraim.	Antern Duke."

It happened, by a providential coincidence, that just a month

before our proposals reached Calabar, a Queen's ship had been there, and Commander Raymond had made a treaty with the kings and chiefs for their abandoning the slave trade, and receiving missionaries. Very curious letters on this subject, from Kings *Eyamba* and *Eyo*, will be found in the Appendix.

We hastened to acknowledge the invitation we had received, and assured our new [illegible] resolution to carry our proposals into effect, [illegible]le. At the same time we opened a correspo[illegible]ct, with an influential gentleman in that pa[illegible]ptain Beecroft, governor of Fernando Po, throug[illegible] in Liverpool. The following letter from him, [illegible]t friend in July or August 1844, shows the pro[illegible]iation:—

"I avail myself of this opportunity of communicating to you my proceedings with the kings and chiefs of Old Calabar, relative to the introduction of the Scottish missionaries. On my arrival there, I presented to King Eyamba Mr. Blyth and Mr. Waddell's letter, explaining at the same time the benefit and good results that would accrue from the education of their children in English learning; and, on the other hand, in teaching how to raise productions of the soil to give in exchange for European manufacture, and thus increase their wealth and commercial importance.* I also explained, that so far from taxing the missionaries with an amount of annual payment, they ought rather to make a free gift of a portion of territory for their habitation, and to contribute an annual sum for their support; as the missionaries were men wholly separate from trade and traders. King Eyamba's reply was conclusive at once—that through Captain T—— he had expected the said missionaries last year; and as far as he (King Eyamba) and the gentlemen of Duke Town were concerned, it was not their wish to charge for the ground. Eyamba expressed a wish that they should come out as soon as possible."

The receipt of this letter convinced the committee of the necessity of immediate and decided action, unless we meant to abandon the scheme altogether. But we were in a great strait; for while the way was open, and we were urged on various sides to go forward, we were held back by those on whom we had mainly de-

* The idea was at first entertained of taking a few agricultural families with us.

pended. Could we proceed without them? It seemed as if we must. Some new line of action was necessary, and a special meeting of the Presbytery was called to consider it.

The brethren met at Hampden on the 12th September, and resolved on the formation of a new missionary society for the express purpose of carrying out our design. They also unanimously invited me to be their first agent and representative, both to the churches at home and to the natives of Calabar. Could I hesitate, after the solemn consecration, which, in common with all the brethren, I had made of myself to the cause three years before? Happy was I to find that my "true yoke-fellow" was likewise prepared for her part in the new service. "It will be a sore trial," said she, "to leave this place and people, where we have have been so long and so happy, and to go with these young children to a new country. But you must go where the Lord calls you, and it is my duty to go with you." I stipulated with the brethren only that my place at Mount Zion should be speedily and efficiently supplied.

The consent of the Scottish Missionary Society having been obtained, to my leaving my station for two years, in order to organize the new society at home and the new mission at Calabar, we prepared to leave Jamaica early in January 1845. Mr. Edgerley, then catechist at Mount Horeb, offered himself, and, with other assistants, was appointed to follow me to England before the end of the year. The beloved brother, Jameson, also, I knew, would be ready to join us so soon as he should be required. We had agreed together, two years previously, sitting under an *Aki* tree, behind my house, that if either of us should be called on to undertake this new mission, the other would be the first to support him.

The congregation of Mount Zion, as might be expected, deeply felt the separation, but acquiesced in it as a duty to God and to their benighted race. "Freely we have received," said one of the elders, "and freely we must give, when God requires. The good friends in Scotland did not hinder our minister coming to us, and we must not hinder him going to others, when the Lord calls him." But some of the old Guinea people tried to dissuade us, and, with tears, said, "*Don't go, minister;* Guinea country is a

bad country; better you stay here. Let them other minister, if they want to go, go themselves."

Our last Sabbath together was a trying one. I wished to cheer them and myself, but found it no easy thing to do. We had, indeed, much that was pleasant to look back on, and no cause for dejection as to the future. Yet silent tears flowed from many, and some retired [illegible] disturb the worship by a more audible expressi[illegible]gs. It was also our regular communion Sabbath [illegible] year, which we required to enjoy without dis[illegible] might consecrate ourselves anew to the service [illegible]ord; and he did grant us much of his presen[illegible]s comfortably through the duties of that solemn d[illegible]

All the next week the kind people filled our house, coming from all the estates, with their presents of yams, fowl, and fruits, for our sea store, and to have a last shake of the hand and sad farewell. The good people of Horeb also sent abundant supplies of the same kind direct to Montego Bay, where the vessel lay in which we were to make our passage homeward. With difficulty, at last, yea with a wrench and a pang, we got away from a weeping throng.

What sudden and unexpected changes occur! We sailed on Saturday, 11th January, in the *Weymouth*, a large, new, and handsome schooner, with seemingly everything in our favour, and on Sunday night were wrecked on the east end of the Grand Caymans. Going smoothly before a gentle wind, when the captain, his lady, and we passengers were asleep below, and the mate and crew, I fear, were asleep on deck, the vessel, at midnight, suddenly struck, and the shock aroused us all.

"What is the matter, captain?" I cried, as he rushed through the cabin.

"On the reefs, I fear," he replied, and hastened on deck.

I followed, and what a sight presented itself! The breakers were raging and foaming around us, far as the eye could see ahead, and on both sides, while the vessel was beating and tearing on rocks scarcely below the surface of the water. They might have been seen and heard a mile off, had the watch and officer *on duty kept* any sort of look-out.

Our children were aroused and dressed quickly; but what was to be done with them did not appear. The captain and crew found there was little they could do to help themselves. His lady bustled about for a while, getting a few things ready for a hasty taking to the boats, if that might seem necessary or possible. But no boat could live in such waters; we were safest for the time in the ship. When all were at a loss what to do, and found they could do nothing, I called them to join in prayer to God, and felt emboldened to plead, that, as he had given to Paul the lives of all on board with him, so he would deal graciously with us, his poor servants, in our emergency.

The vessel fell over on its side, and everything movable fell over too. There was no sitting possible, except on the floor, and there we sat patiently waiting on the Lord. It was grievous to feel and hear the straining and groaning of the poor ship on the rocks, as the swell of the sea lifted it up and cast it down again, with a crash that made everything start, and seemed fit to split it in pieces. As if it had been a living thing, struggling in the iron grasp of a powerful enemy, our hearts ached for it with a mingled feeling of sympathy and danger.

"Papa, is this a storm?" said our eldest child with touching simplicity, having been lately reading of a boy lost at sea. "Is this a storm, and will we all be drowned here?"

"I don't like this work at all," said the next, not five years old. "And, papa, just as soon as morning comes, you must make the ship go back to Cornwall." Then her crying changed to laughter, at the vain efforts of the black cabin-boy, to get along the floor towards the pantry, scrambling up, and still sliding down again, as if he had been going up the roof of a house.

The captain comforted us with the assurance that his schooner was new and strong, and would hold together till next day, if the wind and sea should not rise worse than they were; so, trusting in God, we put the little ones to sleep again, and watched over them till morning.

When day dawned, a small low island was visible at some distance, and between it and the reef a lagoon of smooth water. Ere long, to our great joy, canoes were seen coming off from the shore. "What benevolent *people*," *I said*; "see how they hasten

to our help." "Wreckers," said our captain; "that must be their trade. Many vessels have been brought up here all standing;" and he pointed to anchors, chain cables, and fragments of ships lying on the reef, over which the water now lay calm and clear. A fleet of canoes was making for us, and soon surrounded our helpless craft; when a host of wild, reckless-looking, coloured men sprang up the sides, like pi[illegible] or boarders greedy for prey. The head man, advancing t[illegible]n, with one word of pity and two of business, agreed to [illegible] thing ashore, on the usual terms of a half for their trou[illegible]

Then began the work of [illegible]g the vessel. The fellows were up the rigging, and ov[illegible] spars, and everywhere in a moment. Down came the sails [illegible]l ropes, bundled into the canoes, and off ashore with amazing rapidity. Up came everything from the hold. The cabin doors, fittings, and furnishings, were by fair or foul means torn off and sent away. The people seemed to vie which would do most, the canoes which would go and return most quickly, striving to strip the wreck during the calm of the morning, before the sea breeze rising should impede their operations. Some of them were swearing shockingly till rebuked; when they looked surprised, begged pardon, and then shouted to their companions to mind themselves, as there was a "parson" on board.

One of the best canoes and its crew were engaged to take my family ashore; and many women on the beach received the children into their arms with tenderness and pity. The head wrecker's house was offered for our use, the only one on the coast fit for strangers; for it had two rooms, one above another, connected by a ship's ladder, while the rest of the dwellings seemed merely fishermen's huts, and hovels of the poorest description. The captain, his lady, and crew, their chests and luggage, with us and ours, filled the two apartments. Yet we had room to worship God together morning and night, and to call in some neighbours to join us. People can do much to accommodate themselves and one another, when they are so disposed; and may be contented and happy under most adverse circumstances, in the blessed company of their heavenly Father.

A public sale of the wreck attracted, a few days afterwards,

parties from other places, and among them the owner of a small schooner from George's Bay, at the west end of the island. It was lying to, at a respectful distance outside the perilous reefs, and afforded us an opportunity of removing from the desolate beach, where we had been cast away. We proceeded in it to George's Bay, in the first instance, and thence to New Orleans, the week following, for which port it was then preparing to sail.

To reach the schooner in the offing the reef must be crossed. There was a passage, but a difficult one, which required good steering. The captain, his lady, and my family went first, in what had been his own boat, rowed by his own men, but steered, at my earnest request, by one of the wreckers, who knew the passage. The mate and I stayed behind, to see the luggage all off. It was a moment of intense anxiety while we watched that precious boat recrossing the reef, now heaved aloft by the great black rolling waves, then seemingly buried among them. But the Lord had them in his hand, and they were discovered again beyond danger, in the open sea, though soon again lost to sight in the distance, long ere they reached the vessel. The canoe in which the mate and I went hoisted a sail, and, though loaded with luggage, skimmed like a bird over the smooth lagoon, the rollers on the reef, and the long swell of the sea, and soon brought us in sight of our beloved ones. How happy we were to meet again on that little ship's deck!

George's Town, which we reached in the evening of the same day, presented an attractive appearance in a line of good houses, fronting the bay. There we found respectable married families, both white and brown, with whom we had agreeable intercourse during the week we remained. There also were a church and school-house, but neither minister nor teacher; nor was any in the island, though it contains about fifteen hundred inhabitants, and is reckoned a parish of the diocese of Jamaica. There had indeed once been a curate of the English Church for a while in the place, and also a Wesleyan missionary, and a Mico charity schoolmaster, one after another, but all had left, and none had returned, they felt so solitary there out of the world.

It was made known that I would preach on Sabbath, and several hundred people filled the school-house, white, black, and

brown. Between services we had reading classes, and were glad to see the progress many had made, and the desire that all manifested to learn. A good work had been begun among them, and a great work evidently remained to be done. With avidity they received all the books and tracts we had to distribute; and implored us to make known their destitute condition, and procure them a missionary. Thence may be traced the very interesting and successful mission of our church in that island, under the Rev. Mr. Elmslie, who settled there the following year.

The Grand Cayman is but a few feet above the level of the sea, with a thin coating of soil on a coral rock. There is pasturage for cattle, but no farms. Even the bush, which can grow where man cannot labour, is stunted. Yams, cocoas, and plantains are unknown. "Sweet potatoes will grow in some parts," said a good woman, "and we all go a fishing, especially for turtle, to supply the English ships. But, to tell the truth, sir, our main dependence is on the wrecks, and we all thank God when a ship comes ashore." The Grand Cayman is a trap for ships, and catches more, perhaps, than any other spot of equal extent in the world. It is on the high road of all West India vessels, homeward bound, and of all outward bound for New Orleans, Havannah, and other ports in the Gulf of Mexico; while the never-ceasing current varies, sometimes, with the trade wind, both in force and direction, sweeping one time north and another time south of the island. Seamen, who don't want to call there for turtle, give it a wide berth; but sometimes, as in our case, when they had reckoned themselves thirty miles off it, find their ships crashing on its reefs. Anchors and chain cables were lying all over the beach. Fragments of ships seemed to form part of most of the common people's houses.

The burial-place took my attention as peculiarly neat and simple. The graves were marked, not by mounds of earth and headstones, or great massive tombs, but by houses in miniature, just large enough each to cover one person; mostly about six feet long, two feet broad, and one and a half high, with a sloping roof and full gable end, in which was inserted a small slab containing the name of the occupant, his age, and the day on which he entered *his narrow* home, "the house appointed for all living." They

were well built, white, and clean, and, of course, of all sizes. Sometimes a row of them close to one another indicated a family place of sepulture. The want of sufficient depth of earth for an ordinary grave, perhaps, led to the adoption of this literal necropolis.

The evening before we sailed from George's Bay a sloop came into harbour in great style, flying colours, firing guns, and hurrahing. "Glorious news," cried a man jumping on board; "the five poor fellows that were lost three months ago have come safe home again." It appeared that these men out fishing had been blown off the island, some months previously, in a hurricane, which had swept over the west end of Cuba and neighbouring seas. Their friends mourned for them as lost; but an American ship had picked them up and landed them on the Mosquito shore. Thence they found their way to Ruatan island, where Cayman sloops went a turtleing and found them.*

On the 22d we left the Grand Cayman for New Orleans, in that small schooner of forty tons, with two captains, two mates, two crews, and the colonel of the island militia, the owner of the little craft, in command of all. It was never designed for passengers, and certainly the accommodation for so many was sadly deficient; but the master did what he could to make us comfortable; and we were thankful to get soon and safely forward on our voyage. Besides our own wrecked crew, he had the mate and carpenter of the *Curlew* of Liverpool, lost a short time before on the Jardinelles, off the south coast of Cuba.

On the 1st of February we were off one of the mouths of the Mississippi, yet fifty miles out from the proper line of coast. The mighty river has formed seven separate channels for itself into the sea, and banked them up on both sides, by immense masses of bare, hard, black mud. Above this delta the sides are covered with cane brakes, and lined with trunks of trees in countless multitudes for many miles, heaped on each other, the spoils of northern forests, swept down by the "father of waters" during many ages. They were still floating down innumerable, to be

* In that hurricane the sea rose so high that it nearly washed over the island, which was saved only by its surrounding reefs. When we were there we could have filled a ship with sponges, which were in heaps on the shore, the effect of the storm. In Jamaica the sea at the same time rose tremendously along the north-west coast, though the wind did not reach it, and rolled with such violence that it destroyed wharves and roads, and carried small vessels ashore.

bedded in the alluvion, and thus to carry on the process of forming new land.

As we ascended the soil became consolidated, the reeds gave place to willows, and they to varied bush and forest, among which soon appeared the fisherman's hut and canoe. The pasturage, with cattle, afterwards came into view, and the sugar plantations, with vessels lying at wharves to receive the estate produce. We had sailed slowly up, and succeeded in rounding that remarkable bend in the river called English Turn, which arrested the progress of the invading forces in 1812; and at the close of the second day we reached the Crescent city, a hundred and twenty miles from the sea.

Other ships were constantly passing up and down, towed by powerful steamers; for it was the cotton season, the great trading time of New Orleans. The tugs had generally a large ship lashed on each side, and half a dozen of smaller vessels in tow astern. They were of a novel construction,—floats, not ships, fit only for river navigation. On the deck, little raised above the water, were the engines, boilers, and fires, open all round. The stokers stood in the bows, and the furnaces opened forward, doubtless for the benefit of the draught. The saloon and its balconies were on an upper deck. The steersman stood high in front, instead of the stern, to keep the better look-out ahead, and avoid the snags and the logs of timber ever floating down the river. The engines were high-pressure, and worked high, with tremendous blasts, like thunder-claps, which resounded from the woods and waters in many echoes. They were heard miles away, at times long before they were seen, in the windings of the river. At night, visible from afar in the long reaches, and roaring as they rushed down, they were really frightful objects; and their open fires glaring in front, and streams of flame issuing from their funnels, reminded one of the fabled monsters of antiquity, with eyes of fire, and breath of flame, and bellowings that shook the forests. It was not without fear that I saw our little craft between two of these monstrous trains, one sweeping down on us and another labouring up astern, lest we should be run down in the darkness. Happily the vast river gave room enough for all.

It was late when we came to anchor, in sight of the lights of

the renowned capital of the south. Early next morning an official came to inquire about the vessel. Seeing my wife's little maid-servant, Frances, a mulatto of about twelve years of age, he concluded his inquiries concerning her by saying, that it was contrary to the laws of the state to bring foreign people of colour into it, and that she must be lodged in prison. He said, indeed, that he was sorry for her and for us, and hinted his disposition to serve us in any way, which seemed to mean on certain terms; but getting only thanks for his civilities, concluded by regretting that he must report her to the magistrates. Of course I told him by all means to do his duty in the case, having no design of putting myself in his hands.

After seeing my family in lodgings, the brown girl with the rest, I sought the British consul, and reported the case to him. He was then the same gentleman who so efficiently fills the office still,—Mr. Muir. He feared, however, that he could do nothing, having failed in other nearly similar cases, the law of the state being very stringently applied. He agreed as to its injustice, and the discredit it reflected on the British Government, which allowed its free people of colour to be so treated in the slave state ports, and he had represented the matter strongly enough to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, but all in vain.* He was very willing, however, to do anything in his power in our case, and gave me a letter to the Mayor of the city.

The Mayor sent me to the Recorder. The Recorder took down a volume and read the law to me; said it was imperative, and he was bound to execute it.

In the administration of some laws, I replied, and especially such an one as he had read, a discretionary power was usually and necessarily left to a chief magistrate, to meet exceptional cases. In none could such power be more wisely and safely exercised than the one before him. The extreme youth of the girl, her duties as nurserymaid, the painful circumstances under which she had come to his city, the terrible risk she would run in the common prison of such a city, and the shocking injustice

* It is monstrous that free-coloured seamen should be taken out of British ships lying in port, and be lodged in prison till the ships be ready to sail, and then charged their expenses of board and lodgings. If *these be not paid*, they are not released, and after six months may be *sold as slaves to defray them.*

of thus punishing an innocent child, all pleaded for her, and I hoped would not plead in vain.

He calmly answered that the law admitted of no exceptions.

"Well, sir," I resumed, "if you send that girl to prison I must go with her. She is a free British subject, entrusted to my care, and I cannot leave her alone in a common jail among criminals. The time will not be long, as we shall go by first ship to England; where the whole story will certainly be made public; and a very ugly story it will be."

He relaxed a little, and said he would think over the matter, and consult the district attorney, if anything could be done in our favour; and that I should return next morning, bringing the girl with me.

The next morning the Recorder said that he would relieve the girl from imprisonment, but bind her in penalties to leave the state within six weeks. She was then measured by the official standard in the office, and all particulars of her appearance as to height, colour, hair, eyes, &c. noted. "Wounds, scars, or marks of punishment," read the clerk from the printed form, and the subordinate began to examine her ears, shoulders, arms, &c. "There are none," I said; and he quietly repeated, "None." The penalty of delaying her departure would be imprisonment, and if not removed and all expenses paid within six months, to be then sold as a slave. He asked me if I would write her name. "She will write it herself," I replied, and gave her the pen. She did so legibly and well, to the evident surprise of all in the office. With my best thanks, and her best courtesy, we retired, and hastened to relieve the anxieties of those we had left in our lodgings.

The consul rejoiced greatly when he heard of our success, and owned that it was more than he expected. "And she signed the paper herself?" he exclaimed. "Well done, our little West Indian. There is perhaps not another girl of her age and colour in this state could do the same."

The day we landed was *Mardi Gras*, or Shrove Tuesday, a great holiday among the French creoles, and all the Romish population. The next day conversation turned at table on a murder that had been committed the night before. A gentleman from Virginia, a sort of bully there, was warned to mind himself

in New Orleans, or he would meet his match. He laughed at the advice, and of course felt bound to show that he was not afraid. At a ball that night he quarrelled with another gentleman about a lady, and struck him. The other darted out of the room, returned in a few moments with a long knife, and plunged it into his antagonist's bosom, who fell down dead.

"Are such occurrences rare here?" I asked a gentleman beside me.

"By no means," he replied, "there were four or five last night in the city."

"What will be done to the murderer?"

"Not much. Tried and sent to prison of course, where his friends will make him comfortable. His time will be abridged, and he will come out a hero. They cannot repress such crimes here with a strong hand."

Though the Recorder had dealt more graciously with us, and our servant maid, than with others, he must have thought us, in some respects, doubtful characters; for I learned that the police had charge to look after us. For that reason my services, which had been sought by a small coloured congregation in the city, destitute of a minister, and had been promised for the next Sabbath, were afterwards declined, by the very parties who had requested them, and who feared to offend the higher powers.

On the Lord's day we went to a neighbouring Presbyterian Church, where the Rev. Dr. Scott officiated. It was a large and handsome building, more elegantly furnished than was usual in our Edinburgh or Glasgow churches, and attended by a fashionably dressed congregation. The gallery was appropriated to the coloured classes, and filled by respectable-looking blacks and browns of all shades. The minister preached the gospel well, both as to matter and manner, and his prayers were such as all Christians could devotionally adopt. "The service of song in the house of the Lord," was wanting; but the organ performed its part well as a substitute; and the audience devoutly heard the "sacred music." The Wednesday evening prayer-meeting and lecture, in the spacious room below the church, was more edifying. The congregation was plainer and more serious-looking, stood up to pray, and united *their voices in praising* the Lord.

In the Bible and Tract Depository I met city and sailor's missionaries, with whom I had agreeable and useful intercourse. Through them I met the secretary of the Colonization Society, and received books, and general information, concerning the new republic of *Liberia*, on the African coast, which proved of real service to me. Two of these gentlemen called on me, just before we embarked for England, and. [illegible] ressing regret that we had received no attention during our [illegible] in their city, requested my acceptance of a gift, from s[illegible] iends, who feared that my resources might have been [illegible] by the disaster which had brought us among them. [illegible] r was made delicately, but positively declined, as not at a[illegible] quired. They urged me to accept it, at least for our new [illegible] on; but that also I refused to do, as not instructed to raise funds in America. Though sensible of their kindness, I felt happy to be under no obligation to any one in that city.

At the mouth of the Mississippi our progress seaward was arrested for about a week, and we were introduced to a new and strange scene. We were in a cotton ship of seven hundred tons, towed by a steamer, which, in passing round another in the middle of the channel, caused us to swing, and we got fast on a mud flat. The hawser parted, but a stronger one was attached, and the steamer laboured all day to drag us through. It was labour in vain. The next day two steamers together strove to release us; but their prodigious efforts and roarings failed. We were not alone in misfortune. Six or eight others were in the same predicament, with tugs striving to drag them through. Daily some got off and away, and others coming down the river became bogged. So soon as one was free her crew gave a parting cheer, and hasted to spread all sail; and when another stuck fast all the other ships gave a shout of derisive welcome. It was a region of thunder and smoke, a lively and exciting scene. The change of moon, and a south wind together, at length raised the waters a foot or two,* and floated us off. We gave a cheer; and by the mercy of God proceeded on our voyage, and reached Liverpool without further adventure.

* The Gulf of Mexico like the Carribean Sea is tideless, and owing to the same cause, the influx of the great equatorial current from the Atlantic, which, sweeping round the coasts of Central America, keeps those seas always at high water, and forms the gulf stream.

In Liverpool we were welcomed by those ardent and untiring friends of our cause, Dr. and Mrs. Fergusson, to whom our African mission has been all along so greatly indebted. Many other earnest friends did it find there, and wherever else it was made known in the three kingdoms. And before the end of the year our expedition was ready to sail to the coast of Africa.

The "Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica," for the year 1862, having just come to hand, enable me, ere saying farewell to the beautiful queen of the Antilles, to furnish a brief statement of the present condition of the mission there, which may be gratifying to those who have felt any interest in the first part of this volume. It comprises now twenty-six congregations, under the care of twenty-two ordained ministers, with thirty-eight day schools and teachers. The number of persons under regular Christian instruction is about twenty thousand, of whom more than ten thousand are present in the house of God every Lord's day. Above five thousand five hundred are members in full communion, with seventeen hundred candidates for membership; while five thousand five hundred and sixty children form the average attendance in Sabbath-school classes, and above three thousand in the day schools. Mr. Millar, the head master of the Academical Institution, Montego Bay, reports seventy-eight public scholars, and twelve missionary students; and the Rev. Mr. Renton, theological tutor, reports five native students under his care, in preparation for the sacred ministry. The pecuniary affairs of the mission were also in a healthy condition. The income of the Academy for the past year was above £421; the fees of the day schools exceeded £646; and the contributions of the congregations £4343. After all that the colony has come through, during the last sixteen or eighteen years, this statement proves the Scottish mission there to be in a sound and thriving condition, founded, we trust, on the Rock of Ages.

It is very pleasant to be able to add more particularly that the scene of our former labours is in a good state. Its present minister, the Rev. Mr. Lawrence, gives a most satisfactory report. Every Sabbath the church is quite full, and at times crowded, with a congregation of six hundred to seven hundred persons. The

of the churches [illegible]
better character, and more permanent in its effec
Zion congregation. To God be all the glory;
with all other congregations in the country, it
shake it since our departure.

CHAPTER XI.

1845.

The Past of Africa.

AFRICA and its people are still among the mysteries that await solution in the developments of divine Providence. It is singular that one of the old continents should have been, except on its northern coast, as recent a discovery as that called the New World; and should even now be the least known portion of the habitable globe; affording to geographical explorers, in the great blanks of its immense interior, fields for their most daring enterprises.

How great, for example, and extraordinary, the ignorance that prevailed, till a recent period, concerning the river Niger. It flowed east, it flowed west; was the source of the Nile, of the Senegal, of the Congo; was lost in the sands, or in an immense marsh. So many impossible theories led wise men to doubt its existence; and all these absurdities were exhibited on maps of the highest name within the last half century; while the ships of Europe were trading in its outlets, in the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

The prolonged barbarism of the African race is also singular, when we remember the early civilization, and high attainments in arts and arms, of Egypt and Carthage. How should it have fallen so far behind the nations of Europe and Asia? Are the children of Ethiopia, indeed, the lineal descendants of Ham, inheriting the malediction of the patriarch of the ark? Did they flee from the face of their brethren to the remotest wilds of their sun-burned inheritance, hoping by separation to escape the curse? There it overtook them, when, sunk in ignorance, weakness, and timidity, produced by isolation, they became the prey of the rest of the *world*. *But it will* not be ever so. God's

few. It has ever presented the greatest diffic
inducements, to intelligent travellers. Its va
the greatest on the globe, with but one great
ward, on which side only it was anciently k
not very navigable, being without a tide,
cataracts, rendered its interior most difficult
chiefly in the torrid zone, where the ever
vertical sun were believed to have scorched the
ranged so far south of the equator that it wa
the *bathos profundus*, or end of the world.
imagination, which peopled those mysterious
gons and hydras, and chimeras dire," were adde
from successive droughts and torrents, rivers
and deserts, ferocious animals and savage trib

The desert of *Sahara* barred the way fro
interiorwards, alike to invasion, commerce,
Mohammedan power, when established along
increased the difficulties, and cut off all commu
tian Europe for a thousand years.

When the progress of maritime discovery i
traced its shores from the Straits of Gibraltar
Hope, and round to the Red Sea, the contine
as unknown as before; and "the coast" has b
designation to the present day. The zeal of

three centuries and a half that it has lasted, forty millions of that seemingly doomed race have been shipped for foreign countries, and sixty millions more have perished in the intestine wars it has caused. So recently as 1840, it was computed that two hundred thousand human beings were annually shipped to foreign lands, and three hundred thousand destroyed in the inland operations of the cursed traffic.* "The whole of that immense continent was turned into a field of warfare—a wilderness, in which the people were tigers to each other."†

At this day the negro race stands before the world in a condition disgraceful to itself and to humanity. Divided into innumerable tribes and languages,—without literature, laws or government, arts or sciences,—with slavery for its normal social condition, and the basest and bloodiest superstition in the world for religion,—a religion without reference to God or their souls, to sin or holiness, to heaven or hell, and even without the outward insignia of temple, priest, or altar,—it has sunk so low as to be regardless alike of conscience and of shame, to reckon a man's life at his market value as a beast of burden, and to practise cannibalism, not from want, but revenge, and a horrid lust of human flesh.

Notwithstanding all this, the dawning future of Africa is bright with hope. The gospel is entering and spreading on all sides. The slave trade is doomed, and in process of suppression. Negro emancipation by Great Britain assures it throughout the world. Other European nations have begun to follow the example. The United States of America, already under God's hand for its black slavery, must, ere long, adopt the same course, to purge the national iniquity, and let the oppressed go free. In time, the redundant coloured population of the Western Hemisphere will overflow, and swarm off to the land of their forefathers, to replenish, with millions of civilized and Christian colonists, the original inheritance of their race—theirs by unquestioned right, from the earliest settlement of the world.

* Sir T. F. Buxton. † Bryan Edwards.

CHAPTER XII.

The Calabar Mission ado[illegible] ie—Arrangement with Baptist Society —Sailed in our ow[illegible] ied storm, various dangers, and God's care of us—Porto P[illegible] sea-fight—Cape Palmas—First tornado —Cape Coast Castle [illegible] g Agri—Whydah—The Delta and its haze—Fernando Po [illegible]

THE United Secession Chu[illegible] ed the mission to Old Calabar. While it thus relieved me of the task of organizing a new society, to carry out the views of the Jamaica Presbytery, it left me at liberty to arrange and prepare everything for establishing it, according to my instructions. Wherever made known, our design was hailed with enthusiasm. The credentials with which I was furnished,* powerfully recommended the cause; and from the principal cities of the three kingdoms, and even remote places in Scotland, large contributions flowed in for its support. Liberal members of various evangelical denominations assured us of their continued aid for an object dear to all. Above £4000, raised that first year, testified to the zeal of God's people for the success of our enterprise.

It was believed that, both for efficiency and safety, the mission would require a sea-going vessel for its own use. One of the Orkney islands had the honour of furnishing this first mission ship ever belonging to Scotland. Mr. Baikie, the Provost of Kirkwall, generously presented a new sloop, just off the stocks, for the purpose. When, however, it was deemed unsuitable for service in the tropics, he let it be sold and the proceeds applied to provide another. Then one of the princely merchants of Liverpool, Mr. Jamieson, gave us the free use of a brigantine, the *Warree*, and £100 annually towards its sailing expenses. Humanly speaking, the mission could not have been so safely and quickly settled as it was, but for that vessel

* See Appendix III.

Ere leaving England, we had almost got into painful disagreement with the Baptist Missionary Society, about our new field of labour. It had missions in the island of Fernando Po, and at Camaroons and Bimbia on the mainland; and, believing that Calabar was also one of its stations, it sent a deputation to our mission committee, to remonstrate against our going thither to disturb their labours. I knew that Calabar was not occupied by that society; nevertheless, for peace' sake, I waited on its secretary, the Rev. Dr. Angus, in London, and arranged with him, that, if his missionary brethren were there when I went out, I would go elsewhere with my little pioneer company; and, if they were not there, they should leave it entirely to us—the coast being wide enough for us all.

It is satisfactory to be able to state that, to avoid such collisions, I had written to Governor Beecroft of Fernando Po, eighteen months previously, as follows: "It is not our wish to disturb any other body of Christians who may be engaged in similar labours. We would rather co-operate with them; and, for that end, would respect their arrangements for the benefit of the natives, and avoid disturbing their operations, even as we would expect the same consideration from them in respect of ours." We were happy to be able to prove our sympathy with these brethren, and to serve them, by taking out with us their mission supplies, which had been long waiting in Liverpool for an opportunity of being forwarded.

After being detained several weeks in Liverpool, by stormy weather, we sailed on the morning of the 6th January 1846. A few beloved and devoted friends accompanied us twenty miles out to sea, and the Rev. Dr. Crichton commended us to God in prayer ere we parted. When the tug threw us off, they gave us a farewell cheer, with hats in hand and all their heart; and so we found ourselves fairly embarked on our perilous enterprise. We were a small company—Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley, Andrew Chisholm, and Edward Miller, with my boy George. We were weak also, but believed that God had sent us, and was with us, that he would open our way, and make darkness light and crooked things straight before us, and not forsake us, till he had enabled us to accomplish the work for *which we were sent, to his* own glory.

We had been wearied waiting, watching the weather and barometer morning and evening, for a favourable change, or we would not have put to sea that day. It was dark and threatening. The wind, though moderate at first, was right against us, obliging us to beat down channel. We did not clear it for a week, and for two weeks more encountered a succession of gales—in fact, a long-continued storm. On [illegible] rything looked so bad, and some of our party w[illegible] sick, that the captain proposed to seek the [illegible] our till the weather should moderate. He ra[illegible] owing to the rain and mist, saw not the land [illegible] It was a most dangerous part of the coast. [illegible] ere long reefs, and right in front, at no great di[illegible] cks raised their heads above water. We could hardly have been in a worse position. The wind also died away, the sails flapped as the ship rolled, the helm had no power, and we lay like a log carried by the swell of the sea towards the shore. Every minute the turretted cliffs grew clearer and larger to view, and we were coming too near them. Our little company could do nothing on deck. We went below and besought the Lord to send us wind, and carry us safely out of that horrid place, and not let our expedition, undertaken, we believed, by His desire and for His honour, be wrecked there at the very outset. The men stood with their hands on the ropes, ready to profit by the first breath that God might send us, and we were all in anxious suspense lifting up our hearts to him, when a gentle air from the east came stealing towards us. Softly it expanded our sails, the vessel felt its influence, answered the helm, and was soon heading out to sea. "Shake out every reef! spread every sail!" Soon those threatening rocks were left astern; and with one consent we resolved, come what would, to face the open sea, rather than the Irish coast again in such weather.

Our fair wind served only to carry us away from the land. The old south-wester met us outside, and, after half a day's lull, returned with its former fury. On Saturday night, the 17th, it blew a gale of wind, with drenching rain. Our schooner was going with her lee bulwarks under water. We could not keep our seats in the cabin without holding on by the nearest fixture. "Must take in more sail," said the captain, rising from table, off

which everything was rolling. "Call the watch." The poor vessel struggled and groaned, as she forced her way under reefed sails, "close hauled," as they say, and shuddered from stem to stern, as the heavy seas struck her on the bow, and made everything start. Fast as the storm increased, the sails were taken in, under torrents of rain, till only one was left to steady her, and she was "hove to" for the night.

This was a great relief; for the *Warree* rode the waves like a duck, when "lying to." We pitied but could not help the crew, except on our knees before Him "who holds the winds in his fist, and the waves in the hollow of his hand." The reading of Isaiah iv. 5, at our evening worship, gave us great comfort. In that little vessel, on the bosom of the stormy deep, we were as in one of the "dwelling-places of Mount Zion," over which the Lord had promised to "create a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night," for "a glory and defence;" and we were able in faith to claim the promised guidance and protection. These lines also comforted us:—

"Borne on the dark'ning wave, in measured sweep we go,
Nor dread the unfathomable grave that yawns below;
For He is nigh who trod amid the foaming spray:
The billows owned the incarnate God, and died away.
How terrible art thou, in all thy wonders shown!
Though veiled is thy eternal brow—thy steps unknown—
Invisible to sight, but, oh, to faith how near—
Beneath the blackest clouds of night thou beamest here!"

We were still beating to windward, under close-reefed fore topsail and main-sail, when, on the night of Thursday 22d, there was a sudden call on deck: "A ship astern! Bring lantern!" It was not ready. Again: "Lantern there! Do you want us to be run down?" I hasted on deck with the one in my berth. Though soon extinguished, it was seen and answered; and a large ship from Liverpool to New Orleans passed close alongside. We had a narrow escape. It is a fine sight, when the danger of being run down is over, to see a ship in full sail surging and bounding past, especially at night, when nought else is visible. "He has no barometer on board," remarked Captain C——, "or he would not carry so much sail to-night. I could not venture to keep pace with him." The following morning the ship was still in

sight, and with as little canvas out as ourselves. Perhaps she had lost a sail or spar during the night, and learned caution.

The storm continued, and Saturday the 24th we "lay to" all day, not daring to show canvas. Though the *Warree* was buoyant, and rose well to the wave, and took in little sea, in ordinary, yet that day it was flooded, both deck and cabin. It blew gales of wind. But we had become used to their constant roaring, and the lashing of the sea, the perpetual rocking of the vessel, and knocking about of everything loose inside. We had learned to swing hither and thither, to hold on, and prop ourselves up; and could laugh sometimes at the figures we cut, trying to sit upright at table, yet inclining at every angle but that of repose. Accustomed to the rapid movements of our schooner, we were able to avoid the effects of a lurch. The sea strikes the bow of the vessel, and breaks on the deck with a roar and rush. Instantly, before it has reeled under the blow, every person seizes, with one hand or foot, the leg of the table, or any other fixture, to secure himself, and with the other the plate or dish before him, and poises it aloft, to preserve its level. So adroitly was this feat at length accomplished, that seldom did their contents reach the floor, though we seemed sometimes almost on our beam ends.

On Monday the 26th, the tempest was at its height, and raged fearfully. The night had been dreadful, and we thanked God fervently when we saw the morning light without injury. The rain, too, was incessant. The captain was not off the deck all night. It was midnight ere I lay down, and I lay waking nearly till morn, ready to arise and help, if need were, at any moment. The Lord preserved us, however; and this verse of a hymn gave us much comfort:—

> "Begone, unbelief, my Saviour is near,
> And for my relief will surely appear.
> By prayer let me wrestle, and He will perform;
> With Christ in the vessel, I smile at the storm."

These lines, also, were strength and comfort to us on many occasions:—

> "Snatched from a darker deep, and waves of wilder foam,
> Thou, Lord, the trusting souls wilt keep, and waft them home;
> Home where no storm can rage, nor angry waters roar,
> Nor troubled billows heave around that peaceful shore."

The sea was running furiously all day. It broke over us often, and into the cabin, burst in the ports, and deluged the berths; carried away the binnacle, and the cook's galley, pots, breakfast, and all. The business of our party below was to bale out the water, and see to the port-holes. We were in the dark—a tarpaulin being battened down over the skylight, to save it and us; and all our efforts to light the stove ended in smoke, and left us cold enough. It was a miserable day to us all, and especially to Mrs. Edgerley, but she never complained. Surely, thought I, we have more than the ordinary elements to contend with. The Prince of the power of the air has raised this storm, and is fighting against us, to hinder us invading his territories, where he has reigned so long undisturbed. But One stronger than he will bind him, take away his armour wherein he trusted, and spoil his house.

The next day the storm abated; and the captain found he was in almost the same spot where he had been ten days before, between the Channel and the Bay of Biscay. During the three distressing weeks since we sailed, however, we had abundant cause to thank God for his protecting care. No one on board was injured; we were all in peace, and had never wanted either our daily bread, or our morning and evening sacrifice of prayer and praise.

It was the beginning of March ere we made the Cape Verd Islands, owing to continued contrary, though light, winds. The want of fresh water and fresh provisions induced the captain to put into Porto Praya, St. Jago, to obtain supplies, as all our small stock had been swept away in the gale.

As soon as we had dropped anchor a boat came alongside, with a Portuguese flag and officer, from a sloop-of-war in the harbour, to inquire all about us. Another came with the health officer, who, seeing us all well, gave us leave to communicate with the shore. Had we been as careful of our health as they were of theirs, we would not have gone on shore at all, if we might judge of the salubrity of the place from their looks. In fact, the island was very sickly at the time; and one of the group, Bonavista, was in quarantine, and nearly depopulated, by a new and virulent species of fever. The health officer being gone, a custom-house

officer came to stay on board while we remained in harbour. Then came a boat, with an American officer and ensign, from the Jamestown frigate, with Commodore Skinner's compliments, to request English papers. Four vessels of the American anti-slave trade squadron were lying quietly there at the time. Afterwards, some of us went ashore, first to the custom-house, then to a merchant, who acted bo[illegible] ierican consul, and then made arrangements for pr[illegible] ry supply of fresh provisions.

Returning on b[illegible] was attracted to a strange scene just outside [illegible] immense fish were in fierce conflict. A whal[illegible] his head and shoulders high above water; then [illegible] is great tail still higher, and brought it down a[illegible] dous violence, casting up a cloud of spray. Another, called a thrasher, raised what seemed an immense flapper, both long and broad, and, waving it aloft like a flail, struck the whale on the head, so violently and quickly, that the latter spouted blood. A third was believed to be present, though not visible, aiding the thrasher—the sword-fish—which, with its long sharp horn, attacks the whale below. He can defend himself against these powerful antagonists, which usually assail him in company, only with his tail—one stroke of which would indeed kill them; but they avoid it, and kill him. They fought their way out of the harbour, and out of sight, but still the formidable flail was plying its deadly work with extraordinary rapidity and fury.

We had worship on deck, as usual, since the weather moderated, and our service attracted the attention of the boats' crews passing, who paused to observe. It was evidently something novel to them. The black youth, put on board as custom-house officer, joined us with seeming devotion and great willingness, and also took, without hesitation, and assiduously read, religious tracts in the Portuguese language. He commended them as very good, and was quite delighted when I gave him a Testament in the same tongue, which he constantly read while on board.

Mr. Edgerley and I visited the American commodore, whom we found a very frank and agreeable gentleman, himself, he said, half Scotch, being nephew to the Bishop of Aberdeen. He politely showed us over his ship; asked if his great guns would

make good plough shares; and owned that our mode of warfare was better than his, and would yet beat his out of the world. He deplored the war feeling that seemed to exist both in America and England, and thought that a breach of peace between the two countries would be a calamity greater than the slave trade. He introduced his chaplain, and accepted a bundle of tracts we had brought for the use of his crews, assured of their soundness, he said, since they were issued by the Edinburgh Tract Society.

The position of St. Jago and its inhabitants was thus described by one of the natives, a black man, in broken English:—"Portugee colour here, and Portugee tongue, but no Portugee people. People here all creole. Them no like Portugee, because they too bad; they cheat, they take everything. Portugee no good; we no love 'em. English good. All people like 'em come here."

The people were mostly blacks or mulattoes. They came alongside our schooner to sell fowl and eggs, fruits and vegetables. Some could talk broken English, others could read their own language, and gladly received our tracts. They also bought all the Portuguese Bibles and Testaments I had, paying for them in money or provisions.

"If custom-house know you sell books," said the youth on board to me, "it make you pay license. But I won't tell. You a good man, no sell for much money."

"I don't sell for trade to make money," I replied. "I sell for God. The price I charge is but half the value."

"True, you no make trade, no charge big money." Turning to those who had bought, he said, "If custom-house see these books, it take them away, make you pay plenty."

"We won't make 'em see," replied a black man who had bought a Bible. "We hide it in basket under our oranges."

A Romish chapel in the town, with open doors, invited me to enter. Three or four black men, in ceremonial garments, were chanting a service before the altar, while a coffin covered with a pall behind them indicated that they were saying masses for the departed. It is astonishing what people can come to believe when early taught, and what they can, by long training, become accustomed to do. There were on that occasion neither attendants nor worshippers. Candles burned on the altar, and images and

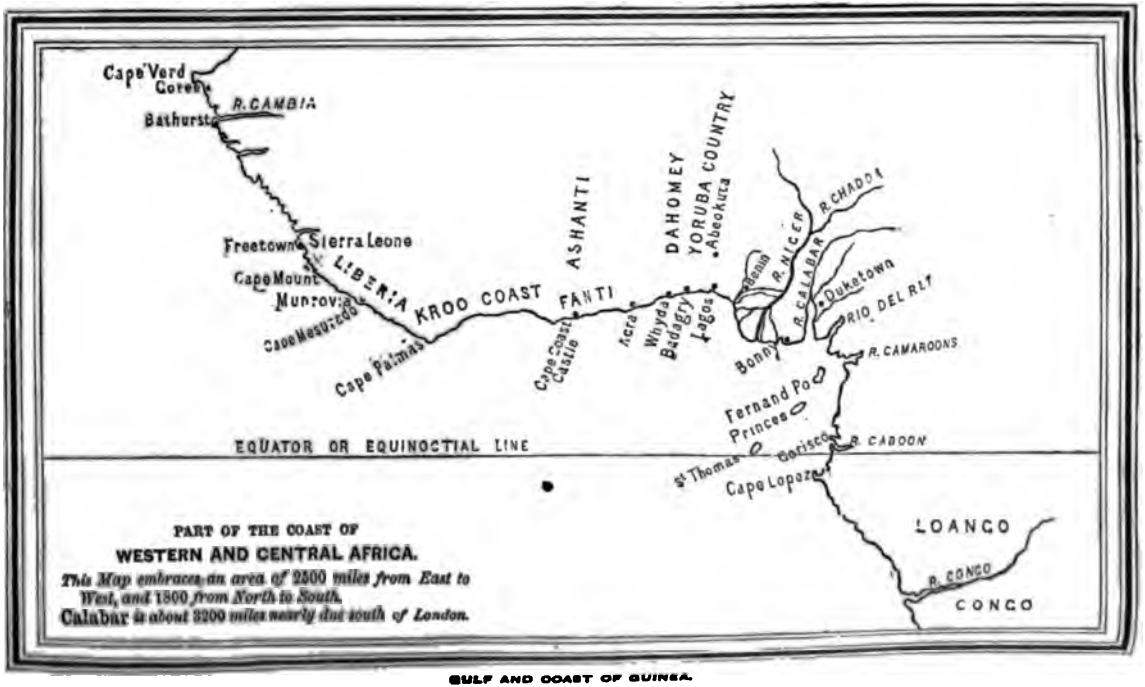
pictures, chiefly of the Madonna and child, were numerous round the walls of the building.

I was sorry to find the consul a Socinian in his views, and pressed on his attention the danger of sinners before a holy God without an atonement and mediator. He had Bibles in his house, he said, and allowed me to leave some tracts on his table for the use of his family.

We left the island on the 5th, not without hopes of having left a blessing behind us. Five months of drought had made the hills look brown and barren. The valleys we were told, were fertile. But wherever we looked about the town and neighbourhood, vegetation seemed to be dead, hardly a bush being seen. The very monkeys which our seamen bought there, seemed as if they had never seen a tree, and knew not how to climb.

On the 18th we passed Cape Palmas, and all eyes were on the stretch from morning to get the first glimpse of Africa. George was the first to hail it. "I see land," he shouted. No one else could see anything. "I see smoke," he added. "They burn bush." Certainly there was a faint column perceptible on the horizon. Soon the coast became visible dotted with palm trees, and all went aloft to get a view. George was elated, and no wonder! How different the manner of his return from that in which he left it! What a happy change to him! Not without emotion could we behold the shores of that continent, for so many centuries wasted by the atrocious slave trade. We had put our hands to the great work of its recovery; but which of us might expect to see the cause triumph, or even to return in peace? Yet we had the conviction that our labour should not be in vain in the Lord.

We soon had our first experience of the tornadoes which prevailed on the Guinea coast at that season. It was a wild and frightful scene. The sun went down in black clouds spread all round the horizon; the breeze died away, and the air felt close and stifling. As darkness increased the clouds threw out vivid flashes of lightning in all directions, as if hostile armies were advancing to deadly conflict; yet overhead the sky was clear and calm. The sails hung languidly. The clouds continued to rise from the eastward, and ere long the captain shouted, "Haul down



PART OF THE COAST OF
WESTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.
This Map embraces an area of 2500 miles from East to West, and 1800 from North to South.
Calabar *is about 3200 miles nearly due south of London.*

GULF AND COAST OF GUINEA.

your flying jib, and furl your royal." Two flashes of lightning, with thunder, in rapid succession, led to renewed and rapid orders. "Take in your studding sails, and be quick about it." "Furl your top-gallant." "Clew up the foresail." "Let go the peak halyards." "Lower the topsail." By this time the tornado was on us, and with the thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain, made awful confusion. The schooner rushed before the wind under almost bare poles. Unhappily we were fleeing back the way we had all day come. By midnight the tempest abated, the clouds disappeared, the moon arose, and we lay like a log on the placid wave till morning, when sea and sky were as calm as if nothing had happened.

We coasted down within a few miles of the shore, which rose into a range of thickly wooded hills, without towns or plantations visible. It was once probably a populous district, but devastated by the slave trade, had returned to a state of nature. At length we came in view of *Castle Elmina*, a large and seemingly strong place, belonging to the Dutch; and immediately after, *Cape Coast Castle*, a large, strong, and important settlement of the English, opened on our view. They are but seven miles apart, stand close on the sea, and, contrasting so strikingly with the desolation of the coast we had passed for some days, took us quite by surprise.

We anchored at Cape Coast Castle, in the open roadstead, beside seven other vessels, then went ashore with the captain, and while he showed his ship's papers at the castle, walked about among mounted cannon, piles of ball, black soldiers, and other warlike appearances. We called on the Wesleyan missionaries, and spent two days agreeably and profitably with them, meeting their congregation, visiting their school, and acquainting ourselves generally with their mode of operations.

The European merchants had large good houses of wood or brick, with roofs shingled. The native houses were small, mud-walled, and either flat roofed or thatched. The Wesleyan chapel, a large building, had thick mud walls and flat terraced roof. The inhabitants of the town, it was said, amount to two or three thousand, with a floating population of nearly as many more. The people seemed greatly behind those in Jamaica. The hills round the town were uncultivated and covered with bush, farms lying beyond them. English manufactures are the great articles of

commerce, and *gold dust* the medium of exchange. The latter, to be current, must pass through the hands of the "gold takers"—persons of established character for integrity and skill in determining pure metal. I noticed in the market an old negress with small medicine scales weighing a few pence worth of the precious powder. It may still be found, I was told, by washing the soil in and around the town, but in quantities too small to repay the labour. The sources of supply are in the unknown interior. Till a comparatively recent period that region furnished more gold than all the rest of the world; but the natives keep the secret of the gold regions to themselves.

The town was habitually frequented at night by hyenas, when people could venture out of doors only in company, and with lights and weapons. If not attacked, they sneak off when people approach, but otherwise fight with unconquerable ferocity. One of these animals had become so destructive and dangerous that four men agreed to attack it. They did so, and left it dead. But one of the men was also left dead on the spot, and the other three subsequently died of their wounds.

We all went to pay our respects to *King Agree*, the old chief of the Fanti tribe, the original possessors, and still the principal inhabitants, of that coast. He exercises great authority among his people, though not to the extent of life and death, and subject to the governor of the castle. I must premise that the term *king* is misapplied to such as he, according to our European meaning of the word; and it were a mockery to style the old gentleman *his majesty*, his old sofa *a throne*, and his barracks *a palace*.

The way led through a dry and dirty water-gully, by a broken and steep foot-track. His house was of two storeys, built of stone and lime, by the government; and his sitting-room was reached by a flight of outside stone steps. We found a spare old man, sharp featured, bald-headed, blind of one eye, and with a thin grey beard. He was wrapped in a red mantle, wound round his waist, the ends of which, thrown over one shoulder, hung down to his knee. His only ornament was a heavy gold bracelet on each arm. He rose to meet us, shook hands, and interchanged compliments freely, in tolerably good English. The furniture of the apartment corresponded with himself and dwelling.

He produced a Bible, and spoke sensibly of its value, and of the good his people had got from the missionaries' teaching. I told him that we had many Fanti people in Jamaica, who read book and prayed to God, and were doing well, both in religion and freedom. "Oh, to be sure," he replied, much pleased; "Fanti people have very good head-piece, and can learn whatever they put their mind to."

He called for wine and brandy, which a servant brought and placed on the table, but he was not offended by our preferring water, especially as we drank his health with as many good wishes as he could desire. He thought a glass of Madeira would do us no harm; but said, with great good humour and good sense, that if we left him our blessing, it was all the same whether we drank wine or water. He took wine himself, and drank our healths individually in a polite manner.

We learned that a Spanish corvette had called at Cape Coast, three months previously, with a high commissioner, a bishop, and a priest, on board, bound for Fernando Po, with orders to send away all Protestant missionaries from that island. Intelligence had since then been received that the expulsion had taken place, and that the Baptist brethren had removed to the continent. This seemed to derange all our plans, and caused some perplexity. They would surely, we thought, occupy Calabar. In that case *Corisco* was the field we had thought of, to be near the American brethren; but the information we had received from the commodore at St. Jago, of what they suffered from the French at the Gaboon, made it very probable they might have removed thither themselves. Thus shut out of the Bight of Biafra, we thought of the Bight of Benin, and rejoiced to learn from various good authorities that *Whydah*, a large town, and other places on the Guinea coast, were open for missionaries, as many as could be found.

Though retarded by frequent tornadoes, after leaving Cape Coast, we came in sight of Fernando Po on the 2d of April, and rejoiced to be near the end of our wearisome voyage. It was remarkable that the haze, which obscured the horizon since we made Cape Palmas, increased as we proceeded eastward; and in the Bights, especially over the delta of the Niger, extended to a height of fifteen or twenty degrees. There, doubtless, it was caused in part

by the prodigious exhalations of the vast swamps of that region of rivers, which even the meridian sun could but partially dissipate. How different from the transparent atmosphere of the West Indies, where every star is visible to the horizon.

The appearance of the mountains and forests of Fernando Po reminded us of Jamaica. *Clarence Peak*, ten thousand feet high, clear to the summit, was magnificent. The *Camaroon Mountains*, beyond the strait, were also in view, and presented a stupendous range of lofty peaks, some of them fifteen thousand feet in elevation. *Clarence Cove* is a beautiful and well sheltered basin of water, evidently the crater of an extinct volcano. On the high semicircular bank, once the lip of the cup, stood a row of good houses, belonging to merchants and missionaries. Beyond it, though invisible from the bay, was the town, occupied by free coloured settlers and natives. On the extreme point eastward stood a most interesting object, a monument to the memory of the brave and good men who died in the Niger expedition of 1841.

Two items of important information soon relieved our minds of much uncertainty and anxiety, as to our future course. Our Baptist brethren were still in Fernando Po, and they had not occupied Calabar. Our way thither was therefore still open. They had been ordered, indeed, to leave the island, by the Spanish commissioner, on the ground that no religion but the Roman Catholic could be tolerated in a Spanish colony; but a year had been allowed them to remove their effects; and ultimately it was conceded that one missionary should permanently remain, and keep open both church and school, for the sake of the English-speaking settlers who inhabited Clarence.

We found the Rev. Messrs. Clark and Sturgeon there, and learned that they had expected us for more than a year. The former assured us he had given up the idea, which he once entertained, of settling a station at Calabar, while the latter, we found, still kept it in view. The ground there being, however, unoccupied, we had no doubt as to our duty, to proceed thither and commence our mission; and we hoped that our brother would leave the field entirely to us, according to the agreement made with their mission secretary in London.

CHAPTER XIII.

1846.

Disarrangements—Calabar river—King Eyo Honesty and the choice—Duke Town, and King Eyamba—Creek Town, and King Eyo's house—Meeting with Eyamba and his chiefs—Mission ground—Henshaw Town—Eyamba's trade-yard—The market—Royal dinner at Duke Town—King Eyo's public dinner—Palaver House—Devil-house—Old Town and its chief—Presented Bible to Eyo—Eyamba opposes a school at Creek Town—Building mission-house at Duke Town—A lesson in marketing—A great man begging—Big Adam's thief—A troop of young ladies—Boco Cobham offers girls to us—Young Henry Cobham, and the value of a grave—Egbo runner—Mr. Young loses his breakfast—Eyamba's daughter, and royal play—Devil goes on cruise—Egbo Jack's feast—Preaching on board ship—Human sacrifices, and reproofs thereof—Eyamba in his carriage—Mission-house completed, and another begun—King War and our carpenters—Grand Egbo show at Creek town—Duke Town School—Medical attendant.

AFTER spending nearly a week most agreeably at Fernando Po, we sailed for Calabar, but were overtaken at the mouth of the river by Captain Beecroft, in the *Ethiope* steamer. At his desire we went up the river in his vessel, as it would arrive at Duke Town a day before the *Warree*. Mr Sturgeon was on board. His object in following us so soon, he said, was to complete his arrangements for *our joint occupation* of the Calabar country. He would take Creek Town, and leave Duke Town to us; and he expected their mission-vessel, *The Dove*, to be over in a few days with building materials, to enable him to commence operations. I could say nothing about the practicability or propriety of the division he proposed, not yet knowing the country; but expected rather that he would leave both those towns to us; as we looked for reinforcements enough, ere long, to occupy the whole district of country; and thought he should adhere to the arrangement made by the two societies at home.

The noble river up which we were proceeding seemed to be ten or twelve miles wide at its mouth, and to retain that breadth clear to Parrot Island, about thirty miles from the bar. Above it, James', Alligator, and other islands, prevent its full width being seen; and the junction of the principal, or Cross river, which

there takes place is likewise concealed. The sides of the river were low and marshy, covered with forests of mangrove trees.

With the tide in our favour, we reached the anchorage at Duke Town, fifty miles up, in the afternoon. The branch of the river on which it stands seems there about a thousand yards across. Six oil ships lay moored, of which one was Dutch, the rest English. They presented a strange appearance, being roofed over and thatched, from the bulwarks to half-way up the masts. Their captains soon came on board the *Ethiope*, to see the "governor," and get letters and papers; and they seemed frank and friendly in welcoming our party to the country.

King Eyo Honesty [illegible] was on the river delivering oil to one of the ships. He [illegible]n came, in a six-oared gig, covered by an immense [illegible] umbrella of various colours, to pay his respects to [illegible]croft. An English ensign, with his name thereo[illegible], streamed behind. He was followed by two large [illegible]h paddled by twenty-eight men, with a row of armed me[illegible]g down the centre, a swivel gun in the bows, a roofe[illegible]midships, and an immense ensign behind, like the one [illegible] oat. They came on with a sort of shouting, keeping time with the stroke of their paddles. Some of his chiefs followed him in their own canoes, adorned with flags. It was quite a pageant. He was heartily welcomed by Beecroft, and cordially shook hands with us all, saying that he was glad to see us. Though rather a low-set and stout-made man, his fine head and open firm countenance favourably impressed us. The spare clothing that we had seen elsewhere prepared us for "the prevailing style" of Calabar costume. King Eyo was in native dress, which, except a white beaver hat, consisted of a few yards of broad fancy coloured silk round his loins, descending to the ankles. Strings of beads on neck and arms formed his ornaments. Two boys attended him, one carrying his gold snuff-box, in a handsome native bag hung round his neck, the other a pair of pistols and a sword slung over his shoulder.

On the subject of our mission I said to Eyo at once, explicitly, that, as Mr. Sturgeon and I had both come on the same business, it was for him to determine which he would have at Creek Town. We were brethren, I said, and served the same divine Master, but

AKUNA KUNA
COUNTRY
UQUA
MOUNTAIN PEAKS
HIGH HILLS
EKRI PEOPLE CANNIBALS
OMON ISLAND
HIGH HILLS
UWET TOWN
ROROP COUNTRY
COUNTRY
OKOYONG
INKPARA POTTERY
GUINEA COMPANY TOWNS
IDIABO TOWNS
OLDTOWN FARMS
UPA CREEK
EKRIKOK
EBUNDA TOWN FARMS
QUA COUNTRY
ANAKPA
OLD TOWN
QUA TOWN
DUKE TOWN FARMS
ERIK IBIBIO
DUKETOWN
ENSEATOWN
QUA COUNTRY
ERIK ATABUNG
ERIK ORON
ORON TOWNS
EKRI TOGAKO TOWNS
MANGROVE SWAMP
HOBSON ISLAND
MANGROVE SWAMP
QUA RIVER
GREEN ISLAND
LITTLE QUA RIVER
MANGROVE SWAMP
BAKERSE RIVER
EASTHEAD
MAP OF THE
LD CALABAR
AND QUA RIVERS
TOM SHOTT TOWNS
OLD CALABAR RIVER
TOM SHOTTS POINT
BREAKERS
Scale of miles

could not both live in one town. If he liked Mr. Sturgeon to remain he could say so, and I would turn and go elsewhere. If he wished me he must tell Mr. Sturgeon so, and let him go back to Fernando Po. Many countries needed missionaries, and we should not crowd each other. He replied, "Yes, very good."

In the evening we went ashore to visit King Eyamba. Duke Town presented but a poor appearance, as seen from the ship's deck; though several two-storey wooden-framed houses were visible in different places, and the king's iron house in the centre of the town. The beach was lined with sheds filled with empty oil casks belonging to the shipping. The interior of the town did not improve on closer acquaintance. The houses were low, mud-plastered, and palm-thatched, without windows, but each with a

KING EYAMBA'S IRON PALACE.

spacious door, leading into a small court-yard. There was hardly anything like a street, and the passages between the houses were narrow, crooked, rugged, and dirty. Passing through several doors and court-yards we came to the king's new and really fine house, constructed for him in Liverpool. It was

framed of wood, covered and roofed with galvanized iron plates, and handsomely furnished. It looks better in the accompanying picture, however, than as it appeared shut in by mean native houses, some of them even built up against it.

We found a large coarse man, with a good-humoured face, sitting in an arm-chair, with a few yards of Manchester cloth wrapped round his wa hands cordially with us all, but, having much h nd a crowd of people waiting, requested us t ext morning.

Next morning e were with the king, and found him standi p in his hand, and talking angrily. He threw ook hands, called for chairs, and we all sat down. o our business. "Yes," he replied in English, "I look long time for you. Glad you come now for live here. Look about, and choose what place you like for make house, that place, Captain T—— chose for you or any other. The whole country belongs to me for six day's journey all round. Go to-day or to-morrow and look out the place you like best. I glad you come. That palaver done." The next day was the Sabbath, and I proposed to have a meeting with him and the other chiefs who had also signed the letter to us, and to present him with a handsome large Bible friends in Scotland had sent for him. He agreed, and our party hastened away to get on board, before a threatening tornado should arrest us.

In the afternoon Captain Beecroft and his surgeon Mr. King, Mr. Edgerley, and myself went up to Creek Town. Though smaller, it was far cleaner and more regular than the other, with a wide street up the centre. Eyo's house was of wood, with a front verandah, two storeys high, and outside stairs, crowded with good furniture of all kinds,—tables, side-board, sofas, chairs, chests of drawers, clocks and all going, barrel-organ, chinaware, pictures, chandeliers and mirrors of all shapes and sizes.

He received us in a frank and friendly way, declared his wish that our mission should occupy his town, and left us free to look out the best place for building our houses. Our Clarence brother was in the town, we sought him out, and informed him of the king's decision. He heard the same that evening from the king himself.

The following morning, Sabbath, we all went ashore to keep meeting in Eyamba's house. Beecroft, captains, and supercargoes, accompanied us. We met the king and his chiefs in the state-room of his palace, a large and elegant apartment, handsomely furnished. A peacock was there before us, strutting about, which hasted away when we entered. But another remained. Eyamba himself, in black hat and feathers, with waist-cloth, according to country fashion, and loads of beads and brass rings, paraded before the large mirrors, turning and admiring himself in every attitude, a specimen of rare vanity.

Eyamba sat down in an arm-chair of solid brass, under a handsome canopy, meant for a throne. Four sofas were wheeled round in front for the company, and a small table placed in the centre for the gift Bible. When I had addressed him and his chiefs on the object of our mission, and the character of the present that Christian friends had sent for him, he replied that he thanked us and them, and God also for sending us. Mr. Edgerley followed with appropriate remarks, as did Chisholm and Miller, and we concluded with a prayer for the divine blessing. All seemed pleased with what had passed, understood and approved of what we had said. They asked if Mrs. Edgerley would also speak; but were satisfied to learn that she would talk to their women. During the rest of the day Mr. Edgerley and I held service on board several ships in the river, and found good arrangements made for our meeting with the crews.

The next day we examined the ground around the town, and approved of the spot previously selected in name of our mission. It was well situated and elevated, overlooking the town, river, and shipping. Thence we walked to Henshaw Town to make the acquaintance of its young chief, Jim Henshaw. His house was well painted with native designs of gay colours and bold pattern. When we asked for water to drink, it was served in tumblers on plates in a civilized way.

We met our Fernando Po brother that afternoon on board one of the ships, on his return from Creek Town, and were glad to learn that he had abandoned the idea of occupying any part of Calabar. He agreed to go with me and inform Eyamba to that effect the following morning. The latter, when we went, replied

that, having first sent for us, he could not change his word, now that we had come out, though, for his own part, he did not know any difference between us, and supposed that we were all the same. Mr. Sturgeon said a few kind and suitable things on the occasion; and thus we were able, before parting, to show Christian peace and good understanding, before the natives and our own countrymen.

While we waite[illegible] we could not but look about us. He was in [illegible] among heaps of trade-goods, surrounded by nau[illegible] he door kept by men armed. All round the ya[illegible] ied. On one side stood two new mahogany ch[illegible] are to go to ruin there, from alternate heats, and damps, and [illegible] ghts, and the ever-destructive ants. Beside them were two four-wheeled carriages, not the worse certainly of the wear, for they had never been used, nor was there a road about the town where they could be used, nor a horse to draw them. On another side were puncheons of rum and hogsheads of tobacco. Here were bales of Manchester cloth, there iron pots, boxes of brass rods, and crates of earthenware. Mixed with them on all sides were odds and ends of all sorts of things in queer confusion.

A young man completed his payment for a degree in "Yampy Egbo," and received his patent of nobility from Eyamba's own hand, in the form of three marks of yellow powder on his forehead and arms. Having bowed to the earth in acknowledgment, he rushed forth shouting, to show his new honours.

Returning from the king's house, we passed through the market, and were reminded of a nest of black ants disturbed. The people were crowded, and conducted their trafficking with a great buzz of voices, and not a little bustle. The sellers squatted on the ground, with their wares on mats or in calabashes before them. The buyers walked about. The goods for sale were English manufactures, or country provisions, smoked fish and flesh, with yams and plantains, dry shrimps, and fresh meat of deer or pig, with skin and hair on. The law of the market required that flesh should be sold with its skin and hair, to prevent cannibalism—a precaution rendered necessary by the number of new slaves formerly introduced during the foreign trade, many of whom

came from cannibal tribes in the interior. The crowd, among whom we made our way with difficulty, were not burdened with clothing, either for use or ornament; yet both sexes were clean in person and decorous in conduct. The currency consisted of copper and brass rods, which the ships brought, equivalent each to nearly a shilling; and of small or market coppers, made by the native smiths out of the larger rods, equivalent each to about a halfpenny. Coining there is no crime; nor is it a crime to refuse the "current money," if the size and quality don't please. But the time and care required in examining these native-made coppers, like pieces of small wire two feet long, we found to be great and troublesome.

The Calabar week consists of eight days. The last is sacred to "Yampy Egbo;" the first is called "Calabar Sunday," and is a general holiday. Eyamba held a weekly feast or levee thereon, and invited his friends, white and black.

At two o'clock, a large gun, fired on the beach, summoned the company to dinner. They assembled in the state-room of the iron palace. Eyamba entered dressed in his best style—broad silk waist cloth, hat and feathers, a profusion of beads, but neither shirt nor shoe. He went round shaking hands with every one, and then paraded admiringly before the mirrors, as his manner was.

In the dining-room a long table was laid out, and properly furnished. Eyamba took the head, his white guests sat all on his right, the black on his left. The foot remained vacant, to be filled as friends arrived. A basin, ewer, and towel were carried round for every one to wash hands, which was done by a little water being *poured* on them in eastern style. Then came in a file of stout girls in native undress, each bearing on her head a large covered calabash, with an ornamental cloth thereon, which she placed on the table. Their contents had a novel appearance. Yams and fish, stewed together with palm oil, vegetables, and pepper, filled one; yams and goat flesh, similarly dressed, another, and so on. They looked savoury, and had a fragrant odour, but their appearance was not tempting. A native earthen pot, with rich "black soup," as it was called, accompanied by a dish of pounded yams, or "fufu," held a prominent place.

Every dish formed a course; and Eyamba helped them all himself, in succession, to all his guests, without asking any one what he would choose. But we were free to eat much or little, or none at all, as we liked, and send away our plate. Trying a little of each, more from conscience than curiosity or appetite, I found them not unpalatable, though too oily and spicy. The white gentlemen all ate sparingly; the black enjoyed themselves highly, not over particular in their manners, using their fingers often for forks, and their lips for napkins. The "fufu" was not eaten, but swallowed in great masses. Every one hewed a lump of it, and laid it on the table, beside his plate of "black soup." Rolling a piece, between his hands, into a ball, nearly as large as a hen's egg, he stuck the middle finger of his right hand lightly into it, dipped it into the sauce, then slipped it into his mouth, and over his throat instantly, without chewing. The native nobility performed this feat with an ease which the practice of a lifetime alone could have given, and foreigners in vain tried to imitate. Laughing and joking enlivened the table while discussing this dish, the use of the teeth not hindering the use of the tongue.

The "black soup" seemed to be Eyamba's favourite dish, if one might judge by the especial care he took of it, and the enjoyment it afforded him. It was presented in the same pot in which it had been cooked, and the inside was as sooty-looking as the out. It seemed like the famous West Indian *pepper-pot*, which, to be perfect, must be always cooked in the same vessel, and never quite emptied. I know not, however, if the *casareep*, or inspissated juice of the poisonous casada, is used in the Calabar, as in the Jamaica dish.

The drink at this royal feast was *mimbo*, a milky-looking liquor, fresh drawn from a species of palm-tree, of agreeable taste and unintoxicating nature. Eyamba and his gentry drank it from overflowing quart mugs, while tumblers served our side of the table.

The servants and onlookers were numerous, filling the lower part of the room, and eagerly carrying off the full plates from before the foreigners. The white gentlemen soon retired to get a cool breath of air in the large state-room, leaving the king and

his courtiers in the height of enjoyment over their mimbo. It was altogether a grotesque scene, and presented a strange mixture of the manners of civilized and savage life.

The next day was King Eyo's weekly levee. A written invitation had been sent round the shipping the day before; and three large guns, fired at Creek Town in the morning, reminded the "gentlemen of the river" that they were expected to dinner. All were glad to go thither, for Eyo is the largest trader in the country. Mr. Edgerley and I also went, having to choose a site for the mission settlement. We were told, indeed, by all that no white man could live there among the creeks and marshes; but we knew that some one must live there, and we found a good situation for our establishment.

Standing at the head of the stairs which led to Eyo's reception room, formerly described, I reckoned eight or nine court-yards, surrounded by low thatched buildings, and opening into one another. These were for his wives, principal and secondary, his domestics, trade goods, &c. In front of his house, under the projecting roof, along the side of the street, was a long sofa-like seat, made of beaten clay, well shaped and painted. Inside his public, or court-yard, were similar seats all around, and the walls were tastefully painted in gay and bold native patterns, by native pigments—his women being the artists. I may add that the houses and yards of all the natives of any rank were similarly constructed and adorned, with such differences as degrees of wealth and taste might occasion.

Eyo's dinner was much like that already described, but better served, and of a higher character, also, both as to company and conduct. The table was well laid out, and everything in excellent order. While the king took the head, his elder brother, Tom, a really dignified gentleman, took the foot; and beside them, were only two or three others of the native gentry. They all seemed to know how to behave themselves. A great brass basin and tankard were used for washing the hands, as at Eyamba's, and these were carried by youths—the dinner also being brought in by youths, and not by girls, as in the former case. No crowding of waiters and gazers, nor scrambling for plates, appeared. Ex-

cept fish soup in an English tureen, dressed, of course, wit palm oil and red pepper, the dishes and their contents were th same as those of the previous day. "Calabar chop," it may b observed, was found to be a standard dish in all the palm oi rivers.

Eyo and his gentlemen did not use their fingers for forks, no do anything indecorous. His mimbo was reckoned the best—tha is the sweetest and mildest—in the country; and though cham pagne was presented, out of respect to Governor Beecroft, little o it was drank. Eyo never drank wine or spirits; and when on of the company pressed him, and filled his glass, he declined wit great good temper and firmness, acknowledged his health whic the other drank, and handed the glass to a servant. "King Ey why do you never drink wine?" cried one of the captains. "I I begin to drink wine," he replied, "what will become of m trade, and of yours, too?" It may be added, that one of hi chiefs, being in danger of excess in that way at one time, wa preserved by his timely admonition. "It is not fit, "said h "for a man who has to settle palavers in the town, to spoil hi head with rum."

Accompanied by an intelligent lad, who had a smattering English, I rambled forth to see a little more of the town than had done on my former visit. At the head of the street sto the "Palaver House," or Town Hall, a large, low shed, with its en to the street, and quite open in front. Several immense posts solid mangrove supported the ridge-pole. A broad seat of har beaten clay ran down the two sides; the further end was clos by a recess for Egbo mysteries; in front was the great Eg drum, fixed on a frame, to be beaten only on occasions of publ importance; and before it were two upright pentagonal stone "pillars of remembrance," of basaltic appearance, which had be brought originally from the Camaroon country. On both the and the drum was the blood of sacrifices.

In the centre of the street, before the Palaver House, stood t figure of a man, rudely carved out of a great post, which al formed its pedestal. Up the front of the base a serpent seem crawling, and up the back an alligator. "Who is that stan ing there?" I asked my guide. "The devil," he replied. "

it for any good?" "No, it be bad," was his prompt reply. Others, however, said that it meant nothing, and was valued only as a work of art and piece of antiquity. It was not very highly valued, however; for when, in the course of time, the wood rotted in the ground, and a cow broke it down, it was never set up again.

Outside the town was a "devil house," a temporary structure, sacred to some deceased person, in which many articles of household use and value were damaged and left to perish. "What are these things here for?" I inquired. "For the devil," replied my young companion. "What does the devil want with pots and calabashes, rotten yams, and all the rest?" "To chop." "Why, they have all got holes; what is that for?" "Fear any one steal them." "Can the devil chop out of broken vessels?" "So they do here," he said, with a laugh; "it be fool fashion." The idea I found to be, that the devil meant the ghost, and that everything in spirit-land was done in shadow, as on earth in substance. The ghost of a man eats the ghost of a yam, boiled in the ghost of a pot, over the ghost of a fire.

The next morning we went with Beecroft to Old Town to arrange with its chief, *Willy Tom Robins*, for settling a school there. It is called *Old* in opposition to Duke Town, formerly called the *New* Town, while both are off-shoots from Creek Town, the original metropolis. Beautifully situated on a steep ascent, at the head of a long reach of the river, it commands a prospect downwards of the shipping, part of Duke Town, the mission house there, and the noble water for ten miles to Alligator Island, and upwards, of a sudden and beautiful bend in the river towards Creek Town. The town was but small, being greatly reduced from its former importance, but should have a school, both for its own sake and for the Qua villages beyond.

The chief met us at the beach, wrapped in a comfortable morning gown, which the tornado overnight rendered necessary, and led us to his house. The way was abrupt and broken, leading by a plank over the deep channel of a water-course worn by the rains. The house was of native structure, surrounding a quadrangular court-yard, with an inner court, for his own private

use, painted in Calabar style, and containing English furniture and trade goods.

Two large dark-coloured seeds lay on the table, and taking them up, I inquired their name and use. With voice and gestures of alarm, he snatched them out of my hands, saying, "Oh, them no good for chop; them for make free-mason done." They were the poison bean *esére*, commonly called "chop nut," used as an ordeal, in cases of imputed witchcraft, to discover the innocence or guilt of the party accused. Why "free-mason" should be used as equivalent to witchcraft, I could not learn, the native term being *ifod*. But Calabar is not the only country in which the "free and accepted brotherhood" has innocently got into disrepute.

Large black wasps were flying about, and their nest hung over his door. "Willy, what for you no break them down?" I said, pointing at them with my umbrella. "No, no, no for touch them my doctor, and keep this house." "Better you trust in God, and pray to him to keep you." "Yes, God do everything; He do good, He do bad." "No, He never does bad, but always good. The devil does bad." "True," he replied; "it be all same." I found that he meant not moral, but physical evil. Two human skulls in the ground at his door-step, skulls of enemies, were deemed of use for keeping out enemies. Such things were seen at every door at that time except one in Creek Town.

The presentation of an elegantly bound folio Bible to King Eyo, similar to that given his rival sovereign, had been deferred, at his desire, till some of his chiefs returned to town. At the appointed time we all went to meet him and them. After we finished our part of the ceremony, he replied, "Now I am sure God will love and bless me, for I am very glad you come with this book." Then, having conferred with his "gentlemen," he said to us that he would have difficulties with some of them, who thought that he should not encourage white people to live in the country, lest more come and take it altogether. But he had said to them, that white people were strong by knowledge and education, because they went to school from their childhood, while black people grew up like goats, knowing nothing; and that it would be best for them to have a school in their own town, and

their children taught like "makára." I desired him to say further to them, that they need not fear our taking their country, nor our Queen doing so. England had already too many countries. Had it wished to take Calabar, it might have done so a hundred years ago, and would not have waited till missionaries came to them. They might be sure that we would not encourage any such scheme, nor would our countrymen, who had so long traded with them, and who had taken nothing, and wanted nothing but their oil, and that only by paying for it. Their fears, I assured him, were groundless. He repeated our answer, and all were satisfied.

But Eyamba was displeased at our design of erecting a school in Creek Town, wishing his own place to have the pre-eminence. He paid us a formal and complimentary visit on board our mission ship, and made himself very agreeable, enjoying whatever was offered to him, though we had nothing stronger than raspberry vinegar to make him a drink, nor even a gun to fire a salute. He remitted the usual "comey," or duty paid by trading vessels, assured us of perfect safety in living ashore, promised to forgive any slaves for whom we might beg, that no one would be flogged for running away, if we brought them home, and none killed, except for some great crime, as in England. He had, however, one great difficulty; he did not approve of our making two mission houses in Calabar; one was enough. It was a new thing, which he had never heard of before, for a man to live in two towns under two kings. I told him to make his mind easy, as I would still live in his town myself, and would send Chisholm to Creek Town. We could not altogether neglect it, as God's word was for all men, and must be taught everywhere, to make all people good friends. He was not satisfied, and appealed to Beecroft, who cut the matter short in his own way. "You call it new and strange thing," said he, "and what of that. We see new things every day. And nothing can be more new and strange than to see white lady and gentleman come to live in any of your towns, and teach your children. Never fear, no harm will come."

The Monday after our arrival in the river we began to prepare for erecting the wooden frame-house we had brought with us from Liverpool. But as neither stone nor brick was in the

country to construct a foundation with, we had to employ a gang of strong Kroomen, supplied by some of the ships, to go down the river to the mangrove swamps, where strong foundation posts could be procured. The mangrove is an exceedingly hard and heavy wood, which sinks in water; and the length and thickness of the posts required made it a most laborious job, to get forty of them from miles distant, and up to the top of our hill. It arry one on their shoulders. While they were tu mba sent a gang of Calabar men, with an Egbo ad in official dress, to clean the ground for our in possession.

The whole hill ha standing wood, which had always been a haunt for (or panthers), and a place for depositing the unburied dead. The Kroomen who wrought there were disgusted at finding bodies daily in all stages of decomposition. "Too much bad thing live there, massa," said they one day, abandoning the work. I went to see, and found a body lying doubled and half putrified at the foot of a tree, while a cloth attached to a branch overhead showed how it had died. "True, it be bad, too bad; but you do all same bad in your own country." "No, massa; we no do all same bad for we country." "Well, never mind; cut the bush, and cover the bodies with it, and go on with the work." When the bush was dried it was burned off, and the charred bones buried.

But the townspeople did not soon cease disposing of their dead in that indolent and inhuman way. While we stood there a naked corpse was carried past, tied hand and foot slung over a pole. It was thrown into the bush near us. Another, almost fresh, was found the day before. We complained to Eyamba of the practice, and he promised to stop it, but did not, till we had renewed cause of complaint, when he gave orders to "blow Egbo," and positively forbid it for the future by public proclamation.

When the ground was cleared and the posts procured, Mr. Chisholm and three carpenters, whom we had engaged in Fernando Po, made progress in putting up the house, while Mr. Edgerley commenced a school in a vacant building Eyamba gave him near his own, and Edward Miller took charge of the Kroo labourers. Our Sabbaths were spent in preaching on board the ships

in the river. Other days I went early ashore to expedite the work, as it was of the utmost importance to have the house ready for residence in June, before the rain season began, taking provisions for the day or market goods to buy them, with books and writing materials, and having a little temporary shed on the ground to protect from sun and rain. There I had the attendance of a native, who helped me to learn his tongue, and there also learned something of marketing, as the country people brought their provisions for sale from day to day.

My first lesson in that way was as follows:—Three boys came with fowl, yams, and fruit. They could not speak English nor I Efik, yet we wanted to deal, and succeeded in doing so, in the following way. They put down their wares, and one of them taking up the corner of his cloth imitated sewing, and cried *abiábon*. Another hooked his finger in his jaw, and cried *uwam*. The third, with the fingers of the right, seemed to take something from the palm of his left, and put it to his nose, uttering the word *okúwong*. Needles, fish-hooks, and snuff-boxes were evidently meant, and were produced. Then each boy counted on his fingers how many he wanted of each article for his commodities. Having been warned that they made extortionate demands I shook my head, and held up half the number of fingers. One gave a shout of amazement, another laughed in derision, and lifting their things, made as though they would go away; so I bundled up mine, set them aside, and resumed my book. After a consultation they returned, and signed to me to bring back my goods, reducing their demands a little, but I shook my head again. They came down a little more, and a little more, and still I refused, till they so nearly approached my own terms, and grumbled so much at my obstinacy, that I yielded a point, and closed the bargain. They were back next day, and more with them, which showed that they had traded with benefit, and warranted me being a little more stiff, till I could ascertain the regular market price of provisions.

A selection from the novel, varied, and sometimes amusing, incidents that continually occurred at that time, when we were entering on new scenes, may not be out of place here, as illustrative of the state of Calabar society, and the manners and customs of the people.

As our operations advanced, vistors became numerous, some of whom could speak broken English. One just returned from the distant oil market, cried, "Hi! makara! last week this place be bush, now it be town." Another, turning round and looking admiringly in all directions, exclaimed, "You look, you look, you look, you see every place far and near." In fact, the range of vision was greatly ext[illegible]e side we overlooked Creek Town, and saw hill[illegible]ountry. On another we had discovered a range[illegible]ntains, at least sixty miles distant, round the u[illegible] Beecroft said he had passed some years previou[illegible]g the course of the river in the *Ethiope* steame[illegible]

One day, when [illegible]d I were at dinner in our carpenter's shed, our watchman came running breathless to announce, "Big Adam come;" and lo, "Adam Duke, King War," as his style and title was, appeared approaching,—a very portly personage indeed. We asked him to sit down and take share of what was going, but he declined, having just had chop, he said, on board ship. Our boiled fowl, salt pork, and ochro soup, were not perhaps sufficiently tempting. He had brought his young son, he said, to give me, that he might live with me, and learn book. The son was a nice, bright lad, and I bade him welcome. That, however, was only introductory—his chief object being to request a pot of green paint for his canoe. It was with no good grace, I fear, that I complied in part with his desire, foreseeing too many applications of the same kind, and knowing, as I told him, that we had little enough for our own houses and ship. He was very thankful, however, for what little he received.

It was not long afterwards, that, returning from our work to the mission ship one evening, I walked round by Adam Duke's house, as the street before his house was the widest and cleanest in town. There I saw a man in the stocks, condemned to lose his head on the morrow, because, as Adam said, "He be big thief." Knowing that masters had the lives of their slaves in their hands, I interceded for him, saying that the punishment was too great for the fault. The big man was inexorable, however, saying, "That is our country law, and you kill people in your country too." After some further pleading, he replied, "Well,

buy him and take him away, and do what you like with him." Captain D——, coming up at that moment, heard the last words, and said, "Adam, that won't do. I bought one man's life from you, and the next day you had another in the stocks, to be killed for something or other; and so on every day; the more I took out, the more you put in. No, no, Adam; let him go this time for nothing."

A troop of girls usually passed our place every day with earthen jars on their heads, going to the spring for water. While their clothing was shamefully scanty, ornaments were abundant on some of them, especially great brass rings on their ankles. I asked who they were, and why they wore such heavy leglets. "They be gentlewomen," was the reply. "If any man meet them, and want to put hands on them, when he see the brass rings he fear." As their hours for carrying water varied, I sometimes met them, and perceived that they were not quite destitute of shame in presence of a stranger, though it sat lightly on them.

Boco Cobham sent word he would come and take "chop" with me, and discreetly sent a fowl to help the dinner. I could not help wishing that every one else had as much consideration. He brought attendants enough, however, to devour whatever was left of it, and of everything else. Poor people, I was sorry to see them, they were so voraciously hungry. In the course of conversation, he said that he had only two wives, but would soon have two more. I told him that many wives broke God's law, and that one good one was better than all. "But suppose the first no be good," he replied, "what for do? must we no get another?" He asked if I had a wife, and only one, and where she was, and if I would not take another in Calabar. When I condemned the practice to which he alluded, he laughed dubiously, and said, "Yes, you will take Calabar woman; you must have Calabar wife; see them fine girls." Two young women were then at the door of our hut, who, seeing our attention directed to them, came forward a step or two, smiling, and evidently disposed to be agreeable. Their modesty seemed as primitive as their wardrobe, but the watchman turned them out with a reproof, and they retired abashed. Boco, though sharply rebuked, laughed, and merely said, "Your fashion no good for Calabar. King and all gentlemen keep plenty

women; that be good fashion." The girls he brought were probably his slaves; for free girls were always espoused young, and at their age would be in their husband's houses.

A relative of the preceding, young Eny Cobham, came to our workshop, and speaking about the number of dead bodies found on the hill, said, that it had long been the chief receptacle for common slaves. Only "gentleman" and "head slaves" were buried; and not even they if killed as criminals, or they had died by the "chop nut," accused of witchcraft. Burial was an honour granted only to the worthy. To be thrown into the bush, was good enough for poor and bad people. Little did he think that in a few months one of his own brothers would illustrate his remarks, accused of witchcraft against himself. I thought of Solomon's words—"If a man have no burial, an untimely birth is better than he;" and of the prophet's, "buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth of the gates of Jerusalem."

"Grand Egbo day" came round, and was an idle day till afternoon, when the king's great bell was rung to intimate that "Egbo done," and people might go to work or market. Adam Duke and Eny Cobham came to see our work and talk about different things, but would give no information about Egbo. Only those who purchased its honours could know its mysteries. In the evening the noise of rioting filled the town. I asked the cause, and was told, "Egbo man eat plenty chop, and drink plenty rum, and now he make fun." On our way from work to the beach, an Egbo runner accoutred in very outré habiliments from head to foot, and masked, with a long whip in his hand, was rushing from place to place, and approached me, but suddenly turned and darted off in another direction. A native, who had not been initiated, dared not walk the streets when the Egbo was out, but white men, and Kroomen in their service, were privileged. It was an understood thing, however, that they and he should avoid each other. He represented the mysterious being who dwelt in the bush, and executed his orders; but in reality was merely the agent of the native nobility, who constituted a peculiar society, under pretended supernatural sanction. It was the source of highest authority in the country, rendered the members absolutely

sovereign in their own houses and farms, and united the forces of all against any common enemy, whether external aggression, or servile disorders.

Eyamba's brother and secretary, commonly called Mr. Young, who could both speak and write a little English, and had even taught it to the young men, at the rate of a slave each, though unable to read print, came out of his house to convoy me safely to the beach. When parting, he invited himself to breakfast on board the next day, and requested that a boat might be sent for him in the morning, with the usual token of respect, an ensign in the stern. Leaving the captain with Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley to do the honours on the occasion, I went ashore early, as usual, to my work. The boat was sent for him, as desired, but he was not ready, and so Big Adam stepped into it, went on board, and eat the breakfast; the captain not doubting he was the right man. Ere long a note from Mr. Young told me that he was very busy with country palavers, and wished his breakfast might be sent ashore to him. His request was made known to our captain, who did his best to correct the previous error, and sent him a good dish by one of the Kroomen. The man, however, took it to the king, who eat it up, sent back the empty plates with thanks, and requested that the favour might be repeated the next day. It was a while before we discovered this second blunder, and too late to remedy it; and poor Mr. Young had to laugh off his disappointment as best he could.

Having business with Eyamba, I was proceeding towards his house one evening when I met his daughter, just "come out" from the fattening process, attended by a retinue of maidens. She was young, yet massively fleshy in every part of her person, in short, "the greatest gentlewoman I ever saw;" though one of King Eyo's daughters, who "came out" the next "season," certainly surpassed her, and might weigh, perhaps, a *hundred weight* more. As a specimen of native female beauty, the standard being size, breadthways, the young lady I met surpassed all I had previously seen. Dressed, in the Calabar sense of the word, with ornaments rather than drapery, with loads of beads of various colours on her neck, waist, and arms, brass rods wound round her legs from her feet to her knees, and a fool's cap and bells on her head, she

[illegible] There he was dancing a sort of minu
and Egbo Jack, and other great men, with th
admiringly on. He paused, and assumed an
on seeing a white visitor. He stood before a
who, with drums alone to accompany their
honour. With measured step and waving h
them, while they increased their efforts and bo
with their eyes still fixed on him. He took on
beat it himself, to show them how to do, and h
greeted with a burst of applause from the com
cheered, their fingers vibrated over their lip
shrill, pulsatory, animating cry. He was el
about, as the drumming, cheering, and singi
is very fine," said Mr. Young, in great admi
rather very laughable; but so much the mor
hope and prayer that the kings of Calabar mig
to exhibit themselves in a more worthy manner.

While we still lived on board our mission sc
ing in Duke Town early one morning, accom
"Ekpu, Ekpu," and a continuous low grunting,
attracted my attention. It was before day,
astir on deck was our cook, a Calabar man. I
meant. "They call for devil," said he; "dev
day. They kill man for him. One big man d

met us in Jamaica. He proved unfriendly to our mission, however, fearing innovations on the old customs of the country, and neither came near us, nor willingly conversed with us when we met. I called on him sometimes, both to show him the ordinary respect, and to cultivate good feelings, but could not make anything of him. One day he and Eny Cobham were sitting over their mimbo after dinner, and had nearly emptied a gallon decanter when I went in. He offered me spirits, and on my declining, asked derisively, if "God say man no must drink brandy?" At his door were sticks set up with dead chickens, land turtle, and other things, as charms, hanging thereon. Human skulls formed a step at his door, and were seen in every corner of his yard.

Jack made a feast, and invited "all white gentlemen." We went, lest he should think us unkind, wishing also to meet some captains who we knew would be there. We met in his "deck-house," for he also had a two-storey wooden frame house, with much good furniture, though utterly neglected. If our host proved obdurate, some of his guests were more tractable. W——, of the "Cestrian," was one of those who condemned our preaching to their ship's crews, though in other respects quite agreeable. At length, when both his surgeon and chief officer came to favour our views, I broached the subject to him. He candidly owned that he thought it hypocrisy for any man engaged in the palm oil trade to profess religion. He could not carry it on and keep God's commandments. On this occasion, however, we found his opposition so much abated, that, pressing our point, we won his consent, and commenced a series of afternoon services on board his ship, which continued till he left the river. C——, of the "May" objected on the score of discipline, which, he feared, our visits would tend to relax, but allowed one or two services before he sailed, knowing that his "owners" were favourable.

On various accounts it was a matter of great importance to promote the observance of the Sabbath and the services of religion among our countrymen in the Calabar river. The interests of our mission, as well as of the men, required it. The testimony it would afford to the value of God's word would have weight

and on the first sickness give themselves up for
sary to break that spell, and to show them th
there without rum, fear, or fever. Happily,
mission began, the awful mortality that had give
eminence, as the worst river in the Bights, has

Just a week after the feast referred to, great
beach, ensigns hoisted over the principal ho
pressing through the street towards the king's
ask, "What is the matter?" "Jack's first w
the reply, "and he begin make devil for he
were meant by the ugly word used. Before nig
that he had sent to his farm for slaves for the s
had got word and escaped, all but four, who
town and killed. Next day it was confidently s
Adam Duke, and Archibong, had each killed one
out of respect to their friend.

It happened well that Eyamba soon afterwar
our mission vessel, to receive payment for labou
what was reported, and what God's word said
He denied it vehemently. "No man be kille
he said. "It be old fashion; knock off long ti
there was any law in Calabar to prevent it, but
urged the necessity of a prohibitory enactme

if slaves were ever killed now for their dead masters. He answered gruffly, "No." "Well, my friend, how long it be since that bad fashion knock off?" He sharply replied, "That be another bob; we can talk it again. Slave be nothing." I told him that God had made the slaves as well as the masters, and given them equal human souls; that he regarded their lives as his, and would not have them killed for nothing. Adam was very uneasy, tried to change the subject, and scowled heavily. I reminded him that he and others had sent for us to come and teach them God's word; and now we were bound to speak and they to hear it, and concluded by telling him of the resurrection of the dead and the judgment to come.

Ere our house was finished, or a proper road made to it, Eyamba, perhaps to remove bad impressions, perhaps for amusement and curiosity, honoured it with a visit, and came in a four-wheeled open carriage. It was, perhaps, the first time he had ever been in it, and how he managed to get it through the town was never properly explained. My astonishment was great at seeing him, and his attendant Hogan Basy, a heavy young gentleman, sitting behind, with his great umbrella like a tent over all, dragged up a steep, narrow, broken foot-track, over long grass and young bush, which choked each side of the way. What no pair of horses could have done, a dozen stout men accomplished, and by pulling, and pushing, and lifting, they got carriage and contents over all obstructions. The pole was broken, indeed, by their desperate efforts, but, with the help of ropes, they got on better without it.

The descent, if less difficult, was more dangerous. At first, the carriage would not move. The people pulled and pushed in vain. Discovering that one of the wheels was jammed against the stump of a tree, they lifted it clean over. Soon it was caught by another, and freed in like manner. Next moment there was almost a capsize, for one wheel was far down in a rut, and the other mounting over the ruins of a devil-house among potsherds. It leaned over alarmingly, but the king held on stoutly by the weather side, while his people lifted the lee to a level. His attendant, having the umbrella to manage, found it less easy to

maintain the perpendicular. Soon they were going down the hill at a good pace, and with great cheering, regardless of obstacles, and of Eyamba's shouting; while his sable highness swung from side to side, and seemed likely to be sprawling, umbrella and all, among the grass, most unroyally, ere reaching the town.*

On the 4th June we got into our house, after Mr. Edgerley and I had spent a week at the painting of it, to let the carpenters get on with other work. Then Mr. Chisholm was sent to Creek Town to prepare for the house there, and our Fernando Po tradesmen were lent for two days to work for "King War." This service I was very reluctant to let him have, but he had so long and pertinaciously urged me, to let them help him at some needed repairs on his house, that I yielded a little, though fighting against time to get the Creek Town house covered in before the July heavy rains. On the third day early they should have been on board our schooner, to accompany me to Creek Town, but came not; and after breakfast I found them still working in Big Adam's yard. He had deceived them as well as me, assuring them that he had my leave to keep them another day. They were wrong to disobey orders, but still more was he to falsify orders, and I told him so plainly, and left him in no good humour, desiring them to follow. As I proceeded to the beech, I heard him shouting behind, "Captain Warree! Captain Warree!" confounding my name with that of the mission vessel, but heeded not. Scarcely was I on board when he followed in a canoe, and falling down on the deck clasped my knees. With an imploring look he said, "Captain Warree, I beg your pardon; I do bad. True, I know the thing I do no be good. I beg you; let them men stop till four o'clock, I will pay them, and send them up to Creek Town in my own canoe." Ashamed to see such a man abase himself so, I consented, and he went back happy; but he neither sent them up, as he promised, nor paid them one day's wages.

It was told me that King Eyo felt dissatisfied that the missi

* The Calabar name for the carriage was a curiosity, or absurdity, in literature. *Enang makara*, literally, white people's cow-house. *Horse-house* is meant, but horses [illegible] are called foreign cows. Our wheel-barrow was called *Ekpri ufok* [illegible] [illegible]ly because it had a wheel like the other.

house in his town was inferior to that in Duke Town, and that the teacher was not to be a proper white man. He wished both towns to be in all respects equal, assured that "God did not love the one pass the other." This required me to make explanations, and I was able to tell him that the difference would be only temporary, and that when the mission ship returned from Jamaica the next year, it would bring both a large house and a white missionary for Creek Town.

The day I visited Eyo to explain these things, I was privileged to witness a grand and rare Egbo ceremonial. Some persons of consequence had come from a far country to purchase the honours and authority of that institution, that they might introduce it among their own people, and become the founders of a new branch. This was equivalent to entering the confederation of which Calabar was the head, and they were consequently treated with distinguished respect. It was a public display of Egbo grandeur, and all the townspeople were allowed to come forth and witness it. They crowded both sides of the wide main street from top to bottom, and even the women, especially excluded on other occasions, and who dare not utter the name Egbo, as too sacred for their lips, were now spectators, and filled the gates of their respective yards.

Egbo runners, disguised with black masks, and wild dresses of dry grass and sheep skins, scoured the streets in all directions, wielding each, however, only a long rod instead of the terrible cow-skin whip, and without striking any one. They kept the centre of the street clear, confining the populace to the covered way on each side. One rash fellow tried to cross, but was so hunted down the whole length of the street by three runners, who followed him closely, amidst the laughter of the crowd, till he reached the very beach and plunged into the river, that it made no bad part of the show. Then came forth from the Palaver House two others without masks, but very gaily decked out in silk clothes, with immense turbans on their heads, and long party-coloured feathers. Each held a long narrow Egbo drum in his hands at arms length, and as they darted hither and thither around the Palaver House, pointed it significantly up or down every street. Then the people, in whatever direction they pointed, set up a yell of acclamation, of a throbbing, thrilling kind, produced by patting

people expressed their delight and admirati
pulsatory manner already described.

A band of musicians then appeared; but dru
afford any great variety of sweet sounds, anc
was that of tiny white bells, which a man ha
dreds round his legs, and kept tinkling by
This was but a prelude to the great Egbo dr
sonorous, uttered its mysterious sounds. The
and force, and, as they varied, the king's un
gave forth certain intimations in a loud voice.
flying squadrons of merry-andrews continu
movements, through the street, in and out of t

After they had returned, and a little intermis
operations, a solemn procession came forth; firs
skins with masks, then the drums and feathe
bows and arrows with tails, followed by K
musicians, and lastly Egbo himself, concealed,
natural being, in an ark, covered with fine clot
their shoulders by chief men. From it issued
bass tones, of the trumpet kind. All the men
followed to release him in the thick bush, wh
are bound to believe he lives, and none but
follow to penetrate the mystery.

place, and when our clothing-boxes were opened, and shirts and frocks were given to the children to promote decency among them, the numbers were doubled. It was a pretty sight to see the boys and girls flocking to school in the morning, in some kind of decent covering; and Eyamba himself was so pleased when his little son and daughter went home clothed, that he presented the school with a fine large bell, which was of great service.

As to the clothing, it must be added, that, though very necessary to preserve decency in the school, it required to be distributed with great discretion, lest it be regarded as a bribe or payment for attendance. We found afterwards that a claim of the kind was set up by some parents, who took away their children because they got nothing for going to school, and might gain more otherwise. Experience taught us, that any number might be got to attend for a week or two, when shirts and gowns were given, but that it was best to reserve them for tried and regular scholars, and give them as a reward for past attendance and progress.

A medical missionary had been sought ere we left home, to form one of our little pioneer company, but could not be obtained. The very day the *Warree* entered the river one of our seamen took ill, and a friendly captain, who had invited me to preach on board his ship, sent his surgeon to see him. The same gentleman was, of course, called in afterwards, when any case required medical treatment, among the ship's crew or ourselves. He was a Roman Catholic, however, and carefully secluded himself on Sabbaths when I preached on board his ship. Meantime we got acquainted with another and much more desirable medical attendant, Mr. Taylor, surgeon of the *Cestrian*, a countryman of my own, well recommended professionally, and a man of Christian principles and conduct. Having heard of him ere leaving home, we had the more confidence in permanently engaging him. As the other had candidly told me that "conscientious scruples" prevented him attending my religious services, so I told him that conscientious scruples prevented me regularly engaging his medical services; for I considered that a medical attendant should be a Christian companion, able and willing to join in prayer with his patient for a blessing on his treatment.

CHAPTER XIV.

1846.

Visit to Bonny—Description of that place, its king, and people—Return to Calabar—King Eyamba arrested, and commotion thereon—Preaching at Creek Town, with King Eye for interpreter—Lithographic press in use—Antica Cobham's daughter—Young Eny Cobham's death—His brother's death—Antica's son and slave—Suicide—Tiger—Eyamba's expedition to Omon—Women rule—His return—Explosion in the market—A school boy—Trouble with carpenters—Meetings at Creek Town—Eyamba's feast—Meeting in his yard—Human sacrifices for John Duke, and our remonstrance—Left Calabar for a season.

AN additional supply of building materials was required for our houses, both at Creek Town and Duke Town, and it was found necessary to send the *Warree* to Fernando Po to obtain them. Her captain, however, was absent. He had gone to that island some weeks previously "for the benefit of his health," though he had not been sick, and was not yet returned, though past his time. After waiting for him as long as we could, and consulting with Mr. Edgerley and friendly captains in the river, I desired the mate to make ready for sea, and went with him myself. We met our skipper at the mouth of the river; he came on board, apologized for his long absence, assumed the command of the vessel, and took her over to Clarence. There he immediately went ashore, and on his return some hours afterwards, resigned his command. He complained of nothing but my taking the vessel from her moorings in his absence, and commanding her myself. I reminded him that he and the ship were both under my orders, that his leave of absence was long expired, that the use of the vessel just then was absolutely required, and that the mate was always warranted to act in the absence of the master. Further, I said, that as I had taken good advice in Calabar before we moved, so would I consult with Governor Beecroft before giving him my answer; but that I was not at all prepared to accept his resignation, with a voyage to Jamaica before us in the end of the year. The upshot of the matter was that Beecroft approved of

what I had done, and the other, after a great deal of grumbling, withdrew his resignation.

H.M.S. *Styx* was in Clarence Cove, and my offer of service as chaplain for the day being accepted, I preached on board that ship on Sabbath forenoon, to a large and most respectable crew. In the afternoon we had the crews of several merchant vessels on board our own at divine service, and in the evening I preached in the Baptist Chapel ashore to a numerous and attentive congregation. The fellowship of Christian friends there was greatly enjoyed and our visit to Fernando Po was like revisiting the open world.

The boards we required had to be sawn in the woods, and would not be ready for a week or two. While waiting for them, we were glad to render a service to our friend Mr. Beecroft, by going to Bonny for his supplies, where an English ship had them on board, but which he could not procure, owing to his steamer, the *Ethiope*, being out of repair; and glad, at the same time, to have an opportunity of seeing that place and people. Though it was hardly one day's fair sailing distance from Clarence to Bonny, yet, owing to adverse winds and current, both very strong at that season of the year, it took us a week to make the passage. We had to beat the whole way against both wind and tide, and thought we did very well in making it at all.

Bonny stands on an estuary formed by three rivers, one of which comes from the north-east, and the other two from the north-west, supposed to be outlets of the Niger. On one of the latter is the town of New Calabar. By its extensive and safe anchorage, its proximity to the sea, and connection with the great river of Central Africa, Bonny is now the principal seat of the palm oil trade, shipping ten to fifteen thousand tons annually, as it was formerly of the slave trade, when it exported twenty thousand victims every year.

We found nine large oil ships at anchor, but saw not the town. It lies low and back, and was concealed by intervening bush. Heavy rain all day gave the surrounding scene a dreary aspect, and left an impression of cold desolation on our mind. The frith several miles wide, the banks low and bare, the bush thin and

stunted, the ships scattered, the cooper's hammer silent, and not a boat or canoe moving, made the place look dismal and dead.

The trade there was carried on differently from Old Calabar, where there is always something going on. Once a month the Bonny traders returned from the interior with what they called "a fair;" and a whole fleet of canoes brought a thousand puncheons of oil at a time. For a week a vast deal of business was done, and the river was all astir. Then the canoes went back to the Ibo country full of English goods, and the river subsided into dull monotony.

The people of Bonny, New Calabar, and Adoney, were represented as most barbarous tribes, and even as cannibals—devouring their prisoners of war. Some of the captains had witnessed it, several of the natives, King Peppel among them, owned the fact, but only one justified it. "Them eat we," he said with a laugh, "what for we no for eat them too?" Dr. King once saw, he told me, seven men lying bound on the beach, and mere boys, and even girls, employed in cutting off their heads. Thus the tigers' cubs were trained to blood.

King Peppel was a great trader, and thought himself a great man, since he had beaten the ships in a regular exchange of cannon balls. When a parley was called, he invited them ashore to settle their differences peaceably, got them together, surrounded the house with armed men, and threatened to burn it over their heads if they did not concede his demands, and place their gunpowder under his care as security for their good behaviour.

The town was a confused assemblage of mean houses, without order, on a mud bank, with winding foot-tracks for streets, and huge iguanas, four or five feet long, sleeping in the sun, or crawling lazily about the houses as domestic animals. They were harmless and unharmed, being "juju," or sacred. One of them lay in our path. A captain with the point of his rod touched it to make it move aside. Immediately a woman shouted in alarm, "juju, juju." The beast crept into her house, and was welcomed. The Calabar people, however, instead of reverencing these animals, eat them. The houses we saw were small, dark, and dirty, without a window, confused buildings, all gables and wings, constructed of wattle and daub. The king's was like the rest.

We passed a smithy. Fire, anvil, and bellows were all on the ground. The workmen sat on their hunkers. They were making nails, staples, and other small articles, and did the work pretty well, though with most imperfect tools. The anvil was a lump of pig-iron, part of a ship's ballast. The charcoal was of native preparation. The bellows were primitive, and illustrated the term "a pair." Two drums, about fifteen inches high, stood on the ground. Each had a loose baggy cover of leather, in the centre of which a staff was fastened. Behind them stood a man holding the staves, which he alternately raised and depressed rapidly, thereby forcing puffs of air through small pipes at the bottom pointing firewards. They had no apparent valves, and the air must have been drawn in through the same pipes, which were, therefore, some inches from the fire. It was a clumsy contrivance, producing little effect with great labour, and merely keeping the small fire in a glow. English-made bellows are generally used in Calabar.

We came to the "juju house"—a horrid place, half filled with human skulls and other unsightly objects. A pyramid of them reached from the ground to the roof. Some were old and black; others were recently cleaned; all were daubed with yellow or red paint round the eye sockets, which made them look hideous. On a platform, ten feet square, were several layers of them, the commencement of a new pile. There were many hundreds or thousands in that house of abominations. On another frame-work outside were fragments of human bodies, relics of a cannibal feast made only a year or two previously on the death of Peppel's father. Truly, "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

As we roamed about, we found a large and handsome bell, several hundred pounds weight, in a waste place, almost buried among the grass. An inscription on it stated that "This bell was cast for Opoboo Foobra, King of Grand Bonny, by William Dobson, founder, Downham, Norfolk, England, 1824." It had never seemingly been used, but may yet be employed to call the natives of Bonny to the house of prayer. To the eye of sense the time may seem distant, but to the eye of faith it is not doubtful. The bell will keep long where it lies. Let the sand cover it and the

grass hide it. When required it will be found, and, raised aloft, be made to utter its sweet sounds in the ears of world-absorbed men, to remind them of their duty to honour the Sabbath, and reverence the sanctuary of the Lord.

King Peppel was a young man, of no apparent pretensions. Dressed in blue jacket, striped shirt, and white trousers, without shoes, he received us civilly, spoke English tolerably, and had rather a plausible expression of countenance, with occasionally a look of deep cunning. Led by him from the open porch, where he first met us, we passed through two dark rooms into a small yard, covered with dirty water, and thence to the door of a larger apartment, where we sat and talked. It was dimly lighted from the door alone, but contained, I saw, a good round table, cane-bottomed chairs, and a good bedstead.

Dr. King, who had accompanied us from Fernando Po, told him that I was a missionary. Captain W——, who had come ashore with us, explained that a missionary was "a juju man." Disowning such a view of my office I informed him that a missionary taught men the way of salvation from the Bible, the word of God. On other points he seemed inquisitive, but when I began to tell him of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, his indifference to the subject soon appeared; and when I spoke of a missionary for his country he put it off saying, "O yes, very good, next year." I asked him about a very rude image of a man in a squatting posture made of clay, that stood in his yard. He said it was a statue the same as we had in England, and seemed to value it less for its beauty than for its antiquity. "Old people made it long ago," he said, "and it do no harm." I spoke of the horrid practice of cannibalism among his people. He acknowledged, but did not excuse it, nor deem it his business to prevent it. He was surprised to learn that our ship was not engaged in trade, and doubted its simply benevolent objects, asking how we could live. When told of Christian benevolence he smiled incredulously. Captain W—— told him of the £20,000,000 paid for the liberation of the West Indian slaves, and that it was more than he could count in a year. "Count it," he replied with a greedy laugh, "I would soon count it, if ever so much; I would never be done counting it."

On rising to leave I asked him to come and breakfast on board the *Warree* the next morning. He refused in a blunt way. Captain W—— told him that king Eyamba of Old Calabar sometimes breakfasted with us on board. This irritated Peppel, who thought no black king could be his equal. With mingled scorn and wrath he exclaimed, "Eyamba be ——. Who him be? Eyamba be boy (slave)." Then turning to me he said, condescendingly, "If you got anything good for breakfast, you can send it ashore to me." "Oh, no, king Peppel," I replied, "that is not proper fashion. I shall be glad to see you on board to breakfast, but will send nothing ashore." "Oh, very well," said he, carelessly; so we shook hands and departed.

King Peppel was said to be rich. He had inherited his father's wealth, reputed great, in Spanish doubloons and dollars, the price of slaves. And by his own palm-oil trade he had accumulated much, which he did not know what to do with. He seemed to have none of the ordinary ways of spending it in worldly luxuries and display. His children no doubt would inherit part, and much would probably be reserved for his burial. He regarded the people of Bonny and its "colonies," as he called outlying villages, as all his slaves, himself alone as really free. He carried his ideas on that subject too far, however, as we shall afterward find, when the chiefs rebelled against him, and but for an English officer who took him away, would have killed him. To provide for the feast on the death of his father, of which he was said to have been a partaker, an attack was made on a distant unsuspecting village, where boys and girls were captured, to form the delicacies of the occasion. We may hope he has become a more civilized being since he has been to England, and been "christened" by the Bishop of London. But we have rather anticipated events, and shall meet him again.

On our return to Calabar the work at Creek Town was found to be at a stand, the tradesmen having quarrelled about superiority. There were only four, and two of them wanted to be head men. For that reason I went up thither in the mission vessel to spend a few weeks, and get forward the work, as also to have meetings with the king and people there.

Soon it was reported that Eyamba was arr
board that vessel; and in due time we learne
ticulars. He owed it thirty-five puncheons,
tons of oil, and the time for payment had lor
else detained the vessel in the river, and its
pointed, having lost faith in the king's word, r
Others agreed to support him in doing so, arme
their guns and prepared for war. The king w
vitation to breakfast, and was there detained ti
debt should be paid. The gun fired from the
arrest; and, had the people attempted to boar
run up to the mast head would have called f
the confederates. This, however, was not
Eyamba stormed at first, when he found the ca
him, he sat down and cried, when he saw the Ki
a chain. He did not render it necessary, howe
sistance, but wisely ordered his people, who we
ship in their canoes, to be quiet, and sent for
Jack, and Captain R——, to come and extric
difficulties. The latter told me that it really
to see the old gentleman, with the big te
his cheeks and unable to speak. Adam Duke
pressing his sympathy with his insulted sovereig
a child, wrung his hands and

his head traders, because he had not made a good market, and then bewailed his having done so. It was also asserted that at the burial of a great woman lately, a man had been killed and thrown into her grave, and her two waiting-maids buried alive beside the corpse. The king and others always denied such atrocious proceedings, and solemnly promised to have a law made against them, but no great dependence could be placed on their assurances in either respect.

At Creek Town we got a beginning made in keeping school, Mr. Chisholm desiring that kind of employment. The king appointed a convenient house for the purpose, and a good company of boys attended. The vocabulary I had in hand, with the benefit of Eyo's daily assistance, made good progress. Our stay there, though but for a few weeks, proved that the air of the place was not so deleterious as had been represented, and assured us that, in the better position of the mission-house, it would be good enough. Our intercourse with the king and chiefs of that town evidenced their superiority, in good sense, good manners, and good feelings, to those of its competitor lower down the river. And every Sabbath we had large meetings in the king's yard, where we preached both the law of God and the gospel of Christ, Eyo himself acting as interpreter with great good-will and considerable efficiency.

Some notes of these meetings are worth preserving, as exhibiting the state of the country and its customs, as well as the native views on religious subjects. The first Sabbath was grand Egbo day, and the king proposed that we should defer the meeting, as only a few gentlemen could appear. On the contrary, I urged him to defer his Egbo observances for the sake of God's holy day, and he did so.

The primary truth of all religion I found needed no proof. "Every man knows," said Eyo, "that God lives, and that he made all things." Some of the commandments took his attention much, and his mode of interpreting them attracted mine. On the second commandment he was full and at ease, being himself no idolater. On the fourth he expatiated freely, and said that for himself he was willing to give up "Calabar Sunday," and keep "God's Sunday" instead; but thought that it would be some

time before the people were prepared for the change. The fifth commandment he said was very good, and he explained it with freedom and energy. The sixth, on which I had been strong, he explained in a subdued tone and in few words. It evidently touched sore places. On the seventh he was clear and decided. I did not at that time go beyond its primary and principal sense of conjugal fidelity. He said, "That be very good law. It be too much bad practice in this country for one man to take tother man's wife. You should go to every town every day, and tell them all that word. Eyamba have that fashion, but I don't have it here." I knew that he had many wives and concubines too. But he respected the rights and relationships of others. The eighth obtained the approbation of the whole meeting, but it was in the dubious form of a general burst of laughter. They seemed to say, we know that, but no one regards it. The fact was that the slaves were all thieves, and the "gentlemen" all cheats but one or two, without much disguise, so far as they could be with impunity. The ninth commandment was admitted in its most obvious sense; but there was some demur about the untruths or deceptions necessary to carry on trade, as not generally regarded in the sense of lies. The tenth was not recognised in its importance. How seldom is it?

The story of Jesus received great attention, especially his miracles. The raising of Lazarus, the resurrection of Christ, and the doctrine of the final resurrection of all excited the astonishment of my interpreter and audience to the highest pitch. "All them old people that dead long time," the king cried, "will they all live again?" "Them old bones that rot in the ground! How will God raise them up to life again? Where will they live, the world can't hold them?" The last judgment and the doom of the wicked startled him. The congregation was very attentive and solemn during the latter part of my address, and when I had concluded with prayer, the king said, "This be very good meeting, I like we have it every Sunday."

Adverting to the sixth command, he remarked, "You say man no for kill. True. What use a man take his money, go buy slave, and then kill him for nothing. If he have too many for his work let him stop buy. But slaves be too bad," &c. I

replied that if the word of God restrained the masters, it would also improve the slaves, and make them both better to each other. "Well I hope so," he answered, and so we concluded our first meeting. Having our carpenters and crew there we began and ended with praise and prayer, in which the natives took no part. We sang part of the 138th Psalm to begin with:

> "All kings upon the earth that are,
> Shall give thee praise, O Lord;
> When, as they from thy mouth shall hear,
> Thy true and faithful word."

On the next occasion I spoke, among other things, of trusting in Christ and praying to God; and alluded to their sacred things or charms, commonly called "*juju.*" This word was brought hither from some other part of the coast, and adopted by the natives as white people's name for venerated objects. Their own term is properly *ebok*, medicine, or means for gaining supernatural ends. These charms are used to obtain recovery from sickness, success in trade, preservation of a house from fire, or from any other curse that might be produced by witchcraft. Various things may be employed for that purpose, human skulls, heads of deer, goats, or alligators, the land tortoise hung up to a sacred bush in the yard, or a young chicken. A plantain, an egg, and a chicken, the last staked to the earth, are frequent at cross roads to break the spell which has produced disease, or to ward off some feared evil. In the king's yard alone none of these things were to be seen. He despised them.

On this subject he interpreted very freely and with great zest; then turning to me said, "I tell them how juju man make them fool. I see him poor, but he come and say he will show them how for grow rich. He have nothing himself, but he say he will show them way for get plenty trust from ship captain. Suppose they go to ship, and do all such things he tell them, before white man give them his trade-goods he will put them for chain. He no mind their fool fashions. My juju," he continued laughing, "my juju for make white man like me is to have plenty puncheons of oil on the beach. Then he gives me anything in his ship." He added, however, that some Calabar customs were meant to honour God, as when they eat and drink and throw some on the floor,

or when they kill Egbo goat and make prayer over the blood. Also the chicken and egg, &c., which I saw on the wayside was given to God. But he readily admitted that we must honour God in the way he prescribes, as servants must do their master's work, according to his instructions.

I asked him about the system of human sacrifices once so common, but which the [illegible] ıen" of Duke Town affirmed was no longer fo[illegible] red, "If any man say it no be done now he tel[illegible] one still. But I know it no be good, and must [illegible] Beforetime I see twenty and thirty men stand up [illegible] use, and all their heads cut off one time. Tha[illegible] ow. But while some old gentlemen live the fas[illegible] ı no can quite done. When all them young children come up for saby book it will knock off." He added, by way of excuse for Calabar, that in Ibo and some other countries the people were worse. They fattened men up like goats to eat them. There a slave says to his master, 'Feed me now, and you can eat me again."

On the third day I exhibited our Lord Jesus Christ and his great salvation. My interpreter, and the audience still more seemed unable to appreciate, or even understand, the spiritual blessings with which believers are blessed in him. The very idea of their having sinned against God was new and not received. They had no word for sin, but the very vague one, "bad thing." And to do a bad thing to God was in their minds the same as to do it to man, to inflict an injury on him. That they had never done. This want of a sense of sin, ignorance of sinfulness, lay in the way of our preaching the salvation of Christ Jesus. It is a great obstacle in most heathen countries, and the years spent by missionaries in preaching the law, are all necessary to enable the darkened mind to understand the gospel. Were not the ceremonial rites of the old Jewish Church, as well as the moral law, designed to produce the same effect, by creating or developing among the people a feeling, or at least an idea, of moral defilement and depravity?

On one point, however, they could understand me. Christ came to destroy the works of the devil, and *witchcraft* is one of the works of the devil. Though they had no idea of the devil, in

the scriptural sense, they stood in mortal terror of that secret supernatural power, or pretence of power. No language is too strong to express their horror and detestation of it. Among themselves they call it *ifod*, speaking to white people they call it "free-mason." It is probably the same which is known in the West Indies as Obea. They think that any ill-disposed person can inflict injury on another person, by means of certain charms or *medicine*, and attribute all the evils they suffer to that cause. A person afflicted in body, family, or estate applies to a country *doctor*, an Abia-ebok, to cure him or remove the evil. If he cannot get relief he applies to an Abia-idiong to find the cause, who traces it to witchcraft. Some one has free-mason for him. The person denounced denies the crime in vain. He cannot disprove it except by the poison ordeal, called "chop nut;" that is, by drinking water in which several *esére* beans have been mixed. Few survive the ordeal, and only by retching the draught. If there be very strong suspicions of the person's guilt, any kind of confirmatory evidence, as old hatred, threatening language, or designs on property, the fatal dose may be administered two or even three times. The belief is, that the guilty alone die. No one who has not "free-mason in his belly" can be injured by the trial. When a great man dies, unless of old age, his death is attributed to some secret enemy, and his wives, and friends, and head slaves must purge themselves in that way. When the great Duke Ephraim, Eyamba's predecessor, died, nearly fifty persons were made to "chop nut," of whom above forty died.*

I preached to them Jesus Christ as the only and all-sufficient

* The original record was procured from Mr. Young, who had written the journal of transactions in English, as follows:—

"*Old Calabar, October* 14, 1834.—Ephraim Duk diad in five o'clock this evening, and we put him for Groun next morning.

"16*th October* 1834.—This morning all country and Calabar come, and we go for Mr. Young, and stop little, not long, after that we go for Duk Palaver House, with all country, and our people, about the Duk Ephraim sick, and we go in for his yard, so all our people chop nut. The name of them:—

"Erim Cooffee Duk chop, dead. His son chop, no dead. Orrock Cooffee and two his son, dead. Cooffee Copper, dead. Egbo Eshan, dead. Egbo Young Egbo, dead. Bashey Archiebong Egbo Duk, dead. Erim Egbo Duk Ephraim, Otto, dead. Young Old Archiebong, dead. Erim Odoor, mother, dead. Otto Ecarnum, dead. One Otto slave, dead, for street. Egbo Eshen, mother, dead *to-night*.

"*Ditto* 17.—5 Duk wife chop nut this morning, all dead."

[Here follow their names; and so the entries go on, day by day, like a registry of executions—a calm, regular record of cold-blooded murders daily committed.]

cure for this dreadful evil. Yea, he was more than a cure, he was a prevention of it. No "free-mason" could touch those whom he preserved. It had no power against them. My interpreter owned that "free-mason" could not hurt white people, and still less, of course, God's people.

It was vain to attempt to reason them out of their superstitious credulity. The danger existed only in their imagination, and it seemed best to fortify their imagination against it, by prescribing an infallible safeguard. Whoever believed the word of God, and prayed to Jesus Christ, would be safe from the danger; and also never could have "free-mason" against any man. How good for Calabar, then, were all the peop[illegible] istian!

"But," said Eyo, "when we [illegible] an want to kill his master by free-mason we *must* make h[illegible] p nut." I replied that they should prove his guilt f[illegible] punished him. The "chop nut" was no proof, f[illegible] ly all alike; and its effects depended not on the [illegible] e of the accused so much as on the state of his st[illegible]

I asked if they tho[illegible] word spoken these three weeks was bad. "No one wor[illegible] ad," said Eyo; "every one be very good." "Well, then, let this good word grow among you. It is now a small seed. It will soon be a great tree, and you and your children will pluck the fruit, and eat and live for ever."

As our captain was tired of being at Creek Town, and the sickness of two of his crew had alarmed him for the safety of all, we returned down the river. There was work to be done there of a new and important kind. A lithographic press was attached to the mission, and the time had come to use it. The first use was to print off a series of "Bible Lessons" in plain writing, and very simple language, for the use of the "gentlemen" of the country who had learned to read writing. It was a curious fact that while not one could peruse a printed book, a certain number had learned to use the pen in the way of trade. A series of twelve historical lessons was thus prepared and circulated. It was not without much trouble that the press was put into good working order, owing partly to the climate, and greatly, doubtless, to my inexperience in the art.

When Eyamba and his chiefs were presented with the first lesson, a worthy gift, the first book printed in their country, they heard it with attention, and received it with great respect. Mr. Young read his aloud, and said that he understood every word. Next day he came to our house, and when he saw the operation of printing he laughed outright with surprise and pleasure, ran to the window and called some friends outside to come up quickly, "Now I can tell my brother the king," said he, "that I see what he never see, I see stone make book in one minute. Ah, for true, makara can do everything."

As Mr. Young spoke English better than any other man in the country, except King Eyo, and was really a clear-headed, intelligent man, I engaged him to give me an hour or two of his time daily, to complete the vocabulary of the language I had in hand, and he was glad to get a few shillings weekly for his trouble. King Eyo helped me without reward. He was rich, and I would have been ashamed to offer him payment. Indeed he gave his services most willingly, though his hours were precious. One day as we sat together, our books before us, Captain R—— came in and said, good humouredly, "Well now, King Eyo, what is this you are about?" He looked up with a smile, "Oh, just earning a few coppers like Mr. Young."

Antica Cobham's eldest daughter died, and I hastened to implore him to kill no slaves on her account. He was in great grief, but answered, "O no, no! that thing no be done now. It be old time fashion; it stop long time." I told him how Jesus Christ came not to dsstroy men's lives but to save them. He listened reluctantly, but promised to kill none. The next day it was reported that he had killed a number of slaves for his daughter. I went to see him about it, but could not find him, and then to his brother, Eny, who strenuously denied the truth of the report. Eyamba also discredited it, but made an admission which virtually contradicted previous assertions; he said that it would be long ere the old fashion could altogether cease.

As I passed Adam Duke's door he called me in, and I found several of his friends with him, very merry over their mimbo. I may mention that by standing a day and fermenting, and

especially by the infusion of certain leaves, it acquires a somewhat intoxicating quality which some prefer. He desired me to sit down, but I declined, and told him where I had been, and on what business, spoke of the dreadful wickedness of human sacrifices, and then preached Jesus to them as life from the dead. The word of God, I added, was the same for all, white and black, slave and master. They professed to agree with all they heard, and one of them said, "It be true; I go to ship on Sunday, and hear you speak same word there; all same same."

A messenger afterwards came from Antica Cobham, accredited by his silver-headed walking staff with his name thereon, to protest against the reports I l l, and renew the promises he had given me. Afterwards, saw him, and repeated my admonitions, setting bef and death, he swore to the truth of what he had enger.

The following day nd I preached on board the *Cestrian*. There a you der came on business, not knowing, he said, that . He denied the report of Cobham having killed slaves daughter; but the captain charged him with having killed six slaves, not long before, when his own mother died, two of whom, young girls, had been buried alive. His indignant contradiction was worthy of truth, yet discredited by all who heard him.

A few days after the preceding events, young Eny Cobham died unexpectedly at his father's farm. Soon the signs of Calabar mourning, or "devil making," appeared everywhere; for he was a great gentleman's eldest son, and had "bought all Egbo." Flags were hoisted "half-mast" on all the principal houses, volleys of musketry succeeded each other, mingled with the roars of great guns from his father's beach, and these were followed by the din of incessant drumming and the ceaseless wailing of women.

I sought the bereaved father to comfort him, and improve the sad event. Indeed, I sympathized with him, for his son was a promising youth, and had raised our hopes of him by his acquaintance with the word of God. But what comfort could he receive to whom the Saviour was unknown, and the future world all darkness. He knew not the life and immortality brought to light

by the gospel, and sorrowed as they who have no hope. While all the town gentry were going through a great Egbo ceremonial in one yard, he stood alone in another, leaning against a post, and weeping bitterly. To all I said, his only answer was, "God do me very bad to kill Eny." When urged that no slaves should be killed for the deceased, nor any person made to "chop nut," under pretence of having killed his son by "free-mason," he promised solemnly, and added, "Eny Cobham no be man to tell you lie."

An absurd report soon got abroad—no one could or would say where it originated—that the deceased had appeared, or been heard, twice in town, saying that his younger brother had killed him. It may have originated with enemies of the family, designing to weaken it, or with the eldest son's mother, in her anguish and disappointment, seeing another mother and son filling the place of her and her son. The second son heard the rumour, denied it, went to Eyamba and demanded the "nut," to prove his innocence. He would not be dissuaded, though no one accused him. Indignant at the faintest imputation, he risked the ordeal.

We heard of it; and, taking emetics, accompanied our friend Taylor hastily to Cobham's house, and desired to see Basy, that we might administer the medicine. The father said that we could not see him, that there was no danger, his son was innocent, and the "nut" could not hurt him. He added, that if he vomited by white man's medicine, the stain would be on his character still, and he would have to take the "nut" again. To our remonstrances, he yielded at length a little, saying, by and by, if he not soon better, we may see him. When we importunately urged the danger of delay, and his guilt if his son died, that half-an-hour was already past, and there was not a moment to lose, that in a little more it would be too late, and nothing could save him, he began to apprehend danger, and came with us to the inner yard, where his son was lying in a state of insensibility.

The poor youth was on his back, on a mat, stretched on the ground. A woman sitting at his head, perhaps his mother, supported it on her knee. Another wiped the cold sweat off his forehead, and the mucus flowing from his mouth. His flesh was cold and flabby. He could not look up, speak, or hear. In vain we poured the medicine into his mouth; he could not drink—it

gurgled in his throat. "It is too late," said Taylor; "he is too far gone." Turning to the father, he said, "Eny, I told you, that if you delayed, you would lose your son." I added: "Eny, you said your son was innocent, and I believe he was; do you now believe him to be guilty, and not rather that 'chop nut' is a lie." He could answer only by a passionate fit of weeping. The women wrung their [illegible] l cried with unfeigned and bitter cries, implori [illegible] hing we could to save him. All was in vain. T[illegible] what sad bewailings! The poor father was grea[illegible] as well as blamed: he stood silent and confounded. C[illegible] y of divine light! O for a breath of heaven! to wake t[illegible] ad souls from their delusions to spiritual life.

It was only the day after the death of poor Basy Cobham that another shocking occurrence took place in another branch of that family. Mr. Young and I were sitting writing the language, when we heard a shot in the town below our window, followed by the voices of people running. Immediately afterwards a messenger hastened to tell him, that Antica Cobham's son had killed his father's best head-man. "I don't know what has come over Calabar this time," said he, rising; "people do things now, I never know them do for long time." Mr. Edgerley and I followed him to the town. We learned that young Antica, a wild, headstrong fellow, had threatened to kill his father, because he had withdrawn his confidence from him, and given it to his head slave, who had of late done all the old man's business. For some time, it was said, the young man had gone about with a loaded gun, watching an opportunity to kill his father, who had been obliged to keep within bolted doors for fear of him. That day, seeing the servant preparing his canoe for the oil market, he levelled the musket, and with too sure an aim, shot him dead. The victim was carried to his master's house, where we saw them washing the lifeless body. It was a sad sight. The women, as usual —probably they were the man's wives—were weeping and wailing, wringing their hands, and rolling on the ground, in a frenzy of anguish. We proceeded to the king's house. "Well, this be bad business," said he, when he saw us; "must he not die that kills another man?" He seemed determined on it, and we could

say nothing against it in the case of wilful murder. Nevertheless, nothing was done to him, though the indignation against his crime was all but universal. It was only a slave he had killed—money could buy another, said his defenders. Why should a freeman die for a slave?

Speaking to Mr. Young about the want of respect for life in Calabar, he gave the following example, which had occurred only the week previously. Three girls, who had been ill used by their mistress, agreed to go to the bush and hang themselves to spite her. They went up the Qua road, and the two eldest did actually commit the deed, but the youngest, after long hesitation, returned to town. The next day she took her mistress, and showed her the poor girls hanging side by side from the limb of a tree.

It was mentioned that tigers, (or panthers,) had formerly haunted the woods which covered the hill appropriated for mission use. Our operations frightened them away for a time, but we had proof ere long of their having returned. We had a fine young dog of English breed, in great request there. One evening, while at family worship, we were startled by a horrible yell just outside the door. "Tiger catch him!" cried a man, jumping up and seizing the lantern, and out we all rushed with lights and weapons. Too late; the poor dog's piteous cries died away in the far bush. The next morning the marks of the terrible beast's feet were plainly seen, where he came, seized the dog, and bounded off with his prey. Coming, they were soft and stealthy like; where he sprang on him, the ground was torn up by his claws. His retreat was marked by deeper foot-prints, projecting claws, and long bounds. He was described by some, who saw the traces, as a large animal, perhaps two and a half feet high, and four and a half or five feet long. On a subsequent occasion, a man was nearly destroyed by one of them as he passed our house in the dusk. He escaped with loud cries to our door, but with his neck, shoulders, and sides streaming blood, lacerated by the claws of the fierce creature, which had missed its spring by the man's sudden start and cry.

On the 10th September Eyamba left Duke Town, on a warlike

expedition up the river, to settle an old dispute with the people of Omon. Ever since his arrest on board the *May* he had projected this enterprise to cover his disgrace. For two weeks previous to his departure not a fowl or goat could be bought in the market, owing to the number employed in making sacrifices and offerings for his success and safe return. A week previous to his departure he had gone to Old Town with [illegible]pany, to make a great sacrifice for the same purpose. W[illegible]estioned on his proceedings there, he and others evaded th[illegible]ct, merely saying, "They kill goat for God to keep king w[illegible]go for Omon." Long afterwards, when he was no mo[illegible]ecame known that he had offered a human victim to the [illegible] god on that occasion. The victim was a "white negro" or [illegible].

Omon is on an island in the c[illegible]e of the river, about eighty miles above Duke Town. From its strong position it commands the traffic on both sides, and would let no canoe pass up or down. It claimed to be the emporium of trade, both for the sea-side tribe and the Akunakuna people towards the interior. A great number of canoes from the latter tribe had some years previously visited Omon, and on pretence of an old quarrel were barbarously and treacherously attacked at night, and plundered, and about a hundred and seventy people belonging to them killed. This was what Eyamba, as an old ally and friend of the upper tribe, thought himself called on to avenge. He had failed in a former attempt, and his proceedings on this second occasion did not inspire confidence, among either whites or blacks. Some of his own chiefs were not hearty in it, and Eyo Honesty, when they met to confer on the subject, refused to take part in the expedition. He offered, if Eyamba would leave the matter in his hands, to bring the Omon people to his feet. But the doughty monarch was ambitious of having all the glory to himself. We also entreated him not to go, fearing it would prove only a *razzia*, if he succeeded, and worse if he failed; and I offered to go with one or two other white gentlemen, and any two country gentlemen he pleased, to visit that country, and see what could be done for peace. But he laughed at the proposal, and said they were "bush people," who did not know missionary, and would kill "godman" as fast as another.

Eyamba left his town with as much of the "pomp and circum-

stance of war" as possible. His great canoe was gaily decked out with several ensigns streaming in the wind, British ensigns, with his name thereon in large letters. The little house amidships was brilliantly painted red and yellow. Astride the roof thereof sat two men beating drums with might and main. Before it stood Eyamba, shaded by his grand umbrella, dressed as usual, except in having a gold laced cocked hat under his arm, and a splendid sword, a present from the Dutch Government, at his side. In the bows a large gun pointed forward, and before it stood a man with a bundle of reeds, which he kept shaking at arms length, to warn every obstacle and danger out of the way. On each side sat fifteen men with paddles, and between them down the centre stood a row of men armed with cutlasses and guns. The king's body-guard were immediately around him. A train of inferior canoes, ornamented and arranged in the same style, belonging to the lesser gentry, were in his wake. A number had preceeded, others would follow him to the rendezvous at Ikorofiong, a Calabar town halfway up the river. Thus they made a grand show, with colours waving, guns firing, drums beating, and men singing and shouting, while the women crowding the beach, admired and applauded, by their peculiar animating cheers, with all their might.

When the men were gone the women ruled the town, a lady of age and rank, familiarly called by the whites, Mrs. Archibong, being *gouvernante.* It was their jubilee, and for several days and nights, there was nothing but singing, and dancing, and parading about. A black man dare not walk the streets. Young Eyo from Creek Town visited us, but after leaving to return to his canoe, he came back running and laughing; for a great company of ladies were coming from the town up the road meeting him, in marching order two abreast, preceded by sword bearers, drums, and colours. Though he had his own armed retinue about him, he feared, lest these women if they caught would flog him; and even after they had passed, he took a private track through the bush down the face of the hill to the river side. They passed our house singing and dancing, dispersed themselves to gather a twining plant which they wreathed round their persons, then came and formed in line in front of our house, and with great

good humour saluted the mission family. One very big lady, who, with others of rank had visited us lately to see our house and the printing, came forward waving her hand and crying, "Makomfi, makomfi," that is, "I salute you." We could only wave our hands and bow in return, wanting words to express our admiration of the scene. They beat to march again, quickened their pace, got confuse d "the trot became a gallop soon." On they rushed w of laughter, down a good road we had made to the t ght-footed lassies taking the lead, the great ladies bring rear, and all presenting an indescribable scene.

The fleet was gone only a w en, to our surprise, it began to return "from the war," and we e all glad to learn that there was no harm done after all. Not one of the objects of the expedition was gained, indeed, but then happily not a life was lost on either side. Ere they could reach Omon Island the invading host must pass a narrow part of the river, between two hills well wooded, where the enemy lay in ambush. The first discharge of musketry from the invisible foes suddenly arrested their progress, the second made them turn and flee. Eyamba would no longer lead his forces, and wished Egbo Jack to take the front. The latter felt equally disinclined for the post of honour, and left it to "Adam Duke, King War;" who, however he got the title, did not on that occasion justify it. A council of war was held at a safe distance from the dangerous pass, when it was resolved that as they could not go further they had better go home again; which was very sensible. To land and drive the enemy from his cover, or to force the passage at all hazards could not be thought of. They left such madness to white people. *Veni, vidi, fugi*, was the report of the invasion in few words. Eyamba had no shame. He put a good face on his retreat, and returned, as he had departed, like a conqueror. The women received their friends with demonstrations of delight, abated only by disappointment at the small amount of spoil. The ships neither fired a gun nor hoisted a colour for him. I went of course to congratulate him on his safe return, and that he had lost none of his people, but he looked foolish when commended for having brought home no heads at his canoe bows.

So little powder was wasted in the expedition that the market had a double supply for some time; whence occurred a terrible accident. Several kegs of it were opened in the middle of the town, near by where a travelling blacksmith had lighted his fire, and was doing small jobs for the country people. A spark struck from the red hot iron blew up all. A number of people were killed on the spot, and forty or fifty others dreadfully burned. Dr. Taylor, Mr. Edgerley, and I did all we could to afford relief and proper medical treatment to the sufferers. They were in a miserable condition, some of them screaming, and others cracking their fingers in speechless agonies. Native treatment increased the sufferings of some ere we saw them, for a plaster of pounded yams and palm oil had been applied to the burned flesh, which, hardening and adhering, put them to the torture.

One of the school-boys, a son of old Egbo Jack, refused the lesson of Christian instruction, saying that his father sent him to school to "saby trade book," and that he "no want to saby God." Two days afterwards the boy entered where I was lithographing, to see me, as he said, "make book from stone." I said to him, "Is your father alive?" "Yes, he live." "You love your father?" "Must love father, if boy no love father he be bad." "Suppose boy go away, and no hear his father's word, he be good?" "No, he be bad." "Who your Father in heaven be?" "Me no saby." "Who made you live?" "God make me live." "True. Who makes yam and everything to grow for man to chop?" "God do all." "Then God be your Father in heaven?" "Yes, he be my Father in heaven." "You love God?" "Me love him." "How you say you no want to saby God, only trade book?" "Me want to saby God now." "Very good, you speak proper word now. Suppose you saby all book, it be nothing, if you no saby God's book. Suppose you make all trade, it be nothing if you no have Jesus Christ, the Son of God, for your friend." "Yes, me want for saby God book now." Poor boy, his father sent him more to ship than school, and both father and son have since disappeared without knowing the Lord.

Early in September the *Warree* went again to Clarence, for an

additional supply of boards and other building material, to complete the mission house at Creek Town. The carpenters wishing to go in her abandoned their work; but I had to refuse them both their passage and discharge, as it was absolutely necessary to finish the house, so far at least that it could be locked up, and left in a safe state, when we should all remove, according to the plan for that year, an[illegible]r use on our return. They might have had i[illegible]er, but for the inexcusable indolence and perv[illegible]m. They applied to R—— of the *Majestic*, bu[illegible] them, for the same reason. The season was stil[illegible]d our work in other departments was still too [illegible]eft off. There was no just cause for their haste [illegible] countrymen, indeed, feared to remain after September or Octo[illegible] at latest; and some of them talked of Death coming with his scythe when the smokes began; and others dreaded the rivers then "more than loaded cannon." But our Fernando Po carpenters, as natives of the coast, had no need to fear the change of season. If we were willing to remain a month longer, one would have thought they should not object. They would not be persuaded, however, and loitered about Duke Town a whole week, watching for some chance of getting away, till finding their allowances stopped, they thought it best to return and finish their work. Their rations and wages had not been withheld when off work for some days on a previous occasion, but a repetition of such misconduct required correction.

On the return of the mission ship I went to Creek Town in her, leaving Mr. Edgerley to attend on the two oil ships left in the river. Thereby the carpenters were encouraged to persevere, and the revision of my vocabulary with King Eyo expedited. We had a second series of public Sabbath meetings also, by the king's express desire. He asked why I had not come to them every Sunday, and, when I referred to our services on board the ships, replied that we were missionaries to Calabar people, and that the white people had books, and less needed our teaching. It pleased me well to see his desire for knowledge of the word of God; it was one of the results I had desired to reach by our services among our countrymen; and the way was now open for gratifying it without neglecting them.

The series of Bible lessons prepared and lithographed, formed suitable subjects for several Sabbaths, and were eagerly received by the few chiefs in that town who could read writing. They discovered native customs and views on various points relating to the same subjects. The lesson on good and bad angels led the king to say that they knew nothing of such beings. Their frequent use of the word "devil" is not at all in the Scriptural sense, but in reference to the dead, and must have been learned from seamen, who so often, formerly, spoke of those who were dead as "gone to the devil." I asked my interpreter about the two gods I had heard some people speak of—God above, and God on earth. He replied that "all man saby there be only one God—the God in heaven. But some people bring *sweet mouth* to their king, and call him their God on earth." It may be added that remnants of a tradition involving the idea of a Trinity were found among them. There was one God *Abasi*, and a Son of God, mentioned in their *inkes*, or fables, and a third, or middle God, of whom they had heard little and knew nothing. But only a few admitted the existence of such traditions. The lesson about Job seemed to impress King Eyo's mind beneficially. It had also taken the attention of Eyamba, Mr. Young, and others at Duke Town, who talked about God's dealings with that patriarch.

The lessons about Abraham and Moses led to conversation about circumcision, the sprinkling of blood on the doors, and other Hebrew customs retained in Calabar. How these people came to practise such things they know not. Thus did their fathers, and so do they, without asking why. Eyo remarked that black people who retained these ordinances were more like God's people than the whites who disused them. I explained that these customs could not make them be God's people, yet they proved the truth of his word, and left them without excuse if they did not become his people, now that he had sent his word and servants to teach them. The passage of the Red Sea staggered the faith of some of our audience; but a picture of it in the king's Bible confirmed his, and he appealed to it as proof sufficient of the truth of the narrative. He was neither the first nor the last who accepted an illustration as proof.

To show our audience the value of knowledge, and that they

must not reject what was new and strange, I presented a pocket compass to their view. It was difficult to explain its mode of operation, as the polar star is not seen at Calabar. We could declare its value, however, as the instrument by which the ships were steered through all seas to their proper ports. "Hand it round," said Eyo. "Let every man see it. I like you show them plenty of these things, that they may see what white people can do who saby book."

Soon after King Eyamba had returned "from the war," he made a great feast for the heroes who had followed him, and invited some more peaceable parties, such as Mr. Edgerley and myself. The chief of Old Town was there, and old "King Chop." It was a novel scene. The dinner table was spread in a wide piazza on the ground floor of one of his inner yards. The guests were numerous and merry, but they reverently paused while we "said grace," and devoutly responded, *Amen*. Behind every "gentleman" at table stood a personal attendant, holding aloft his silver-headed staff, with his laced hat thereon. In the rear of them was a crowd of waiters and onlookers, hungry creatures, who scrambled for the scraps on every plate that went out. But indeed many were handed full to particular favourites. "King Chop" was a decayed "gentleman" of enormous appetite, which seemed never satisfied. If not always welcome, he was never repulsed from a native feast, where, accepting a lowly seat, he was happy to get a dish of broken meat when the rest were served. On that occasion his endeavours to preserve his portion from the voracious wolves behind him caused great amusement. They only pretended, but he was in earnest. "Poor fellow," said old Willy Tom Robins, "he has nothing in his house, and is hungry." There the king's honour was maintained in a peculiar manner, according to an old custom. When he lifted his quart mug of mimbo a "gentleman" slipped under the table, and held his great toes while he drank it off. Egbo Jack had rendered that service formerly; but I did not know the official on the last occasion. The origin and design of this ridiculous custom could not be discovered. Some said that it was to prevent the good liquor escaping by his extremities; others, with more probability, thought it was to pre-

vent his majesty falling back while quaffing his mighty draft. Perhaps neither was right.

It was agreed that we should have our last Sabbath's meeting in King Eyamba's yard, and it turned out unexpectedly to be a somewhat remarkable one. Our whole mission party proceeded thither at nine o'clock, but found the gate of the second or inner yard closed against them. The porter said that we could not get in. We asked by whose orders he kept us out, and getting no answer knocked hard at the door, and had it opened to us from within. In the third yard we found Eyamba alone. He said that we could not keep meeting. Why? Because John Duke, son of old Duke Ephraim, had just died, and must be buried, and the "gentlemen" of town were all called to come and "set palaver."

The time was opportune for dealing with a most important subject, and I said: "Now, King Eyamba, John Duke was a great gentleman, and you will kill plenty slaves for him this day." He made no answer. "You told me that all that bad fashion be knock off long time; but I think it be done still." "It be knock off little bit," he replied, "but not quite." "Well, king, you always said that you want it for knock off. Now prove your words true, and let no one be killed for John Duke this day; and let country make law for stop it altogether; as God commands you to do." He replied, "Them old fashion can't knock off in one day; must take time; and me one can't make law for all country; must call all gentlemen; same your queen call parliament." "Well, king, you are not bound to follow an old bad fashion. You can stop it for yourself this day; and get the law made for all country afterwards." He laughed and said, "I think you want me for tell lie." "No, king, but to keep your promise. Remember you must answer to God hereafter for what you do to-day; and no plea of old country fashion can excuse murder." "But suppose they be killed already," he said, "what for do?"

That answer revealed the dreadful truth that the massacre had already begun. By that time his yard was full of people, who, with excited feelings, were listening to what was being said. Horrified at the last answer, I took off my hat and addressed them solemnly.

"King Eyamba and gentlemen of Duke Town, you have begun to kill your slaves for a dead man. Now I declare to you, before the great God of heaven and earth, that you have done very wickedly, and are guilty of a great crime; and the slaves you have killed will rise up in judgment against you at the last day. What will you say before God, when these murdered people witness against you, that you killed them for nothing? Y[illegible] istom breaks all laws both of God and man. All white gent[illegible] have told you so, and you know that it is very bad, and h[illegible] excuse. Often have you told me that it was not now pract[illegible] ut we have found that it is still done in secret, and you can d[illegible] no longer. You condemn yourselves; and be sure God wil[illegible] ng you into judgment for these crimes. He made the slav[illegible] an as well as the master; the life of the one is as precious in his sight as the life of the other; and he will not have you to kill them for nothing. He has said, 'Whosoever sheddeth man's blood by man will his blood be shed:' and the lives of your slaves should be protected by law, lest the curse of God rest on your country; for if life be not safe nothing is safe. Now, king, and all gentlemen, I speak in the name of the great God, who will raise the dead, you and your slaves, and judge you all at last: remember there is a place of dreadful punishment for the wicked, where the fire of God's wrath burns for ever. Knock off this horrid fashion of yours, and turn away from all your sins, that he may forgive you. He has sent us here in his love to warn you, that you may be saved."

Eyamba was shaken by this appeal, but others present muttered disapprobation at being so disturbed. He answered, in a subdued tone, that he knew the "fashion no be good," but he could do nothing then. He promised, however, that when we returned to Calabar he would call all gentlemen and "try to get a proper law to make that fashion stop." In conclusion I spake a few words more about the times past of their ignorance, which God had winked at, whereas now he called all men everywhere to repent. Mr. Edgerley added a few impressive exhortations; but the company present became confused, and resolved to hear no more from us.

John Duke's death was so unexpected as to awaken suspicions of foul play, from which Eyamba was not exempted. He drank

mimbo over night with his friends, went to bed well, and was found dead in the morning. As soon as the event became known his men slaves broke from the yard and fled to the bush, taking with them the guns and powder-belts that they usually carried in his train. A number of women and girls were, however, secured and murdered. One of our carpenters saw five girls dragged along, shrieking as they went, to be killed or interred with him. Several of the chief men in town slew some of their domestics in his honour, and sent off to the plantations for more. The mother of the deceased said, "He has left no children; kill the half of his slaves; what use he leave them behind." Above a hundred were put to death that day. It was, however, also reported that Eyamba interposed and forbade more being killed, saying, "God man make too much big palaver about it this morning."

The following day we delivered up the keys of our houses to Eyo and Eyamba, to keep them safe till our return. The latter had an anxious, distressed look, quite unusual with him. Perhaps the exhortations of the previous day had made some impression. They were repeated, but heard in silence; we shook hands, and never met again.

CHAPTER XV.

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Arrangements in Clarence—Preached on boa- S.S. *Hydra*—United prayer meeting—
Mixed crew for voyage to Jama troubles—Run along the Line—The
Amazon and Orinoco felt far li nidad—Jamaica—Proceedings there—
Sailed again for Calabar with new supplies—Leak in ship—Wrecks about
Cuba—Mast sprung—Man overboard- "tassy Sea"—Suspected—Driven by an
east wind into the "swamps"—Three calmed—The porpoise—The petrel—A
land bird—Current—Quarrels of master e—Difficulties of a mission ship—Meet
bad news in Clarence—Reached Calabar riv...

WE left Calabar on Monday 19th October. The season was still good, and, had not arrangements made long previously required it, we needed not, on account of our health at least, to have removed then. But fear was already manifesting itself in our little company, and fever would probably ensue. Neither could be risked at the commencement of our enterprise. My instructions required me to return in the mission vessel to Jamaica, to meet the brethren, arrange for the future, and obtain reinforcements. The rest of the little band were to stay in Clarence, where we engaged a good house for them, till the arrival of brother Jameson in January.

After we reached Clarence, a slave, who had escaped the massacre at Duke Town, was found in the hold of the mission vessel. He had hid in the bush all Sunday, and at night succeeded in getting on board, and stowed himself away secretly, where he lay quiet three days without meat or drink. We all rejoiced in his escape, and the governor took him under his protection.

H.M.S. *Hydra* having anchored in the cove, Commander Young came on board, in the kindest manner, to inquire for our welfare, and the success of our mission, and to offer us any assistance in his power, that we might require. He had received instructions to that effect from the Commodore, who also acted on instructions from the Admiralty. It was pleasant, not only to acknowledge the kind inquiries, but to be able to say that we were

all well, and in need of nothing. He had come from the coast of Dahomey, where, owing to the strictness of the blockade by our cruisers, he said slaves could no longer be shipped. A lamentable consequence, however, followed that blockade. *Da Souza*, a notorious slave trader at *Whydah* or *Badagry*, having hundreds of slaves that he could not dispose of, and would neither feed nor liberate, had them cruelly slaughtered.

The *Hydra* being without a chaplain, the offer of my services for Sabbath was accepted. The rules of the navy required the morning service of the Church of England to be read on board every Sunday. Want of familiarity with the Book of Common Prayer disqualified me for that part of the duty, but Captain Young performed it well, and left the sermon to me. I knew not till afterwards that my text at least was particularly suited to one of the officers on board. He was an avowed infidel, and it was, "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God."

We had some difficulty in making up a crew for the West Indies. Most of our white seamen had been sent home when we first came on the coast, where the natives, it was supposed, would suffice for ordinary duty. For a long voyage the latter could not be depended on, without a proportion of the former; for they could neither reef nor steer, and would not learn the compass. Indeed, they refused to go to Jamaica, till the governor spoke to the head Kroomen, of the Kroo Town near Clarence, and I became personally answerable for their safe return. Two or three white seamen, though not good characters, were, after much delay, secured.

While detained in Clarence we had some sweet seasons of united prayer with the missionary brethren of the Baptist Society. At our first meeting, held in Dr. Prince's house, we had the friends from Camaroons and Bimbia to join us; but missed Mr. Sturgeon, who had been removed by death some time previously. His loss was much felt in Clarence, where his assiduous pastoral labours had made him greatly esteemed. In Mr. Edgerley's house, where our second meeting was held, we had the governor and a well-disposed captain besides our own from the Cove to join us. We asked them in the hope of promoting concord, and of doing them good, and the attention was not ill bestowed. Thence we went direct

on board, weighed anchor, and put to sea. It was our parting meeting, to seek the Lord's directing and protecting care on our voyage. We had with us two coloured families of that mission returning to Jamaica, quiet good people, whose Christian society contributed not a little to our comfort on the passage.

I left two letters behind me with Mr. Edgerley, one for himself and assistants, the oth[illegible]v. Mr. Jameson, who was expected to arrive in [illegible]ths. Several good reasons, which some readers [illegible] may not apprehend, induce me to give the for[illegible] One very obvious reason is that it fills a blank [illegible]e mission.

After leaving Clarence Co[illegible]oceeded south by Prince's

* "To Messrs. Edgerley, Chisholm, and [illegible].

"On board the *Warree*, Clarence Cove, 2d *November*, 1846.

"Dear Brethren,—It is proper I should address a few words to you before we part. In my letter of instructions from the brethren in Jamaica, confirmed by the Board of Missions in Scotland, the following words occur, 'Having accomplished the objects above specified, it is proper, unless the leadings of Providence seem to demand your longer stay, that you return to this island, leaving the mission in charge of Mr. Edgerley, till either yourself or some other minister be appointed to carry it on.' Complying therewith, I hereby appoint Mr. Edgerley to take charge of the mission, till the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Jameson, who may soon be expected; and I do not doubt but that Mr. Chisholm and Mr. Miller will see it to be their duty to pay that respect to him and his advice, which the responsibility of his station requires.

"As large a portion of the mission stores has been left for your use as the necessities of our voyage to Jamaica render possible. Mr. Jameson will have fresh supplies. I have also left a bill for £25 with Mr. Edgerley, and a few pounds of loose money, all I could collect. If these be not sufficient for your support, during the two or three months you may be in Clarence, Mr. Jameson will pay, when he arrives, whatever additional expenses you may necessarily incur. All the trade goods on hand are also left for the use of the mission on your return to Calabar.

"May I take the liberty of suggesting that, while enjoying perfect repose at this place, you improve your time and minds, by the careful perusal of the best books, and especially by the diligent and prayerful reading of God's word, whereby you will be so much the better qualified for the important duties of the mission when you resume your labours. It is not probable that you will require to go much among the towns-people, yet such opportunities as you can have for doing them good and glorifying God, you will gladly improve. It is, I presume, unnecessary to do more than allude to the vast spiritual interests involved in your conscientious attention to private and family prayer, in which no trifle should be allowed to hinder you from engaging, at the usual and most proper periods.

"Dissensions among brethren have often injured promising missions, and blighted fair prospects of extending the kingdom of Christ. Let me entreat you, therefore, to be at peace among yourselves. Do not wilfully give offence one to another, and be slow to take offence. Sometimes it is taken when none was intended. Exercise forbearance, and cultivate charity. Guard against envy and jealousy. Judge not each other for such matters as tones, looks, gestures, of which one party may be unconscious, and the other in respect of them mistaken. Despite your best resolutions and endeavours, causes of displeasure may arise, from weak faith, irritability of temper, and the pride of human nature. But a Christian can and must forgive, as God, for Christ's sake, has forgiven him.

"In that spirit I beg forgiveness wherein I may have offended any one of you, and assure you of my forgiveness, wherein any of you has offended me. For the great measure

and St. Thomas's islands to the Equator, and then ran along the Line, aided by the great Equatorial Current, till we approached the coast of South America. When about one hundred miles north of the equator, and nearly four hundred east of the mouth of the *Amazon*, we came into a different current, which carried us north-eastward twenty miles a day for three days. It was to be accounted for only by the rush of water from that mighty river striking the ocean current, which there inclines to the north-west up the coast, and forcing it out of its course. The influence of the *Orinoco* was similarly felt a week afterwards, though in a less degree.

We were ill manned for so long a voyage, and found the bad

of peace we have had together, I thank God. Though it has not been always quite unbroken, the interruptions have not, I hope, been such as to impair our good feelings, or abate our prayers for each other, present or absent. Any one of us who knows that he has said or done anything to hurt another's feelings, or character, will, I trust, repent of it, pray God to forgive him, and endeavour to make amends in time to come.

"The Lord has greatly honoured us all by calling us to do a great service for his name in Africa. Should we not be proportionately devoted to his service, thinking less of our own individual honour and comfort, and more of the means best adapted to advance the great cause in which we are engaged?

"As Mr. Jameson will not have so much out-door work to engage him as I have had, he will, probably, be desirous of paying personal attention to one of the schools. I have suggested to him, therefore, to take Mr. Chisholm as his assistant in the school at Duke Town, and that Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley take charge of the station at Creek Town, at least till the return of the *Warree*, when the new supply of labourers may require a new arrangement of stations and duties. Having seriously considered this disposal of our agency, and deeming it of great importance for the interests of the mission, I do hope it may be willingly complied with on your return to Calabar. It will be found conducive, I am persuaded, to the comfort of the mission families, and the prosperity of the work. At the same time, though I have proposed this to Mr. Jameson, in the letter which I leave for him, it must rest with himself to approve of it, and act on it, or not. I should have liked Edward Miller to accompany Mr. Edgerley to Creek Town, and get more bush cut down and burned off there, had it not been that there is still much out-door work to be done at Duke Town, before the *Warree* returns, especially in getting more land cleared for the additional houses to be erected there.

"I might have contented myself with suggesting these things to Mr. Jameson, and left him to communicate with you all on the subject; but, on reflection, concluded it to be best candidly to let you know my plans, in the hope that you might be the better prepared to fall in with them, so as to give our brother on his arrival as little trouble as possible.

"It may be advisable for Mr. Edgerley, before he leaves Fernando Po, to provide a quantity of boards for necessary uses at Creek Town house. Mr. Chisholm, when his foot is better, might make a couple of sash windows for the bed-room there. He has a box of cut glass on hand for such purposes; and Mr. Miller might help Mr. Edgerley, in some way, in the printing, while sojourning here.

"Nothing more of any importance occurs to me as requiring attention. May God be with you, and bless you, and make you blessings in this dark continent. I shall weary to hear from you and of you, your welfare and success; and if it please God to send me back again, it will afford me unmixed satisfaction to rejoin you in the work of the Lord. Brethren, farewell. Dwell in peace, and may the God of peace and love dwell with you. Faithfully and affectionately I subscribe myself, your brother and fellow-labourer in our Lord Jesus Christ, HOPE M. WADDELL."

effects of a deficiency of proper seamen in various ways. The Kroomen, ignorant and awkward, made some gross mistakes, which caused the loss of sails, rent when they should have been taken in. The second mate behaved brutally to them. He was merely a clever seaman picked up at Fernando Po, who, after repeated admonitions in vain, had to be sent before the mast, to deprive him of th[illegible]sed; and if we could have wanted his service [illegible] been put in irons. Worse than their ignora[illegible]sness, if not wilfulness, of a white seaman. [illegible]ght he brought the schooner into the wind, jus[illegible] coming on, which took her aback, rent several [illegible]ed as many spars in a few moments. Laughin[illegible]eclared, at the mischief he had done, he bolted from the wreck and escaped to the forecastle. That was a bad night for us,—about the worst we had on any of our voyages. The rain fell in torrents, the winds blew wildly, shifting from quarter to quarter, while we were lumbered with the wreck, and the sea washed over us. All hands were on deck; but God was with us, and brought us safe to our desired haven.

On the 11th December we anchored at *Port of Spain* the capital of *Trinidad*. Passing by the harbour, on our way to Jamaica, we thought it desirable to call on the brethren there, and connect them with our African mission. As we went through the *Bocas*, the narrow entrance into the Gulf of *Paria*, a large steamship passed us. "That must be the English mail," said our captain. "If so, it has a letter for me," I replied; "I desired Mrs. Waddell to write me here this week." The Rev. Mr. Kennedy hastened on board. "Two surprises have met me to-day," he said; "first, a packet letter for you, when I believed you were in Africa; and second, your own note, to say you had arrived here."

Having spent a week most agreeably, and, I hope, usefully there with the brethren, and preached to Mr. Brodie's congregation at *Arouca*, and Mr. Kennedy's in the capital, we weighed anchor, and in six days dropped it again in *Port Maria* harbour, *Jamaica*. The friends there were looking out for us to arrive before Christmas, and we saved our distance by one day. At *Port of Spain* Lord Harris, the governor, remitted the port charges on our mission vessel, without waiting to be asked, as it

was not a trader. At *Port Maria* they were exacted, even when we applied for their remission.

After a few weeks the Presbytery met in Montego Bay. My report was given to the brethren, and my commission replaced in their hands. They were pleased to approve of all that had been done, and requested me to return to Calabar, to carry forward the work that had been so auspiciously begun. That required the dissolving of my connection, both with Mount Zion congregation, and the Scottish Missionary Society. Not without emotion could the former be resolved on, after so many years of happy labours among that people; but it was a comfort to see them well supplied with an able and faithful minister, the Rev. W. P. Young. My connection with the society had existed for almost twenty-two years, but it was scarcely a change to become the missionary of the "*United Presbyterian Church.*" The parties were the same under different names. The mission work in Scotland had been gradually passing from the hands of the societies to those of the Churches. Some years previously that society had given up its stations and agents in the East Indies to the Established and Free Churches. Only one year later it resigned the West Indian branch of its missions to the great dissenting body already named, its missionaries in Jamaica, with one exception, being all ministers of the same denomination. Thus the Scottish Missionary Society celebrated its jubilee, by handing over its work to the churches for whom it had been acting so long, as a guardian does when his charge has come of age and can mind his own affairs.

We were detained in Jamaica nearly two months longer than we had expected, by the extensive repairs the *Warree* was found to require. On the 15th March we took our departure from Lucea harbour, with valuable reinforcements, the Rev. Mr. Goldie and Mrs. Goldie; Mr. and Mrs. Newhall; Henry Hamilton, mission carpenter, and two other temporary assistant carpenters, a school assistant and his wife, and several female domestics. We had also on board several frame houses, and much building materials. The coloured assistants were engaged for limited periods, to be prolonged if found desirable. We had already seen that such an agency could not be implicitly relied on at the outset. The missionary service, like every other, needs training in its practical

working, as well as mental preparation; classes need experience as well as individuals; and our coloured West India churches were in that respect very deficient. The British churches have now had sixty or seventy years disciplinary practice in the mission work, and are the better of it; and we must not expect from the raw recruits of our Jamaica mission churches the conduct of veterans.

Strange to say, [illegible]s put on our vessel, we left harbour in a leaky [illegible]l been but a few days at sea when one of the sai[illegible]r captain that there must be a leak in the bow[illegible]s berth, he heard the water rushing in behind [illegible] was paid to his statement. He repeated it the [illegible]ain. When I alluded to the subject, the captain [illegible]lied, that "the craft was as tight as a bottle;" and in proof the pumps amidships were tried, and did not draw. I observed that she was down by the head; he said that she was in bad trim; she had left harbour so. It was evident, however, that her bad trim was daily growing worse. She plunged heavily, and was no longer buoyant, and I spoke again to both master and mate. Then they rigged the forecastle pump, and found a vast quantity of water lodged in her bows, which took them two days to discharge; and the mate, on going over the bows, found an open auger hole just at the water line. This was a new proof that disasters at sea mostly arise from preventable causes, and are owing chiefly to presumption and inattention.

After we had rounded Cape Antonio, the extreme west end of Cuba, we observed a ship following us fast, and, perhaps, eight or ten miles astern. We believed it to be a Glasgow ship on board of which I had preached in Montego Bay, and which was to sail about the same time as we. If trying to outstrip us, she made more haste than good speed. We watched her motions, and thought she was keeping too close in. Suddenly her progress was arrested. What could be the cause? Perhaps waiting to take in turtle. Perhaps she had struck on the Colorado reefs. The latter seemed probable, and I asked our captain to return a little and see if his help was needed. He backed his sails and waited, looking for signals as long as there was light, and seeing none, made sail again, though we had serious misgivings as to the fate of the vessel. Long afterwards we learned that our conjectures and our

fears were both well founded. The *C*—— of Glasgow was lost then and there. Happily, however, all hands were saved.

The next day we came in sight of another pitiable object; a noble ship lay broken-backed, on a part of those same extensive and dangerous reefs. Masts, yards, and rigging were hanging over her side, but there was no one on board. The crew had doubtless escaped in the boats ashore, not many miles off. How many wrecks take place in those summer seas where storms are rare! How often is danger near when there is no fear!

After we cleared the Gulf of Florida, a strong westerly wind carried us forward to the eastward at a great pace. When thus running before the wind south of Bermuda, on the 7th April we met a disaster. Three Kroomen were aloft engaged with the top-gallant and royal sails, when our schooner pitched deep head down, and instantly there was a crash and a cry. The fore-top-mast had given way, and with the top-gallant, royal, and all belonging to them, swang about in utter confusion. Two of the Kroomen were swinging aloft, too, holding by the ropes, the third had been thrown over the bows and was struggling in the water. But he swam well, got hold of a dangling rope, and was safely got on board again. The other two also got on deck, and, by God's mercy, none of them was seriously injured.

On that voyage we passed through more of the "Grassy Sea" than on any former occasion. It is a peculiar part of the Atlantic. For a thousand miles every way the sea is covered with an orange-coloured plant, which grows on the surface, in bunches of small branches, leaves, and berries, and has a breard of delicate spikes like young corn. Over it a ship glides softly without apparent motion or noise, foam or ripple, at bow or stern. Most West Indiamen go south of these golden fields on their outward voyage, and north of them on their return. They see the plant only in scattered parcels about the Gulf of Florida, whence it is called the "gulf weed," and was supposed to come from the reefs, and shoals, and banks, of the Bahama Islands and Florida Keys. That was an error; and now some charts go to the other extreme, and designate all the ocean, from these islands to the Canaries, "sea-weed meadows." The nature of the plant, and the cause of its production in that region of the sea have never been investigated. It may yet be found valuable for agricultural, chemical, or manu-

facturing purposes, and can be supplied in unfailing quantities to all nations, without any one claiming a prior right or royalty.

To our surprise, all the vessels we met, after leaving the Florida Gulf till we were half way across the ocean, seemed to shun us. Some altered their course at a distance to keep out of our way. Some showed no colours in answer to ours. One hoisted the stars and stripes dubiously after [illegible] passed. What might be the reason puzzled [illegible] Were they slavers, or did they take us for a p[illegible] ld that our appearance was suspicious, and belie[illegible] arsuits; and the course we steered was certainly unusu[illegible] ding vessel. What honest man, they would say, would b[illegible] g due east in that latitude with a wind due west. At len[illegible] was remembered that there was war between the States and Mexico at that time, the vessels we met were mostly or all American, and they must have taken us for a Mexican privateer.

The Great Equatorial Atlantic Current, the source of the Gulf Stream; and the forces by which it is produced, the N.E. and S.E. Trade Winds. The arrows show its direction.

Inquiring young readers, tracing our course on the map, will ask why we took so great a circuit through the Gulfs of Mexico

and Florida, and went so far north, seemingly out of our way back to Calabar. The reason was, that the easterly trade winds, and the ocean current, which had brought us across, prevented our return by a direct route. To get out of them we had to go with the current till we entered the Atlantic north of the Bahamas, and then to shape our course eastward by the variable winds to be found beyond the trades.

When half way across we encountered a strong head wind, which barred our further progress in the direction we wanted to go. We must steer either north or south, so the head of the ship was turned in the latter direction, and right south we went thenceforward for many a day, running nearly parallel with the African coast. At length we got into the latitude of Cape Palmas, as far as we needed to go southward, and then we were nearly twelve hundred miles westward of that point, and in the horrid region of the "swamps," where alternate tornadoes and calms prevail.

Three weeks we lay there becalmed, "like a painted ship on a painted ocean;" and, during nearly all that time the sea was like molten glass, and the sky like burnished gold. The only exception was an occasional tornado, when the sky would rapidly be covered with black storm clouds, which, for an hour or two, would pour a deluge of rain, and streams of lightning, with appalling thunder-peals, accompanied by such a concentrated, terrific blast of wind as no sails could withstand. They had to be taken in before it came on, else the vessel would have been sunk, if the masts or sails did not give way and relieve her. Our skipper got impatient at the delay, and ventured to keep out sail one day a little longer than usual, in hope of catching a puff that might help him forward a mile or two. He was just a minute too long of ordering them to be taken in, the fore-top-mast again gave way, and effectually crippled us. It was best it happened so; for the vessel had been laid suddenly almost on her beam ends; but she quickly righted herself when eased of the pressure. By such delays ships are sometimes sunk in these dreadful squalls.

It seemed a pity that the porpoise and grampus had never been broken to the draft; for they could be very useful to unfortunate ships circumstanced as we were. They seemed to like our company, and played about us, darting and leaping in all directions,

behind, before, on both sides, in pairs and rows, as if running races. Great regiments of them were sometimes in view, rushing past us in ranks, like troops of horse. What a pity we could not harness them to our brigantine, they would have towed us along most beautifully, an old tar sitting on the bowsprit like Neptune, with trident and conch in hand to direct their movements. But we fear [illegible] ng the ocean team is one of the lost arts, now i[illegible]

What strange li[illegible] are. In all weathers and through all seas, th[illegible] ith unwearied wings, in the wake of ships, and [illegible] where. They seem to find their food on the [illegible] e ship's keel. They go in pairs. First a sin[illegible] before sunrise a little astern, then comes another pair, and another, till before noon there may be fifteen or twenty, crossing and recrossing within a hundred yards or so of the stern, and flying many miles for the ship's one. Never seen or heard at night, no one knows what becomes of them. Do they sleep on the water, and risk being seized by the finny prowlers? Do they go to coasts, hundreds or thousands of miles away, and back by morning? A ship passing may attract some of our followers, another may give us some of theirs; yet have they been often suddenly reduced or increased in numbers without any other vessel being in view.

A company of these "chickens" followed us daily for two months, from the West Indian Seas to the West African; but at length abandoned us, as in a hopeless condition, when we had been several weeks floating in an unruffled sea. They called a council one morning, when about thirty of them sat down to consider what they should do; and gave their opinions with much freedom, sometimes by two or three at a time, and again altogether. Perhaps the latter was what we would call cheering the speaker. Finally, they resolved to wait on us no longer. It was obvious that if we would not go on, they could not follow; so, hoping to be excused for leaving us to our fate, with one consent, by acclamation, they sprang up, spread their wings and away, and we saw no more of them that voyage.

After three weeks of dead calm, we had two weeks of light airs, which brought us to the African coast. While yet five hundred

miles off it, a little landbird flew several times round our schooner, ere it ventured to alight, and rest its weary wings for the night. Next morning it hopped on deck and picked what it could find. Taking to wing again, it circled round and round us, till, spying an open port hole, it rushed through into the cabin, alighted on a shelf, and sank into a profound sleep, which every one, respecting its confidence, was careful not to disturb. It slept all day, and next morning found itself able to resume its flight landward, leaving us to follow at our leisure.

As we slowly approached the coast by the lightest possible winds, baffled frequently by the fierce tornadoes, we found ourselves drawn steadily northward, by a current that we could not resist, so that we made Cape Mount, the northern limit of Liberia, when we thought to be at Cape Palmas, and began to fear we might find ourselves at last among the St. Ann's shoals. This was a sore exercise of faith and patience. Seldom have I been more troubled in mind than for some days and nights at that time. It tried us the more that the charts lay down the current on that coast as flowing southward. Probably it varies, according as the wind varies from west to south, its prevailing point being south-west. A south wind will send the waters along the coast northward; a west wind will drive them the opposite way according to the lie of the coast. At Cape Palmas, they divide, and a great stream flows along the coast eastward, so that no ship leeward of that point, can make way to the windward, unless by first running south three hundred miles to the equator, to get away from the coast wind and currents altogether.

Neither storm, nor calm, nor wearisome detention distressed us like the quarrels of our captain and mate, which disgraced themselves, and lowered them in the eyes of the common sailors. We had enough to do to keep their hands off each other, and doing so, drew their tongues on ourselves. We have found by experience how much easier it is to get the mission-ship than the proper men to navigate her, and without them she loses half her value. Where can a missionary society look for a sailing master, who is both an accomplished seamen, and a Christian gentleman; who can maintain his position with dignity among those of his own profession, wherever he meets them, resist the temptation of making a fortune

among traders, and strengthen the hands and hearts of missionary brethren sailing under his care; who can secure respect and obedience from rough white sailors, and bear with the imperfections of ignorant black ones? Let such a man, when found, whether master or mate, be counted worthy of double honour.

On the 5th June, we rounded Cape Palmas, and on the 13th, anchored in Clarence Cove. [illegible]e first tidings we received were saddening; they [illegible]th of our valued assistant, Edward Miller, a few [illegible]ad left him. They were of course a dreadful sho[illegible] [illegible]l bride, an excellent young woman, on board with us. It [illegible]atisfactory to know that he had received the best medical ad[illegible] [illegible]rom our friend Dr. Prince, and the best attention and care f[illegible] [illegible] friends, and that his death was worthy his Christian profession, and the good cause in which he had engaged. It was strange that he first should fall, the youngest and strongest, and of pure African descent; who, it was thought, would best stand the climate and work. But the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. That day was Sabbath, and in the afternoon our company united with the church ashore in celebrating the Lord's Supper, and gave thanks to our gracious God for bringing us safely to the end of our voyage.

On our way up the Calabar River, we anchored for the night at Parrot Island, and spent the next day there, employing our Kroomen in cutting mangrove trees to serve as foundations for the houses we had on board. While thus waiting, we may pause in our narrative to give some general account of the Calabar people, country, and customs.

CHAPTER XVI.

1847.

Early history of Calabar people, and affairs of Creek Town, Old Town, and New or Duke Town—Rivalries of Eyamba and Eyo Honesty—Original government patriarchal—Egbo society introduced—Kingly rank and title adopted—King Calabar or High Priest—Slavery there—How free men become slaves—How hardly slaves become free again—Want of public law for all—Employment of slaves—Punishment of them—Foreign slave trade and its effects—The "Tibara," or slave hunters of the interior.

CALABAROS and Calapongas were names given to the tribes in the Bight of Biafra, by the Portuguese, the first discoverers of that coast. The former has come to be applied to the Efik people especially, though it is not a word of their language, and they did not occupy their present seats when Europeans first visited that country. Originally they dwelt in *Ibibio*, or the Egbo Shary country, between the Niger and Calabar rivers, bordering on the great *Ibo* tribes; but, defeated in a civil war early in the last century, they abandoned their old, and founded new settlements on the east bank of the latter river. A portion of them in a few years descended the stream, to get near the European ships engaged in the slave trade, and founded *Ikoritungko*, called from its position *Creek Town*, by the English traders, which, owing to the cargoes of all ships passing through the hands of the native merchants there established, increased and prospered.

Wealth and pride brought strife among the towns-people, and the weaker party being expelled, descended the river a few miles further, and settled *Obutong*, now *Old Town*, in a commanding situation, which cut off their victorious rivals from the shipping on that branch of the river. The latter, in self defence, sent a colony and founded a *new town* still lower down than Obutong, and called it *Aqua-akpa*, now *Duke Town*. Its advantageous situation for trade, having the ships at anchor in front, and free access to all parts of the country, drew many families to reside there, and it soon eclipsed both the others. The Obutong people were hemmed

in, and could go neither up nor down the river in safety. They struggled hard against their fate, and were still powerful, till the chiefs of Duke Town invited them to a friendly conference on board an English ship, waylaid and massacred them. Thenceforward Old Town, compelled to leave the foreign trade wholly to their rivals, fell into decay.

Efium, called by the s[illegible] *Duke Ephraim*, was the ruler of *Aqua-akpa* or [illegible] Town [illegible] e beginning of this century, and from him it came to be [illegible] its present name. Under him it rose to its pre-emin[illegible] made the ships and persons of white men sacred i[illegible] nder penalty of death, but guarded carefully their [illegible] ng settlements ashore, lest they should subjug[illegible] The [illegible] le of some fishing villages near the coast, now called *Tom Shot's Town*, had plundered a vessel on its way up the river. He destroyed their towns, laid them under an annual tribute which they still pay, and under bonds never to go near a ship, under any pretence. Therefore it is that a vessel entering the river now sees with surprise the fishing canoes keep far away, instead of coming to sell the produce of their hooks and nets.

As Duke Town rose, Creek Town fell. The first Eyo Honesty, ruler of the latter place, was a prosperous man, whose success in business excited the envy of neighbouring chiefs, and they conspired to break him down. Secretly and suddenly they assembled at his capital, and summoned him to the "Palaver House" to answer an Egbo charge. The Egbo institution being the highest court in the country, the source of supreme authority, he could not refuse. The charge was a trumpery one, but it sufficed. He was condemned to pay an enormous fine which nearly ruined him. They ate him up, or, as they expressed it, "chopped him all to nothing."

He was succeeded by a brother, a rash, proud, headstrong man, who scattered the families, some of whom Duke Ephraim gathered round him, while others retired into the country, and resided in solitary dignity on their estates. The old metropolis was deserted, and being, like most African towns, built of very perishable materials, soon fell into such ruin, that the bush grew in the courtyards of forsaken mansions, and the tigers prowled through the grass-grown streets in open day.

Such was the state of decay into which the ruling family and its capital had sunk when *Eyo Eyo*, or Eyo the Second, whom we have already met with, resolved to restore their fallen fortunes. He had attended on Duke Ephraim and secured his favour, had been cabin boy to English captains, and learned to speak and even write English, though unable to read print. Resuming the name *Honesty*, and engaging cautiously in trade, he resolved to pursue the course of integrity and punctuality in his dealings which had won for his father the honourable title. He had many brothers and half-brothers who lived on their properties in obscure independence, these he urged to join him in rebuilding the seat of their ancestors, and proceeding quietly and unobtrusively in the work, excited neither envy nor hostility.

The chief of Duke Town died in 1834, and was succeeded by Eyamba, who assumed the style and title of "Eyamba V., king of all black men." He was a usurper, but having at once purchased the headship of *Yampy Egbo*, vacant by the demise of the late ruler, and by bribery and flattery gained the support of other chiefs, he carried his election. He was an open-hearted and open-handed man, but vain, inconsistent, and unprincipled. He made many promises and performed few, without shame making excuses, renewing assurances, and disappointing all expectations. He impoverished himself by lavishing presents among his friends, and lost their favour by plundering them in his straits without respect of persons. His duplicity, dishonesty, caprices, severity, yea, cruelty, and grossness of living, forfeited the respect of both whites and blacks.

Eyo Honesty soon took the measure of his rival, and as a feud had existed between their fathers, he refused the other the honour he had paid his predecessor. He aimed at independence, and ere long found himself in a position to assume the regal title as head of Creek Town and its dependencies. His elder brother, Tom Eyo, patriarch of the family, conceded that position to the younger, as best able to fill it in dealings with Europeans. The utmost harmony, however, prevailed between them, and their mutual respect presented an admirable example, which greatly promoted the peace, unity, and strength of their adherents.

Eyo assumed the regal title in a peculiar way. He proclaimed a festival, invited the country to be his guests, and for two weeks entertained all who came by daily feasts and shows. At last he took his seat crowned in the market place, surrounded by his family, friends, and armed bands, addressed the assembly, and was hailed rightful king.

Eyamba, displeased with [illegible] eedings, sent an embassy to "make palaver" about it. [illegible] ived with due courtesy, but found Eyo's arguments una[illegible] From his residence to the town-house he had the stree[illegible] hundreds of boxes of brass and copper rods, "current m[illegible] he merchants," worth each about £5 sterling. On these [illegible] ed, without putting foot to ground, and told the messengers, [illegible] his march had proved, that he had money enough to be king, and needed no leave from Eyamba.

Eyamba forbade the captains to salute him when he visited their ships, and imposed fines on those who did so. Eyo, on the other hand, demanded his honours, and would not trade with any who withheld them; and, as his trade had become the most important in the country, he carried his point, leaving them to settle the matter with the jealous sovereign of Duke Town some other way.

In a rash moment the "king of all black men" had said that he would catch Eyo and chain him. The latter quietly prepared a great force of armed canoes, with which he descended the river, and appeared unexpectedly at Duke Town. His people were prepared for war, but had particular instructions to remain perfectly quiet, and not a man to land till he ordered them. With a small body-guard he walked to the king's house. Eyamba was elated by the honour of such a visit, but his delusion vanished when Eyo, after ordinary salutations, told him that he had come to give him the opportunity he desired of chaining him. Eyamba, taken quite aback, tried to explain, and to laugh it off as a joke, and then asked the other to drink wine. No, no; Eyo told him that he never drank wine, and that he had not come to make play, but to see if Eyamba was fit to chain him. If he could not do that, there was no need to remain longer. So saying he departed as suddenly as he had arrived, leaving Duke Town, king, and people,

confounded at his cool audacity, and returned to Creek Town in triumph.

The government of Calabar, if it might be said to have any, was essentially patriarchal, which meant simply that the head of every family governed it, independent of every other, by his sole authority. If two equal branches came into collision, they might refer the case to the head of an elder branch, or accept the mediation of other equal branches; but failing these means of settling the quarrel, they must fight it out, till the weaker side gave in.

Foreign commerce soon brought Calabar affairs into such a state, that the want of *a bond of union* among the different families, and of a *supreme authority* to enforce peace and order between equals and rivals, became apparent; and the *Egbo* institution was adopted. It was found in operation among a tribe down the coast towards Camaroons, but was improved and extended in its new field of operations.

Egbo is a secret association, under the patronage of a supernatural being of that name. A person joining its highest rank pays an entrance fee to every member, which, though small to each, amounts on the whole to nearly £100, there being about a thousand members. Its mysteries cannot be witnessed except by the initiated, nor divulged, under penalty of death. All its laws are enforced by the same awful sanction. It consists of ten branches of various degrees of honour and power, some low enough for boys and slaves to buy as a sort of initiation, others so high that only freemen of old family and high rank can procure them.

The laws of Egbo are made for the benefit solely of its own members, the general welfare of the community not being considered. Society in Calabar consists of nobles and slaves. The former are more than free, they have privileges inconsistent with the freedom of others not members of Egbo. Free people, too poor to purchase these privileges, if wronged, must hire an Egbo gentleman to bring their cause before an Egbo court, with a great fee proportioned to his success. Sometimes such persons prefer to sell themselves to some powerful chief, and gain his protection at the expense of their liberty. Like all exclusive orders, Egbo will not voluntarily reduce the privileges of its members to enlarge

brutal husbands without redress. The only
the protection of the slaves was at the instan

The kings of Duke Town and Creek Town
as such by Egbo authority. They had power
officers, every branch having its head, but n
rank is not native, but adopted to regulate th
people of the country with foreigners. Eyo
that he was not king in our sense of the word
such as was attributed to him by white peopl
As the office had special relation to Europea
to have something to say in the election of pe
began with Eyamba who sought their aid, and
by his successors, till Her Majesty's Consul ha

The towns of Calabar are, in fact, a nu
publics, each with its own chief and council,
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power over other towns, unless they called hin
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the country, and his influence was felt everyw
Calabar could play the despot over free men
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in their barbaric hands. Any attempt of t
effectually resisted

before him and his idol the covenants of tribes and families were sealed by oath. But his office has fallen into disrepute, and the emoluments are so trifling that only a decayed gentleman can be be found to accept the honour. A poor, little, old man, who often got his dinner as an alms at the mission-house, was the dignitary at the time of which we write. Yet with that sense of what was due to his person and office, called pride, found in all officials, under black or white skins, he would not eat it in the mission-house, but carried it away and ate it in solitary dignity before his idol.

Slavery forms a prominent feature in West African society, and seems to be its normal condition. The people not only conform to it as the old custom, and acquiesce in it as inevitable, but seem to have no idea of any other social state of things. Absolute authority on the one part, entire subjection on the other, is the theory; but in practice both the authority and subjection are checked and limited in many ways. Slavery is not there, as in America, a foreign and greatly inferior state of society, forcibly maintained in presence of and instead of a better one. Individuals may be thereby degraded in position; but they don't belong to a degraded race; for the masters are of the same race. The latter may have sprung from slaves, the slaves may become masters. But, indeed, the harsh terms *master* and *mistress* are not in the Calabar language. The sweet and precious names, *father* and *mother*, alone are used to express the relation. The children of both classes grow up together as playmates, and equally regard the head of the house as their father; literally illustrating Paul's words, "The heir as long as he is a child differs in nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all." In our schools they sat side by side, read in the same classes, and were treated as they deserved, without reference to their relation. The slave boy has at times taken precedence of his young master, and that without offending any native prejudices.

Free men may become slaves in several ways deemed legitimate. *First*, By selling themselves, either in time of famine, or for protection, or to better their circumstances; as a rich, head slave may be better off than a poor despised freeman. Theirs is a very

mitigated slavery, and does not warrant a transfer of their persons and services by sale to another. Many free men in adjoining territories became King Eyo's dependants, or subjects, in that way, for protection against powerful and unscrupulous neighbours, who, they feared, would kill or sell them. He seldom removed them, seldom oppressed them, yet they became entirely subject to him, and bound to forward his interests in their own countries.

Second, Men may [illegible] as of old time, "themselves, wives, children, an[illegible] ave, that payment may be made." Egbo is p[illegible] g such claims. A creditor, when the day of pa[illegible] nay beat an Egbo drum at his debtor's door, a[illegible] eave his house till payment be made; and if not ma[illegible] time, require him to deliver himself up and all his property to his debt; and the debtor is bound to the terms thus proclaimed. Neither this nor the former, however, includes forfeiture of life, or liability to be sold out of the country.

Third, Men may be sold as prisoners of war, or as criminals. Both these degrade the parties, and include the loss of all natural rights. Their lives are forfeited; and it is a matter of choice, with those who have them in their power, what to do with them, whether to kill or sell them. Generally their price is preferred to their blood, unless some country custom demands their sacrifice; and as their bondage is designedly their punishment, their treatment is according to the pleasure of their owner.

Less by these means, however, than by others under cover of them, was the system of slavery perpetuated and the trade supplied. Throughout the vast interior, the poor and the orphan were everywhere harassed with claims of debt they could not pay, and for which they and theirs were sold. Every infringement of custom became a great offence, and every offence a crime, involving death or slavery. Plundering expeditions were made for the express purpose of capturing slaves; and kidnapping, though everywhere condemned, was everywhere practised. In Calabar, man stealing was, indeed, prohibited under pain of death, to prevent the new, and especially the young slaves brought into it from being sold out of it by the old ones, under pretence of their having run away. I used this as an argument with King Eyo, against

his continuing to buy slaves from the interior, who, he knew were generally stolen, thus encouraging in others what he condemned in his own people. He pleaded in reply, the impossibility of his knowing certainly who were or were not so acquired, or how, or whence they had come into the market; but consoled himself that he did not steal them, and would not sell them again, and that he would make it better for them to be his slaves than free in their own country.

A common saying in Calabar was, that a man easily became a slave and hardly recovered his freedom. The remark might be a proverb applicable to all possessions, easily lost, not easily regained. A slave there cannot purchase his freedom, as formerly in the West Indies, and have it secured by the law of the land; for there is no law in that land on the subject, or on any subject, to be enforced by regularly commissioned magistrates, on all parties alike. Every master is king and parliament in his own house, makes and enforces the law for his own people, and from him they have no appeal. Were any one practically freed by his master, for whatever cause, he must find some powerful chief to befriend him, or purchase Egbo honours, to secure his freedom; otherwise its defence would lie in his own right hand. The poorest subjects of our own highly favoured country enjoy unthinkingly the blessings of personal liberty and safety, beyond what the sons of African kings possess, unless they pay a ransom price for them. By the purchase of Egbo privileges, slaves may secure a position almost equivalent to freedom. Wealthy masters often bestow them on trusty servants. King Eyo rewarded all his confidential head people in that way, paying the fees for them. The rights of the master are not thereby affected, though the servant's position is so improved, that he is less subject to the exercise of power thus voluntarily moderated.

But the first step in a slave's ascent towards freedom is to possess a slave of his own. This he can employ as he pleases for his own benefit, or send as his substitute for all common work, when called on for service by his master. He is a happy and proud man when he can thus claim exemption from drudgery, and employ his own time as he finds best. The masters approve of this proceeding as a new hold on their slaves' fidelity, who thus

acquire a stake in the country, and a sympathy with their owners, while, indirectly, it increases the wealth and power of the master, who, in the last resort, can command all. Prosperous slaves seldom presume, as they could be easily reduced; and their masters seem not jealous of them, conscious of their power, and also of their dependence on such able people. It is not unusual for slaves in that way, and by Egbo privi to attain high position, and a state of almost independence nobility. Such an one at Duke Town, *Iron Bar*, by n hough originally a bought slave, became one of the first nd most trusted traders in that town. He never was fully nor could he deny the claim of his deceased master's family on ; but they never asserted it, and no one else dare call him slave. nother in Creek Town, King Eyo's principal trader, attained a position of the highest consideration and wealth, and was treated with more respect, and was really more influential, than some of Eyo's own brothers.

By the natural process of birth, the children of slaves obtain a degree of freedom. Natives of Calabar cannot, if without crime, be sold out of it, and those born in their master's house inherit privileges, beyond the plantation slaves. Their condition improves from generation to generation. If a great family decays and dies out, the slaves become their own masters, and can resist the attempt of distant relatives to claim them.

When slave concubines have children to their own masters, both mothers and children become free. If previously handmaids to the wives, as in the case of Hagar and Sarah, a case which frequently has its parallel in Calabar, the subjection ceases. On the death of the father the children obtain less, indeed, of the property than those of free wives, having no friends on their mothers' side to assert their rights. In respect of such offspring, it would be well if American slaveholders would take a lesson from those of Calabar; or rather, not to offend their pride, follow nature's law and patriarchal practice in such cases more closely than they have hitherto done. Such a thing as a "gentleman," leaving his children and their mothers still slaves, to be sold after his death, I never heard of in Africa; nor could it be done for very shame.

Sometimes a slave is freed as a punishment. His master finding him incorrigible, and unwilling to kill him, blows Egbo on

him, and drives him away. The poor wretch becomes an outcast. Every one shuns, any one may slay him. From exposure, want, and sickness, he soon dies. Such an one came into my hands once, but was too far gone to recover. His own brother did not know him. His master would not help me even to bury him, till I made a palaver with King Eyo about such barbarity; for he was the king's brother.

It will be seen from the above that legal emancipation, according to our ideas, does not exist, and for want of law cannot. Where there is no law or rule for slaves but the owner's pleasure, a release from him would be a release from all restraint and authority, and also from all legal protection. A master giving his slaves such a release, would not thereby be released from them. Other masters would hold him still responsible for them, and bound to answer all complaints against them. If he could not give redress, the complainant would take it by seizing the offenders and holding them till he got satisfaction. An owner cannot free himself of his responsibility for his slaves, except by selling them, when the purchaser incurs it, or by Egbo proclamation, as already described, when they are outlawed. Were he, in order to free them, to disclaim both control and responsibility, they would be seized by some one else, if they did not seek a new master, and, entrapped on various pretences, would be sold hither and thither, unless sufficiently numerous and united to defend themselves. It will be asked, could he not retain them about him as attached free people, and pay them wages for their work? Yes, if they chose to remain, and there were any imperative authority to regulate their relation and duties, to which both parties would appeal. Otherwise all would depend on him for work, pay, and punishment, as he pleased, and he would be absolute master again.

The most of the slaves are employed in farming and trading. The former cultivate a portion of land, allotted by their masters, for their own use, and generally supply the town markets with the produce. Their labour is much less continuous and severe than that of West India slaves. If called into town to work, they receive a small allowance. Those employed in canoes are fed, and are in crews of six to ten to each canoe, under a captain or super-

cargo. He has a commission on his trade, and may trade on his own account a little, but not in palm oil, or so as to neglect his master's interests. The canoe people traffic in provisions, buying with English goods up the country, and selling to the towns-people, ships and mission houses.

King Eyo had many thousand slaves, and four hundred canoes, his son said, with a captain and [illegible] for every one. Besides his extensive trade, which amounted [illegible] several thousand puncheons annually, he employed his people [illegible] ming waste lands, founding towns, and planting farms [illegible] ected positions, which gave him command of the rivers [illegible] nels of trade. He used to go with a great force to a new d[illegible], and begin the work himself, felling the woods, planting [illegible] ground, and building the houses; then he left the people t[illegible] with a head man, to take care of themselves, multiply, plant and gather, traffic and gain, and bring him his share of provisions and oil yearly. They generally lived pretty comfortably, raising fowl and goats, fishing, and hunting. When required to work in town they came in relays, for a week or two each gang, with their provisions, and when their spell was done, returned to their own quarters.

New slaves, ignorant of the language and customs of Calabar, perhaps stupified by frequent transfers from hand to hand, from place to place, and weak both in body and mind, were often useless for a year or more, and sometimes troublesome. Persons of property, sense, and feeling, put them under the care of their old hands, and secured them both in regular work and support. But those bought by town slaves, who had not regular work and support for them, were often in a wretched condition. Thrown loose without knowing what to do, idle, diseased, hungry, and naked, they prowled about, objects both of pity and dread, begging and stealing, as they could. One of these being caught and chained, broke loose and came to me. When admonished about stealing he replied, "What can I do? I have no master to give me chop or cloth." Some of them became reckless, killed persons in their rage, and were killed.

The ordinary punishments were flogging and chaining. Drowning was not unfrequent. Some masters were ingenious in devising new methods of afflicting their disobedient people, which I have

no heart to detail. Some of them will necessarily occur as we proceed. One of the seemingly least was one really severe. A very troublesome slave was sold, not to a stranger, but maybe a neighbour, sold as a worthless fellow for one copper, in fact, for nothing as being good for nothing. How this illustrates a passage in the Psalms, "Thou sellest thy people for nought, and dost not increase thy wealth by their price." The fellow thus disposed of became thenceforth a derision to all about him, and has it often cast in his teeth that no one would give two coppers for him.

While the foreign slave trade prevailed, the masters easily got quit of their troublesome people, and the fear of it had a deterring effect on the rest. Often therefore was the wish expressed that it could be resumed, if only to the extent of one ship in the year, to let them sell off their bad people. But the effect would probably have been, if conceded, to multiply the bad people in order to sell them. It is easy for a master to make his people bad, when he wants an excuse for disposing of them. The insincerity of the parties, who wished to get rid of their "bad people" in that way, soon appeared, when I offered to take such and send them away once a year without putting them to any expense. No, no, they must have their price first.

The constant influx of new people, during the slave trade, used to keep the country in continual alarm. The masters were cruelly severe in order to break the spirit of the slaves, the latter were often desperate, sometimes ferocious. Since the trade ceased a change has appeared; and more consideration and forbearance on the one part has produced more contentment and real submission and respect on the other. No longer afraid of being sold over the great waters, or eaten at sea, as they used to believe, they are more disposed to settle in their new country, and make the best of their condition, as others have done before them.

In concluding this part of the subject it may be added that the chief slave hunters of the interior are called *Tibára*, and regarded by the negroes as "white men," because "they wear clothes, ride horses, and have straight hair." They are probably a Moorish tribe. Their captives, when they came to Calabar and saw seamen and missionaries, called us, sometimes in fright, *Tibára*.

CHAPTER XVII.

1847.

Calabar river and harbour—Parrot island important—High road to the interior—Mangrove trees and their use—Dry soil—Farms and productions—Hospitality—Salutations—Native houses and furniture—Handicrafts—Trade—Religious ideas and customs—Domestic animals, and wild beasts—Seasons and climate—A boy's lively play.

ITS noble river is the distinguishing feature of the Calabar country. About twelve miles wide at its mouth, from Tom Shott's point on the west to East Head, it preserves nearly the same breadth unobstructed up to Parrot Island, about thirty miles. For ten miles farther it is wider by the union of several streams, but the number of islands thereabouts forming quite a labyrinth, divide it into channels, and prevent its full breadth being seen. Some of these islands are many miles long. On the eastern, or smaller river, Duke Town stands. On a small stream, connecting that and the western, or greater river, Creek Town stands. The western, sometimes called Cross river, is divided into three channels by long narrow islands for forty miles above Parrot Island. Two of these had been traced by Captain Beecroft before we went to the country; the third or most westerly was explored by myself, as shall be related in its place. That channel, commencing at Isong Iyang eighty miles from the sea, receives various tributaries from the Egbo Shary country, and is thenceforward almost quite separated from the others, by a continuous line of islands and sand-banks, which terminate in the "Spit," a dangerous shoal with breakers off the river mouth.

Captain Beecroft first explored the river, in the steamer *Ethiope*, in 1843, to a distance of one hundred and fifty miles above Creek Town, and found it great and strong as far as he went. Comparing the old charts of the coast and river, from Duke Town to the sea, with the present appearance of it, one is astonished at the mistakes committed, or the changes which have taken place within

the last century. Of the latter the most remarkable is the rapid elevation of the sand and mud banks, which were then "dry at half ebb," above Parrot Island, from *Ekri Tabaka* to *Seven-fathom Point*, and are now bare at high water, and covered with mangrove trees. In one century they seem to have risen about four feet, for the tide rises seven. The rate of deposition in previous centuries may have been even more rapid; for as the banks approach the surface of the water, the deposit must grow annually less, till at length it becomes fit for vegetation. Let this fact be placed alongside Bunsen's reasonings and conclusions relative to the deposits of the Nile, which he supposes to have been at the rate of four inches in a century.

The bar at the mouth of the river offers no obstruction to navigation, being an extensive flat, with from three and a half to four and a half fathoms water on it at all times, according to the state of the tide, and a channel two or three miles wide with smooth water between the Spit and East Head. Inside the bar is an extensive and safe basin with six or seven fathoms water, and good holding ground, offering what our country so much requires on that coast, a good harbour; for from Sierra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope it has not one. Parrot Island, as yet unoccupied and unclaimed, could furnish a site for the necessary establishment on land, and might even become the emporium of the commerce of Central Africa. It commands the river and country, and has deep water close along its eastern side, where ships could lie as at a quay. True, it is now soft on the surface, but the materials are there to remedy its defects, in the trees which cover it, and the sand-banks which lie below, while Kroomen could be hired cheap to make it fit for buildings.

The Niger, the high road of the continent, wastes its waters in so many channels through the swamps of its vast delta, that it affords hardly one good entrance, free from bars and breakers, for first class merchantmen. And the Bonny, though a safe and capacious anchorage, is approached by difficult and dangerous passages, which no ship would attempt at night. The Calabar, on the contrary, has an open and safe entrance and channel up to Duke Town; and at one part of its upper course approaches so near the Niger, that easy and safe communication could be opened between

them by treaty with the natives, and the commerce of the vast interior reach its destination by Calabar, more speedily and securely than in any other way.

Along the sides of the river, even above Duke and Creek Towns, but especially between them and the sea, are immense tracts of alluvial deposit, in a very soft state, covered with forests of mangroves. This tree is remarkable, [illegible]g especially adapted for the formation of new land, as it grov[illegible]est in the muddy shallows about the outlets of tropical riv[illegible]rowing only where the tide rises, dropping shoots from i[illegible]ches like the banyan tree, which become new trees, and its r[illegible] extending and interlacing above the ground like a network, [illegible] arrests every floating substance which in the rain season the s[illegible]ollen rivers bring down, and thus greatly accelerates the increase and consolidation of the new soil. In time, when the land is really formed and dry, other vegetable productions appear; palms abound, plantations and human abodes succeed with increasing and varied husbandry and enjoyments, and the mangroves die.

The proper soil of the country is light and sandy, no stones being found within eighty miles of the sea. The habitable parts of it consist of gentle swelling undulations, one or two hundred feet high, and gradually increasing inland. The original forest having given place to farms, these, when worn out, soon run again into bush or thicket. At intervals of five to ten years this bush may be cut down and burned off, and two or three crops got from the ground; but the land is soon exhausted, and when thrown up becomes overrun with wood. It is not a pastoral country, and the few cows, sheep, and goats to be found, cannot be called flocks and herds. The people don't use milk, which, they say, belongs only to young things, though some of their own children are running about before being weaned. The articles most generally cultivated in their farms are yams, plantains, bananas, konkies, casada, and Indian corn.

An "aubong," or native "gentleman," is a great man on his own plantation, and very hospitable. I went to see one who was sick, the head of Ambo Town. The old man was proud of my visit, provided refreshments for all with me, and his son stood and fanned me with assiduous attention, a most grateful service

after an hour's hot walk through the bush. "A kid of the goats" was immediately killed, and, before being cooked, presented on a tray, to assure me, perhaps, that neither monkey, dog, nor civet cat was prepared for my use, though freely used among themselves. When I left, he sent his servants with a goat and twenty yams to our boat as a present, or "dash," which, of course, in due time I requited by another as good.

There is much civility in the intercourse of the natives, and they abound in forms of salutation, varied according to times, places, and other circumstances. To pass one, an equal or superior, without greeting, or not to acknowledge the greeting of the meanest, would be deemed rude and insulting.

"Gentlemen" have usually houses in town as well as on their plantations, dividing their time between their trading and farming operations. The Calabar houses are well constructed, considering the insufficient materials employed, and well adapted to the climate and state of the country. They consist each of a quadrangular court-yard, surrounded by ranges of apartments, which all open into it, while one main gate, kept by a porter, opens into the street. No windows exist, except one little peep-hole in the gable at each end. An "aubong" has usually several of these yards opening into each other, for his servants, wives, and trade goods. His own, or reception yard, generally contains a state room, filled with his best furniture and ornaments, arranged so as to be best seen. Rows of pewter plates, brass pans, and small looking glasses usually adorn the walls, and display native taste.

The construction of a Calabar house exhibits a paradox. In other countries the walls support the roof, there the roof supports the walls. The explanation is simple. The roof rests not on the walls, but on the rows of strong posts which surround the house inside and out, and are fixed deep in the ground. The walls stand six feet within these, and are very frail, such as might be called lath and plaster. Their hold of the ground is very slight, while the upright sticks are bound securely to the roof, so that they cannot fall, though soon decayed at the foot.

Board floors are not employed in native structures, hard beaten earth suffices for one-storey houses; but they are always dry and

clean. The floor of the piazza around the house, both within and without, is raised a foot above the ground level, and affords a clean and dry covered walk, sheltered from sun and rain. Every house contains two apartments (*Scottice, but and ben*), the outer, or kitchen; the inner, a store and bedroom. The fire-places are neatly and skilfully constructed of baked clay, well adapted to the best use of fuel for cookin poses. High over them are lattice frames where the ute ired lie, and fish and flesh are laid to be smoked. pottery being ill baked, and not glazed, needs espe re hing and drying.

Mention has alr een of the broad seats of hard clay, constructed under the pia f every great man's house, both fronting the street and rou is audience yard, as also of the native paintings which adorn t walls. It must be added that original native furniture is of the simplest description. A cross-legged table, and a few stools, made each of a single block of light soft wood, so shaped as to be quite portable, form, with the pots, and calabashes, and broad fans, the greater part of it. A mat, pillow, and blanket, constitute a bed, which may be spread anywhere for the night, rolled up, and put away in the morning. "Take up thy bed and walk," is there easily understood. Small chests, with locks and hinges, are universal, and, except the padlocks, are native made, for every person has one to keep cloths and coppers. The "deck-houses" of the gentry are supplied with English-made furniture of all kinds.

Native handicraftsmen are blacksmiths, carpenters, and weavers. The potters are women; and there are no masons where there are no stones. The *blacksmiths* are highly valued, and some of them not inexpert. The best are of the Ibo tribes from the Niger, and understand a little of brassfounding. Native iron got from the Qua mountains, and reckoned better than the English, was formerly employed, but has yielded the ground to its rival. The English bellows and anvil are procured by the chiefs for their own smiths. Other necessary tools are, however, still wanting, and, as in Bonny, the men squat at their work, and have all about them on the same level. The *carpenters* used to have only native-made axes, small and thick, which required great time and labour to fell trees, cut them into lengths, split them into slabs,

and then pare these down to boards. Latterly, they have procured English tools, and now make better work. The *weavers* use, or used, native unspun fibre, made from the branches of a species of palm, and produced a whole garment in one piece, that is to say, about five or six feet long, and two or two and a half feet broad. Such was the primitive native dress, wrapped round the loins. But the Manchester cloth has beat the "grass cloth" out of the Calabar market, though it is still generally produced and worn in other parts of the country. Cotton cloth of strong spun thread finds its way from the countries on the Niger to markets where our Calabar people trade. It is dyed with native indigo, both in the thread and in the piece, and some of it is woven very broad, others in very narrow stripes, which are neatly sewed together.

The great and only commercial product of the country is *palm oil*, of which about five or six thousand tons are annually exported. Redwood was formerly largely exported, but cannot now be easily obtained. Ebony in very small quantities is sometimes found. Ivory does not come our way, but goes all to Camaroons, the next port south. The trade is conducted by barter. Gold and silver are unknown, and the copper money is uncoined. English manufactures of all kinds, with salt, tobacco, and rum, pay for the oil. The ships bring, of course, everything that may stimulate the cupidity or industry of the natives, or may find purchasers anywhere in the markets of the interior.

Palm oil is made in the simplest way from the oleaginous pulp which envelope the nut. After the nuts are heated in pots, the pulp is rubbed off by the feet in troughs of water; the oily vegetable matter which floats is skimmed off and boiled; the oil comes to the top and is removed, and the refuse is thrown away. The nuts are also thrown aside to be burned in heaps, though the kernel is valuable if it could be got at. The shell, however, is so thick and hard that few spend time and labour on them. The oil is of a dark orange colour, and, ordinarily, too thick to pour into bottles, or use in good lamps, without being filtered. When new, and carefully made, it tastes like fresh butter, and, moderately used in kitchen preparations, is palatable and wholesome. Natives could not do without it, and Europeans soon come to like it.

Some account has already been given of the religious, or irreligious ideas of the people, and little more can be added. Though King Eyo knew of neither good nor bad angels, in the native theology, a belief in some kind of local deities prevailed. The protecting divinity of Old Town, *Ananse*, lived in the spring head at the foot of the hill, said some, or in the river near the town, said others. On certain occasion human being was sacrificed to some river or sea god to haste arrival of ships. Fishing villages near the mouth of th annually devote a man, to promote their business by k fish to their nets. He is tied to a stake in the river ater, and left to be covered by the rising tide, or devoured gators. A head man there told me that he never knev God disliked the custom. Their fathers had observed it, y thought it must be good to make the fish come.

Of the farm deities some account is given in the following letter, from one of our house boys, who had gone to see his father in his plantation. As it was written in English it is quoted literally, with only such punctuation and corrections of orthography as seemed necessary to render it intelligible.

"I am going to tell you about one tree here in our plantation they call *parando*. From my grandfather's time they keep it for their *juju*. Every year they used to take goat and fowl, yams and plantains, and went down to that place where *juju* live and pray to it. They say juju must keep them safely through all the year, and make all their work come up good, and keep everything they have. After that they kill goat and fowl, and boil them with plantains and yams and eat, and drink mimbo, and then come home. Every year they used to do so. This year my father cut bush near that tree where juju live, and cut down all trees, but only that juju tree which left. Then he and all his people took one he goat, and one chicken, and one jar mimbo, as they used to do, and carry to that juju place, and kill the goat there, and let out the chicken with life same place, saying, Let it walk here for you, we give you, make yam good for this farm we beg you. Mind yourself that day we will come put fire to this bush; don't let fire touch you that day. Then they boil the goat and eat, and drink the mimbo, and so come home. After some

days pass they go to put fire to bush, and went first to that juju place and clean it all, for they fear if fire touch their juju; and when they done clean the place they put fire to the dry bush, and so the fire burn. Then the wind did carry some fire to the top of the juju tree, and did burn it also. Then the people brought news to the house say that the fire has burned the juju tree. When I heard about it I told them say: See now how God shows us that if we leave pray to him, and go pray to some other thing it is not good. What for, if that thing be same as God, he never stop the fire from himself? How he let the fire burn him? Then they begin to speak about what I say. Some say to me, This is true word you speak. What for, if it have life, when the fire touch him, he never cry out make we hear? It be fool fashion we do. Some say, it be his will let the fire burn him. Some say, Juju no been there that time, he gone away some place; and so the fire burn its house; the tree be its house. But they say that something more live there in the midst of the tree like man's body, and he was gone; the fire burn the tree but not himself. Then I told them say, that God put nothing more there in the midst of that tree like man's body with life. And I say that everything we do here on earth we will have to speak before God; and he will ask you about that juju, and you will be shamed before him; and also he will do the same thing to you in hell fire; but they will not hear me."

Certain old trees in different parts of the country were believed to be haunted or regarded as sacred, and most people feared to labour the land where they grew. King Eyo chose such places, and took care that the fire should burn the trees without seeming to design it. When his people, terrified at the mishap, saw him unalarmed, their courage revived; and thus he got virgin soil on the easiest terms.

An object of universal reverence as a household idol was the *Ekpenyong*, a stick surmounted by a human skull, adorned with feathers, and daubed with yellow paint. It was an ugly thing, but supposed to possess great virtue in benefiting those who possessed it. We shall see by-and-by how we got rid of it in Creek Town. *Charms* were prepared by the *abia-ebok* or "doctor of medicine," to protect the houses of his devotees, gain recovery

from sickness, and guard against witchcraft. One of these was in the house of a chief, but failed to protect it from a stroke of lightning, to the surprise of all who knew how much he had paid to the native insurance office. A schoolboy shrewdly observed, "If that juju be same as God to keep man's house what for it no say to the lightning—Go back, I keep this house?"

The ideas which existed of a [illegible] state or place were dim and shadowy, as may have been a[illegible] seen. The victims slain on the death of a chief were, so[illegible] to keep him company in the dark way; or as others tho[illegible] give him consequence on his arrival in ghost land. "If y[illegible] no one with you," said an aged gentleman to a young one, [illegible]eard the word of God, "if you have no one with you when you [illegible] *Ekpu* country will say, what poor slave is that coming now; [illegible]as not one boy to carry his snuff-box." There was no regard to God, sin, holiness, or the future judgment, in the human sacrifices once so freely offered.

We cannot pretend to give any regular account of the zoology of the country; yet we may mention such animals as came oftenest under observation. Cows, goats, and sheep have been mentioned; the first is a beautiful but small animal, the last ill favoured, and hairy rather than woolly. Pigs are few and don't thrive. They die suddenly as if poisoned. It is said that a large snail, almost as big as a boy's fist, proves fatal to them, though safely eaten by the people. Probably the shell disagrees with them.

Horses are not native, and the attempts to naturalize them have not yet succeeded. Those introduced by Eyamba, and Eyo, and by the missionaries, nearly all died, from beasts of prey, accidents, sickness, or want of care. The country seems unsuitable to them. The people don't want them, nor care about them.

The native dogs seem a worthless race, and are not allowed in town, though English dogs enjoy the privilege as better bred. Cats are native, both wild and tame. The latter is like our own fireside companion. The former, taken young, may be domesticated, but never broken off its natural disposition of preying on all other small or young animals. It is a handsome creature, barred like a tiger, long, lithe, and lightly made, and its motions gracefully insinuating. The inseparable companion, and irrecon-

cileable enemy, of the two named, and of man, is also there—the rat, in great abundance. Once a year a general poisoning of them took place at Creek Town, on an appointed night, by the bark of a certain bush mixed up with food; but still enough survived to continue the race.

Of wild beasts, the alligator in the river, and tiger in the bush, are the most numerous and dangerous. The former were often seen during the day on the mud banks asleep, and their sonorous grunting often heard at night by those late out on the river; and very often they seize their victims even on the town beach, where people frequented to bathe or wash their cloths. The natives mentioned two kinds, the long snout and the broad, the latter most to be dreaded, as they sometimes capsized canoes and carried off the people. The tigers prowled about the town, and often carried off goats and calves. We were frequently disturbed by them at our mission-houses, and lost our goats from our yards. At Old Town, one night a poor boy, who had incautiously fallen asleep in the mission-house kitchen without locking the door, was carried off by one of these ferocious beasts. His terrible shrieks were heard, but nothing could save him. Next day the remains of him were found. No person ventures out after dark without light, and company, and weapons. Hippopotami abound in the upper part of the principal river; the elephant on the banks of the lesser one; and though these rivers are not many miles apart, the animals never change their respective habitats. There are several kinds of deer, antelopes, and gazelles, which I cannot particularly describe. Monkeys of all kinds are everywhere. Troops of them may be seen in the woods, bordering unfrequented parts of the river, gambolling among the branches as merrily as if the whole world were observing and admiring their play. Sometimes they leap, many in succession, from tree to tree, across a creek fifteen or twenty feet wide. The *gorilla* has been heard of far inland, under the name of *omon*, but we met none who had seen it. The lion is not in Calabar, nor known even by report. The civet cat and sloth I have seen.

Snakes of various kinds are numerous, and some deadly venemous. The cobra de capello is heard of there and at Bonny, as also the boa constrictor, twenty feet long. A beautiful bright green crea-

ture, three or four feet long, small and tapering as a whip lash, was frequently seen in and about our houses. It had a bad name, but did no harm; of course, like Cowper, we "taught it never to come there no more." Our cat fought and killed one, seizing it by the neck, and then springing aside to escape its folds, and so repeating her attacks. The "double-headed snake," is a yard long, and thick as a man's [illegible] l rounded off blunt like its head, whence its r[illegible] of the "flying snake," which makes great sprin[illegible] snake," the "crested swamp snake," a large bl[illegible] one the bite of which is fatal in a few hours. T[illegible] are.

Ants abound of v[illegible] are troublesome and destructive little plagues. [illegible] swarming season, come out of their holes in the evening, [illegible] off in a long stream. When the lamps are lighted they enter the house in great numbers and cover the tables, where the house children eagerly catch them, and throw them into a basin of water, and finally make a delicious stew of them. The efforts of these little creatures to tear or rub off their wings, the very first day, suggests a sad thought. How like to man who destroys his means of upward flight, and grovels on earth when he might soar to heaven. The white ant is particularly destructive to our wooden houses, and to books and clothes, wherever they can gain entrance. It is a work to guard against and counteract them, and sometimes our best efforts fail. Gilt edged books are, however, safe from their attacks.

The large black ant, many of them half an inch long, frequently cause great annoyance. They swarm out of their holes in millions, and make for the house, where, if allowed, they would eat up every kind of animal substance. They frequent the pantry, fill the safe, cover dressed food in black masses, and have been known to strip the bones of a goat, killed over night, clean of their flesh before morning. Dogs, cats, rats, mice, cockroaches, centipedes, everything fly before them, and so would we, had we anywhere to flee to; but after dark it is not easy to find new lodgings for the night; so we had to stand and fight them. The natives strew fire coal and hot embers in their path to turn them back, but that would not do for our wooden houses. The broom was a poor help, for they rushed back as fast as swe[illegible] t, and

up the handle, and up our clothes to punish us. Spirits of turpentine sprinkled over the house expelled them; but it could not always be got, and was not only disagreeable, but dangerous among lamps. Diluted aquafortis prevailed against them, and then sulphuric acid. These done, we tried vinegar, and found it succeed; and lastly lime juice, of which, happily, we could always have a good supply. The most effectual remedy, however, was one on the homœopathic principle, but not in homœopathic dose. The *tree-ant*, small and harmless, build immense black nests among the branches, all honey-combed within. One of these was brought and broken all about our house. Its insect population swarmed everywhere in multitudes surpassing the others, but did us no harm. Finally they expelled our old plagues, not for the night, but for the season, and then returned to their old haunts.

We were mercifully exempted from the torment of *mosquitoes*, and never had occasion either to smoke our houses in the evening to expel them, nor to guard ourselves with net lawn round our beds to procure sleep. The reason was, that the soil did not retain moisture, and there was no stagnant water even in the mangrove swamps, which the tide washed daily. At *Ikorofiong* they are at times troublesome, coming from a stagnant pool in the neighbourhood. And at all our stations we could produce them whenever we liked, by allowing rain water to remain two weeks in a cask in the yard. Whenever we heard their dreaded drone, we found the cause to be that named, and saw the foul water alive with them; but by emptying the cask, heard no more of their pipe till a similar cause again occurred.

Common fowl and Moscovy ducks were rather plentiful, but no geese or turkeys. A wild sort of Guinea fowl was sometimes taken young, but always escaped to the woods. The gray parrot with red tail, the pelican, white crane, sparrow-hawk and fish-hawk, brown owl, green dove, toucan, king-fisher, and vulture or great scavenger crow, were common. The colony birds load a palm-tree with hundreds of nests, and destroy all the leaves to make them. They are like our yellow-hammer, and with a similar note, but more clear and shrill, the only songster I heard in the country. There are two kinds of bat, the house and bush bat; the latter a vampire, large as a rat, with a head like a horse's,

and long canine teeth; wings proportional. Its piercing scream sounds wildly at night in the woods along the river side. Many small birds which I cannot name or describe have plumage of rare beauty. Certain large birds up the country were spoken of, which I never saw.

Of fishes we need only name the shark, ever prowling about the mouth of the river [illegible] mpanion of ships at anchor, but not used on [illegible] niti, or sea-cow, deemed a great delicacy, an[illegible] Many kinds of good fishes were in the river, [illegible] r name nor describe, but all different from tho[illegible] aters. I must add that the Calabar country ha[illegible] ed by naturalists, and would well repay their lab[illegible]

Something must be said of the seasons and climate. The former are divided into the dry, the rain, and the tornado. The first is of four months—December to March—when the "smokes" prevail. These are not watery vapours, steaming exhalations from the vast marshes, when the sun comes forth in his strength after the rains. Such fogs do prevail night and morning. But the "smokes" proper consist of a dry haze, which loads the atmosphere, dulls the eyes, parches the skin, withers vegetation, and obscures everything. It usually begins and ends with a tornado. The tornado months are before the rains, in April and May, and after them in October and November. June to September form the rain-season, when everything feels damp and chilly, clothes cannot dry, and books become blue-moulded. To those who are sheltered, the period of rains is pleasantly cool, and not unhealthy. The stagnant atmosphere of the "smokes," when for months there prevails almost a dead calm, cannot be good; yet we found that time not so bad as had been represented. October and November are generally worst, when the sudden change from clouds, and fogs, and rains, to clear skies and piercing sun-beams, naturally produced fevers among Europeans. The climate is destructive to good furniture. In the rain time, the damp relaxes the glue; and in the dry time the joints gape, and veneering curls and peels off like a withered leaf. A chamber organ and [illegible] a became soon useless; and Mr. Edgerley

could not, with his best endeavours, get his ink rollers to retain
consistency or be of any use over one year. They melted. To
constitution the climate is most exhausting and debili-
the vital energy, while no reviving can be had
season. Five years there bring one down like
ca, and render a complete change of climate
t island within reach, a visit to it would
l constitution of the missionaries sufficiently
quently necessary to return to Britain. Even
a favourable change occasionally, though not
It is, however, a great thing that missionaries can
years at a stretch, and after a year in Britain, re-
for another campaign. It is more than was at first

me is the play time at Calabar, when both farm
il trading are suspended. Public ceremonies are,
reserved till that period. The evenings are spent by
ple in plays and games in the open streets. Mixed
sexes, in the moonlight, accompanied by singing—
ere described as most unbecoming. Without being
publicly indecent in their eyes, they produced very
nces, by their own admission. We liked better to
youths wrestling on the dry sandy market-place, to
the m
drums vigorously beaten. There was a lively game
which the boys rushed to play, as soon as school closed. Two bands, about ten each, confront each other behind two boundary lines, and a ball is thrown from the one over the heads of the other. Whoever catches it takes prisoner him who threw it, and puts him behind. The latter can be freed only by catching the ball when thrown from his own side, and escaping with it to his party, which his captors try to prevent. While he is prisoner, his friends are liable to seizure in like manner, and his captors are exempt. When he escapes, the latter become liable. The game is won when all on one side are carried prisoners by the other; and that requires great efforts in running, and wrestling, and leaping. School-boys at home might, with advantage, add this to their sports.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Death of King Eyamba— of the missionaries to prevent—Mis-
sionary arrangement wn—Preaching on board ship—King
Eyo challenged to w lagic lantern—Abia-Idiong detected—
The death of Mr. J..... er—School-house improved—Sabbath
services at Creek Town lative language studied—Clothing in-
troduced — Singing—Sc rench commodore—Funeral rites for
Tom Honesty; their nat.....

THE first news we received on reaching Duke Town was of the death of King Eyamba. He had been sinking almost ever since we left the country, but made an effort, a few weeks before we arrived, to pay his farewell visit to a ship about to sail for England, that he might close accounts and receive his parting "dash." It was his last effort. He counted the guns fired in his honour as he went ashore, was satisfied that he had received his full number, and sank down in his carriage to rise no more.

His death took place before he entered his house, and could not be concealed. It diffused terror through the town, yet no one dared to say that he was dead. The slaves fled in all directions. His brothers and nephew, with trusty attendants, proceeded to search the houses, and immolate whom they could find. Entering a yard, they cried to their followers, "Shut the gate, and if any escape, see you to it;" and then strangled its inmates. A slave in one of them secreted himself, and afterwards escaped to the mission-house. Armed men guarded the paths leading from the town, that none might escape to the farms and give the alarm; while others were despatched thither to seize or slay whom they could find, by road or river, in house or field.

For the king's interment a great pit was dug, wide and deep, inside a house, and at one side of it a chamber was excavated, in which were placed two sofas. On these the body was laid, dressed in its ornaments, and a crown on its head. Then his

umbrella, sword, and snuff-box bearers, and other personal attendants, were suddenly killed, and thrown in with the insignia of their offices; and living virgins also, it was said, according to old custom. Great quantities of food, and trade goods, and coppers, were added; after which the pit was filled, and the ground trampled and beaten hard, that no trace of the grave might remain. Lest they should be violated, whether through revenge or cupidity, such precautions are always used to conceal the graves of the nobles.

Eyamba had many wives, of the best families in the country, as also many slave concubines. He was not particular, it was said, in helping himself to whom he liked. Of the former, thirty died the first day. How many by the poison ordeal, under imputation of witchcraft against his life, we never knew. Those who were honoured to accompany him into *Obio Ekpu*, or Ghost Land, were summoned in succession, by the message, once an honour, now a terror, "King calls you." The doomed one quickly adorned herself, drank off a mug of rum, and followed the messenger. Immediately she was in the hands of executioners, who strangled her with a silk handkerchief. Our smooth-spoken friend, Mr. Egbo Young, and his less plausible brother Antero, with Archibong, the son-in-law and nephew of the deceased, superintended these horrid proceedings.

Every night the work of death went on in the river, and the screams of the victims were heard both in the ships and the mission-house. Some were sent out bound in canoes, and deliberately drowned. Others returning from distant markets, chanting their paddle song, and glad to get home, but ignorant of what had taken place, were waylaid, knocked on the head, and tumbled into the river. Corpses and trunks were seen daily floating down and up with the tide, till the crews were sickened, and had to fire into them to sink them. Armed ruffians lurked in the bush by the paths, to shoot or cut down whom they could, old or young, male or female. Of the slaughters committed in the farms only imperfect accounts were obtained, for they were carefully concealed from white people. For a time it was a reign of terror, which was only abating when we returned to the country.

The brethren, Jameson and Edgerley did all they could, by earnest and ceaseless expostulation, entreaty, and rebuke, to stay

the carnage, but with little effect. Some of the chief actors deluded them with fair promises, others rudely repulsed them, saying that white people had no right to interfere with black men's fashions. They next appealed to King Eyo, who was believed to be opposed to these bloody customs, and one of whose sisters had been slain among the first of Eyamba's wives. He could do nothing, he said, in [illegible] airs, nor attempt a forcible repression of old [illegible] hiefs of the country should find a way to get [illegible] hecatombs offered did not satisfy *Ofiong*, Eya[illegible] rmerly described. From a perverted feeling o[illegible] vehemently upbraided the rulers that they had [illegible] enough for her father; but was answered by [illegible] Young, that they must stop, for white people and God-men made too much palaver with them about it.

For several weeks the school at Duke Town was shut. Even chief men feared to send their children lest evil should befall them, and some of the old scholars were never seen or heard of again.

One of our first efforts, as a missionary band, was to go and remonstrate with the chiefs of the town, against the atrocities connected with the late king's funeral, of which a part remained. From all we received a civil hearing, and from some good promises; but while our dealings with them may possibly have checked the waste of human life in some cases, it is certain that in others, or all, they would only lead to greater privacy, and leave us in the dark more than ever.

Being now of sufficent number we constituted a committee of management, and our first care was to arrange for the judicious distribution of our forces. Mr. Jameson had found it needful to occupy Creek Town after he arrived, and wished to remain there. Mr. Edgerley was to occupy Old Town. Duke Town was to be my station. Mr. Newhall was to assist Mr. Jameson; and Mr. Goldie to remain at Duke Town with me, till he could open a new station for himself elsewhere. In the meantime, however, till more houses were built I agreed to share brother Jameson's room at Creek Town, as we were single men, and assist him in the

school, while pushing forward the new mission-house there, leaving the greater accommodations at Duke Town to the married families. At Creek Town, accordingly, I took up my lodgings, heartily welcomed by friends there among the natives, as well as by the beloved resident missionary; and it delighted me to find my old fellow-labourer happy with his bare shelter and stinted conveniences, well received by the towns-people, and prospering in his work. Contrary, however, to all our expectations the arrangement which was designed to be temporary proved in providence to be permanent, and Creek Town continued to be my station till I finally left the country.

The first Sabbath after our return I preached on Romans xiii., the *duties* of rulers and subjects, and *love* the only ground of right performance of duty. When I alluded to "tribute," Eyo said it was a good fashion for white men, but black men never give their king anything, he had to give them rather, and if he did not work and trade he would be poor, and not fit to be king; for, he added, "the man that has most money will always be king." I remembered the words in Isaiah, "In my house is neither bread nor clothing: make me not a ruler of the people."

As it was unnecessary for me to spend more Sabbaths at Creek Town while brother Jameson was there, I arranged to preach among the shipping, as I had done the year before. The importance of these services among our countrymen was formerly mentioned; another good result, not contemplated, was afterwards discovered. The clerk of one of the ships was a Jew by birth, but called himself a Christian. He heard the gospel and believed it. Then it forcibly struck him, Why should these Calabar savages become God's people, and Israel be still cast out? Ultimately, as he told me years afterwards, he devoted himself to preach the gospel to his own people. Thus was illustrated the prediction, "I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you."

The *Warree* went to Creek Town to land the house it had on board for that station, and next morning the king's drum beat, not to arms but to work. Everything was speedily conveyed from the ship to the hill, Eyo's young son and nephew heading the school children, who worked, free and slave, with equal good-

will and vigour. When all was over the boys got a good dinner, and the men a full day's pay. For, whatever help the king might give us, we always paid his people.

It seemed proper to honour the rulers of the town by inviting them to dinner on board our ship, while it lay in their waters. Eyo brought two Ekrikok chiefs with him. The conduct of all was most decorous. Ere the[illegible] cplained the parable of the marriage feast, whic[illegible] l with great freedom, and finally presented ea[illegible] gown, which the ladies of Mr. Watson's cong[illegible] ica, had made for them. They were of course [illegible] ith the gift, and not less were their people in the [illegible] clustered about our vessel, from whom, and the cr[illegible] se a shout of admiration, as they landed on the beach, like a [illegible] ession of civic dignitaries at home, in their robes of office.

The ground where we proposed erecting the new house was still covered with tall and dense jungle, many great forest trees crowning all. As soon as we had opened the place sufficiently to commence building, the king came to put us in possession of the land, and brought a body of able men to commence the work by fixing the foundation posts that they had previously brought from the bush. A colony from Camaroons had settled on the ridge of the hill, and Eyo sent for the head of it to mark the boundary line between us. He seemed a quiet, sensible like "gentleman," and we agreed to be good neighbours. "If your house is on fire I'll go help you. If mine takes fire you will come and help me." An interchange of presents at the outset helped to make us the better friends ever after. I'm sorry to add that his son, a bold young man, did not prove as good a neighbour as his father, and after the death of the latter was rather troublesome.

About that time two men of distinction from an *Ibibio* town came to Eyo as envoys on a special business, nothing less than to challenge him to war. A long feather in each of their caps indicated their office. Yet they walked about the town with their trains, visited our school, and watched the building of our new house like men of peace. Eyo answered them that he did not ke war, as it cost too much money, he preferred trade; but if

they wanted it they could begin and fire the first shot, and then he would know what to do. Their friend had wronged him, and he had taken his revenge, and was willing to let the matter drop; but if they wished to take up their friend's cause they might do so, and then they would see something. They went home and wisely said no more about it. They saw cannon enough ranged on his beach to show them his power.

The case was this. One of Eyo's wives, the mother of his two sons, when on a visit to her father, an *Ibibio* gentleman, played him false with another chief of that country. He heard of their criminal intercourse or designs, and succeeded in catching both the "gentleman" and his go between, who were brought to Creek Town, tied together, and thrown into the river. The offending wife was spared for her children's sake, but banished to one of the king's farms for life. Young Eyo was so enraged at her that had she been killed, he said, he would not have been sorry, he could shoot her himself, though she was his mother, for dishonouring herself and his father.

When the warlike embassy came to King Eyo his eldest son was away at the oil market, up past the Ibibio couutry whence it came. Immediately the father sent off armed canoes to bring him home, before dismissing the ambassadors, and sent messages to his traders everywhere to be on their guard. When young Eyo returned safely great were the rejoicings in Creek Town; for he was a general favourite, so affable with the people, so respectful to his father and all the chiefs, so attentive to his business, and in all things so clever and well behaved.

When in Jamaica, I took the loan of a superior magic lantern, that I had procured for Mount Zion congregation, and which I thought might be of use to us in Calabar. The exhibition of it had various good effects. It afforded the people not a little instruction, as well as very great enjoyment, and helped to bring the Mbia-idiong, or masters of divination, into discredit. The subjects were chiefly scriptural and on natural history, while the droll pictures were few, and none of them absurd. The more solemn scriptural representations were reserved for the subsequent exhibitions, when the noise and excitement of the first appearance

should have ceased, and the people could hear the lessons they were fitted to teach.

When the king sent a drum round the town, to give notice of the grand show in his yard, he said, "Tell them it pass Abia-idiong far." The person so named is in great repute as the highest authority for discovering secrets. The people have unlimited confidence in his a[illegible] e of every evil, and to prescribe the cure. Ki[illegible] nd disliked them all, and on one occasion expos[illegible]. He secreted some object of value, and then [illegible] nded that it was stolen, and sent for the Abia- [illegible] e thief. The master of arts after going throu[illegible] uttering his spells, casting his strings and bu[illegible] d shells, and other things, and observing their figures and p[illegible] s as they fell on the ground, denounced one of the house servants. Eyo bade him be sure that there was no mistake, lest he should punish the man wrongfully. The performer repeated the process, and arrived at the same conclusion. Then Eyo sent a friend in the secret to bring the missing article, which he showed the bystanders had been neither lost nor stolen, and having thus convicted the Abia-idiong of ignorance or deception, drove him away in disgrace. He said that he had seen towns ruined by these fellows, owing to the faith people had in them, and he wanted none of them in his town.

Our children one day saw the doctor of devices in a man's yard, as they were returning from school, and stood awhile to watch his performances. With one consent they suddenly snatched up the instruments of his craft, and darted off with them into the bush, scattering them about as they ran. He shouted and pursued in vain. They evaded him, laughed at him, and found their way back to town. Threatening vengeance, he went and complained to the king against them; but was told that he could get no redress, having been forbidden to practise his arts in that town. To shake the credit of these deceivers still more, the king welcomed our magic lantern, and we had several grand exhibitions to uproarious crowds.

Everything was going on well, when, almost suddenly, the mission suffered its first and greatest loss, in the death of brother

Jameson. To myself it seemed irreparable. For only six weeks or seven had I enjoyed the happy intercourse, and cordial co-operation, with perfect mutual confidence, so long anticipated. His simple mindedness, devotedness to the work of God, and fidelity to the dictates of conscience, united to spirituality of mind, kindness of disposition, and suavity of manners, had endeared him to all who knew him, both in Jamaica and Scotland, and even to the people of Calabar, though incapable of appreciating his highest excellencies. How much more must we, his fellow-labourers in that new and difficult field, have valued his counsels and co-operation, and regarded his early death as an unspeakable loss, both to ourselves and our cause!

The first celebration of the Lord's Supper was appointed for Sabbath, the 1st August, at Duke Town. I went in the morning to preach on board the ships as usual, and Mr. Jameson remained to preach in King Eyo's yard, but purposed to follow me down the river in the afternoon, and join us all at the Lord's table. He added, however, that if there should be rain, he would not attend, as he had felt a little cold about him for two or three days, and would not like to be wet. He also quoted a remark of the late Rev. Dr. Young, of Perth, on the subject of taking care of our health, that considering the nature of the country, and the prevailing fear of its climate, we would do much for Central Africa, though we should do little more than live in the country for a few years, and show that missionaries could live and labour there.

There was no rain, yet he did not come; but, instead of him, a messenger, saying that he was not well, and wished to see a doctor. Happily, one of good repute, a regular M.D., was at hand, and went up with the messenger. Nothing was wanting that the best services of medical skill and fraternal affection could afford, yet he gradually sank, though without pain, and in perfect composure of mind, till Thursday evening, when he expired. His decline was so gradual, that we had no apprehensions for the result till that morning. On the preceding day he was better, saw his brethren from Duke Town, and saw King Eyo, speaking cheerfully to them; and, in the evening, wished for nothing but a good sleep to restore him. He slept till towards morning, when his breathing became severe, his colour changed to saffron, and

he hiccoughed constantly. Alas, I recognised the fatal sound, and sent for the doctor and brethren before day. He had no pain, he said; he wanted no medicine, he was very well, if I would only let him sleep. He sank into a comatose state, and towards evening breathed his last, sleeping in Jesus. "Farewell, brother, death has done his worst; we shall meet again," said Mr. Goldie, as we closed his ey[illegible] is cold forehead. He was interred the next [illegible] of palms, in the middle of the mission ground [illegible] ade of mahogany brought from Mount Horeb [illegible] his brethren, all the gentlemen of the shipping [illegible] her chiefs of the town, and all the school childr[illegible] uneral of the beloved missionary. When [illegible] cannot describe the feeling of desolation with which I returned to the school-house, and sat silent and solitary, where we had taken sweet counsel together, and encouraged each other in our great undertaking. Yet had we a refuge and strong confidence, and we had no cause to mistrust Him, who said, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." In an unfinished letter to a brother in Jamaica, the last words written by the dear departed were: "Our work here is full of interest, and full of hope;" and I was able to endorse the statement when transmitting the fragment to its destination.

The following simple and sincere expression of sympathy from young Eyo, then away at the oil market, afforded me not a little comfort. Though written in imperfect English, as all his letters were, it requires only a little correction of punctuation and orthography:—"My Dear Master and Friend,—I am too sorry about your brother, Mr. Jameson, died, and I hope you will not go away leave us, because God been give us good friend, and take him away again. We cannot tell why he do this, but I am very much sorry. I hope God will keep you well to us, to stop and teach we all know him. —With best compliments, I am your friend, Y. EYO HTY."

Before resuming the school, I set all hands to effect certain sanitary improvements in and about the house obviously necessary. They had been recommended to our late brother, but he did not like either to dismiss the school, or to draw the workpeople off the new house. The want of them aggravated, perhaps caused,

his sickness; for the crowd of children all day, and of work-people all night, polluted the place and poisoned the atmosphere. The school-room was enlarged and floored, better lighted and ventilated, and furnished with benches and desks; while all around the house every particle of grass was hoed away to some distance, the ground thoroughly cleaned, and out-offices put into quarantine. As a habitation, the house was made sensibly more wholesome; and, as a school-house, it served comfortably twice the number of children it had formerly done.

The early death of Mr. Jameson struck the natives with surprise, and I tried to improve the event in our Sabbath meeting. "I'm sorry he gone to God and leave we all," said the king. "If he been live, he do plenty good among the children."

"The children won't want for teaching," I replied; "I'll live here, and teach them myself."

"I no saby," he remarked again; "what for God send him long way, come live here, teach us good, and then soon make him die."

"Well, king, I no saby that thing myself. But God knows the best, and will do what is right; and we must say, His will be done. Though a loss to us, his death is gain to him."

He asked, in surprise, how that could be, and seemed interested in my account of the blessed state of God's people in heaven. Then he expressed the idea that God's people might hasten to that better world by killing themselves; but saw and owned his error when I asked him, if he would like his tradesmen at the markets to come home before their time, in order to enjoy themselves.

When I spoke of the ravages of sin and death, he asked why God made man to sin and suffer? "God do everything. If man be blind or lame, God made him so; and if he have bad heart, God made him so too." I showed him the difference of these things, that no man was so bad, but he knew that he should be and could be better; that men sinned because they liked to sin; and though happy in well-doing, yet persisted in evil-doing; and did not wish or try to be good, as God wanted them to be. He replied: "It be so indeed—I find it myself. Man have double heart—one lead to good, other one draw him to bad." All these things he fully explained to the audience. In conclusion, I

pointed them to Jesus Christ, who gives life eternal; and said, that, having hope in him for a resurrection from death, we needed not to make lamentable noises when friends die, as Calabar people did, because they had no hope. But though we did not cry like them, we were very sorry to lose our friend and brother. "Yes," he replied, "we all know you sorry too much, and we all sorry too; every man, wo[illegible] in this town be sorry for him."

A little gentlem[illegible]as, properly *Item Aret*, came to me in the even[illegible]t he believed every word in the Bible, and th[illegible]own began to believe it too. A change for the [illegible]eady, he said, in the peaceable conduct of t[illegible]wn, who used to fight and kill each other, and now live very qu[illegible]. Speaking of their funeral ceremonies, he said: "We be fool, big fool. When I live, my friends give me nothing, suppose I beg them. When I die, then they come, give me everything, when I don't want it again, and put for ground with me. It be fool fashion; we all be big fool."

When the school was resumed, we had a great increase of scholars; as yet, however, only two girls attended—a free and a slave. A prejudice existed against the education of the sex. "They no can saby book," it was said. "They no want go for shipmake trade. Suppose they saby book, they saucy boy. It no fit they pass boy." Speaking on the subject one Sunday in meeting, I said, that there was no danger of girls passing boys, if the boys exerted themselves; and if they did not, they must let the girls pass them, and not keep them back. Men could never get on well in the world if they had not wives fit to help them. Fool girls would make fool wives and mothers, and spoil their husbands and children. In a word, it was no use our trying to teach the boys, unless we taught the girls too; men could never get on if the women were left behind. White men, I told them, always gave the girls equal advantages of education with the boys, as the surest way of benefiting both, and with the best effects, and they should do so too; for girls had to serve God, and seek salvation, as well as boys, and they should know the word of God for themselves, and be able to read the Bible. Then they could

teach their children all that was good themselves. The king and others consented, and their daughters came to school.

There was above a score of fine girls, clever and well-behaved young gentlewomen, but, as it grieved me to learn, all promised already in marriage, and in a year or two certain to be taken from school, to go to the fattening process, and prepare for their husbands. Each brought her attendant, about her own age, who received equal attention, and made equal improvement, with the young mistress. *Agoo*, the king's third daughter, about twelve years of age, was one of the first. She learned well, had an easy quiet dignity of manner, and at the writing-desk sat erect and lady-like, being fond of writing. She was a little humoursome, however, as young ladies of rank are apt to be, and self-willed too, and displayed it in the following way;—Coming late to school one morning, she passed her reading class, which was up, and brought her copy-book for line and pen, though the writing lesson was done. Putting it down, I gave her a spelling-book, and told her to take her place. She put it down, and with an air walked out of the school. When called to come back, she merely turned her head and looked at me, without answering, and proceeded towards the town.

I sent my assistant, a black youth from *Akra*, after her with my compliments to the king, to tell him what had occurred. Soon he returned, and the truant behind him hanging her head. Her father had called and questioned her, and then said, "Go back, and don't do that thing again no more for ever."

Till near the end of the year the school was overflowing, numbering nearly a hundred and twenty scholars daily. It met twice, two or three hours each time, forenoon and afternoon, with an interval of three hours. When the farming and trading season arrived, in the spring, the numbers fell off to seventy or eighty. These young people required particular attention in every way, for they had everything to learn but evil; and even the necessary order in the school was a thing they were wholly unaccustomed to, and its restraints were to some sadly irksome. Yet, on the whole, they really behaved wonderfully well, while many of them gave me much comfort, and awakened my liveliest hopes of their continued improvement and highest interests. Not a few of them

with frank inquiring minds were anxious to learn, and unremitting in their application to their books. Free from prejudices seemingly, and superstitions, and idolatries, the exercise of their reasoning powers, and the development of the moral and religious principles of their nature were most interesting processes. When they learned the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, they searched every book to find hem. And any little books they got for reward th lue less for its pictures than its prayers. They lool ther," or asked to be shown where "Pray God li before meat." A surgeon detained at King E use o t by a tornado, told me how deeply he had been ed w little son Eshen bowed his knees before going to sleep, a tly said the Lord's Prayer. To hear the prayer of his childhoo us offered by a heathen boy in a heathen land, he said, went to his heart, and revived some tender and holy feelings.

What interests depended on these young people in our school, the sons and daughters of the rulers of the country, who would be its rulers in time to come! What consequences for time and eternity would result from the ideas communicated, and the impressions made on their young minds! We had in our hands, as it were, the forming of future generations. Commerce had done nothing, and could do nothing, for the moral and spiritual improvement of that ignorant and brutish people. Christian truth alone, with God's blessing, could change them in that respect, and on that change every other of any value depended.

Our several schools were at first taught entirely in English, both because the people wished it, and because we could not do otherwise, having no books in their language, and not able to speak it. But at first that was no disadvantage. I deemed it of great importance for them to acquire our tongue. It is over all the African coast what the Latin was in Europe in the middle ages, while its modern languages were unwritten or barbarous. From the Gambia to the Gaboon, it is the general medium of communication. It is the learned language to the natives by which they study "humanity," and get access to the literature of the world.

The Efik language was, however, studied and acquired by nearly all the missionaries, and the schools came gradually to be

supplied with books in the vernacular, so that, both in English and Efik, the education was afterwards carried on simultaneously. The rule came to be, that the scholars should learn to read in their own language first, a little at least, and then go into English; for it was obvious that they could learn more easily in their own at the first than in ours. The New Testament and portions of the Old have been printed in the Efik, with a grammar and dictionary of the tongue, and other educational works. In these labours, while all the missionaries have been more or less engaged, the Rev. Mr. Goldie has borne a principal part. Whether it was that the most intelligent youths cultivated a knowledge of the English, or that the acquisition of a literary language promoted their mental improvement, it is certain that the two were closely connected. And, assured that the natives of Calabar will never be able to acquire so much general knowledge in their own tongue as in ours, I trust that the English language will be always prominent in their schools.

As it was necessary to introduce clothing into the school for decency sake, though the sense of shame was so undeveloped or rudimentary in the young people's minds that they hardly seemed to feel the need of covering, we endeavoured to avoid the error of indiscriminate distribution, which we had seen to do more harm than good, at Duke Town. While, therefore, we gave every child a yard of cotton print to tie round its waist, we reserved shirts and gowns for those who could give us proof of their merit by past improvement, or security for their continued attendance. When the "gentlemen" of the town brought their children, especially their daughters, we had the necessary assurance, and gave them their choice of our female wardrobe. But some of the young ladies were as hard to please, both in the pattern and make, as if they had been used to wear gowns all their lives, and troubled me with their changes. It was amusing too to see how they called the boys to help them to pick and choose, put on and off, and judge the fit and fitness of the different articles submitted to their choice. Agoo's attendant was displeased that hers was not equal to that of her mistress, though a real good one, and she refused with scorn all I had to offer, flung it off, and went home as she came. My little friend Camaroons being present, remarked,

"Them girls saucy too much; give we plenty trouble." He told King Eyo, who reproved and corrected the girl, and sent another to school in her stead.

Melody, like shame and conscience, seemed not indeed quite wanting, but in a dormant state, among the Calabarese. They never attempted music, or what we would regard as singing, and when we attempted it in our [illegible]-day worship, they laughed. Much more cause had we to [illegible] their extraordinary discord when they tried to join us. [illegible] school, however, the defect was soon supplied when the y[illegible] people were taught the scale of music, and acquired ideas o[illegible] mony and the distinction of sounds by the notes. They learn[illegible] not only to sing psalms and hymns with tolerable correctness [illegible] ease, but I hope, in some cases, to make melody in their hearts to the Lord.

Before the end of August we received information, confidentially, from Fernando Po, that two French war steamers were there preparing to visit Calabar, to make treaty with the chiefs of the country for some unavowed object. I informed the king at once on the subject, and put him on his guard. The brethren at Duke Town gave timely warning to the chiefs there. The following letter from Mr. Young showed his fears:—

"I hear news about the French man-of-war want to come here for make we put hand for book to them for take country. That is what I never been hear since my grandfather be. But I will do no such thing. I must see you before that come. Please send me some writing paper and ink by the bearer."

When they arrived they sent word to King Eyo that they would call on him the next morning, and to me also requesting I would meet them, as they wished to make a treaty with Calabar for the suppression of human sacrifices. That seemed all very candid, and of course I resolved to be present at their interview.

Next morning the king hoisted a British ensign over his house, and sent me one for mine, and at nine o'clock the commodore, a captain, and several junior officers arrived. Eyo received them in his usual unaffected way, and sat down with the commodore on a sofa at the head of the room. When I entered and saluted the king he introduced me to the other as "my missionary." The

rest of the party occupied sofas at the sides. The town gentry took chairs beside them. A medical gentleman, the only one from the ships, sat with me on a sofa at the foot of the room. Attendants covered the floor.

An old slave trader from Fernando Po acted as interpreter for the visitors, and spoke with Eyo in English. The subject was human sacrifices. The French king had heard that "three thousand" had been killed for Eyamba, and thought it very barbarous and bad. Eyo denied the accuracy of the report, but said, "It live for my head long time to stop all that; but it no can knock off one time." The commodore said that if they would substitute bullocks the French king would pay for them all. Eyo replied, that if it could be so done he could do it himself. He was able and willing to pay for the bullocks, if the country agreed to it. But all men, he added, were not prepared to adopt that new fashion all at once. "Your missionary will tell you," said the commodore, "that it is a very bad fashion." "Yes, he tell we all that every time;" replied Eyo, "and I know it must done soon." "The French king," added his visitor, "would send many ships here to trade, but for that barbarous practice." "Very good," answered Eyo, "if your ships come for trade they can come as English ships do."

After some undertalk in French they invited Eyo to visit their ships that evening. It was the Sabbath, and he declined on that account, but proposed the next day. All rose to depart, and they gathered around the king as if to shake hands. I advanced into the middle of the room to examine a splendid new table cover, then first spread for the occasion. The commodore spoke something in a low voice. Eyo answered loud, "No, suppose I go in my own boat, I carry English colours; I be Englishman." Again he replied to something proposed, "Very well, if you will send your own boat for me I can go in it, and your boat can carry your colours; but my boat always carry English colours. When any ship ask me go to it I go in that ship's boat, they send for me. So English and Dutchman do."

After his visitors were gone, the king explained to us that they wanted him to carry French colours in his boat, which they would send for him, and also that he would hoist them over his house, as they could not salute him, they said, under English colours.

But he was too wary for them, having heard of their proceedings at the Gaboon.

The next morning, before the French boat came for the king, I went to caution him against signing any treaty written in French, lest he should be ensnared. "True," he replied, "I no will put hand for paper for nothing. We have treaty with England, and that do for Calabar. This count[illegible] English. English and we be friend long long long time, [illegible] my father and grandfather live."

Leaving him I met Father [illegible] Camaroons who were going with him, and said, "Take care, [illegible] ou do and say this day; all friend no be true friend." "[illegible] rue bob," they replied. I added, "When fisherman go out, [illegible] ust go away. Good-bye." They called me back: "What that last bob you talk be?" "Fish don't see hook; he think he chop fine fly, but hook live there for chop him." "You tell king that word?" "I tell him." "Very good, we must look out," said Tom. "What they come for," said Camaroons, "we don't want to talk French. English do for we. It be good for Calabar."

Though Eyo went in the French boat under the tricolour, his canoes that followed him were dressed with English ensigns. He received scant honours from the vessel he visited—three guns on arriving, and one on leaving. He left them a present, however, of a bullock, two pigs, and a hundred yams, and came back in his own boat with the British ensign flying. The commodore wanted him to go down the river a little way in his ship to see the working of the engines; but he had seen English steamers before, he said, and would prefer to watch their departure from his canoe. The subject of treaty was not named. The commodore was pleased to hear that his treaty with England had stopped the slave-trade, and to see that he had got missionaries to teach his people, and promised to return when he had visited Bonny and other places. But he never did, prevented probably by the Revolution so soon afterwards in his own country.

In October the funeral ceremonies for old Tom Honesty, the king's last uncle, were observed at Creek Town, in the way worthiest one of such age and dignity as he. As they may be as

new to most of my readers as they were to me, they must be described somewhat in detail, to show how all such rites were observed, and render future descriptions unnecessary. The patriarch had died four months previously, but was not considered buried till his obsequies were performed. A note from the king one evening informed me that, "to-morrow morning at four o'clock all man and woman for town will make cry for Tom Honesty."

At the hour named a great cry arose, weeping and wailing in every family, as if in every house there had been one dead. Beating of drums and firing of guns mingled with the *ululalu* made a strange uproar, which continued till ten o'clock. When that outburst of grief had abated, a grand Egbo procession was made from the "Palaver House," to the residence of the deceased, headed by the king and his brothers; Egbo officials followed them, dressed in silks, ribands, and feathers, with brass drums, bows and arrows, and other emblems of office, all proceeding with slow and solemn step, dejected mein, and mysterious mutterings, as befitted a funeral ceremony.

The next day was Sabbath, and as I had urged on the king to remember and keep it holy, he had the town perfectly quiet. But he was not to be seen, nor any one else, but school-children, when I went to his place to keep our regular services. After waiting half-an-hour I desired the children to follow me to the school-house, and left the yard. Young Eyo, however, who met us in the street, protested against our going back in that way. "Oh, no, no! It no be good you go back for your house, and no have meeting for God's day. Come back again, and I will go look for my father." "Look for your father," I replied, "and when you find him and all gentlemen, send me word and I shall return." Soon his messenger came for me, and we had a good meeting, and afterwards a very full school.

On Monday the ceremonies were resumed, and many strangers came to show their respect to the departed patriarch and the living king. The wailing and howling continued night and day all week, varied by professional criers, with screaming and other strange noises to heighten the effect. The shouting and drumming in addition stunned one unaccustomed to it, and kept us

waking for several nights. Feasting and drinking prevailed. The dissipation was excessive. And our school fell off from five or six to one or two score.

One of those days I walked out towards the old market-place, beyond the town, where it was said a grand procession was being marshalled. Persons set to guard the road, however, interrupted me, using forbidding gestur[illegible] of them even drawing the edge of his hand across his t[illegible] y what my fate or his might be if I went further. I [illegible] n till near the place, when Father Tom and Y[illegible] ed, and requested me very civilly to return to [illegible] king's house I could see all that passed, when [illegible] The former added that when I bought Egbo I [illegible] m on these great occasions. "Is that all I'll ge[illegible] my [illegible] ' I asked; but he answered only by a laugh, as if I were hopeless.

On my return to the king's house, I heard it whispered that Egbo had escaped during the previous night, and with great difficulty was recovered. Great was the consternation of the neighbouring village, while the mysterious being was sought for till near daylight; for if not found every one there was to be put to death, lest profane eyes should see it. On such a subject the uninitiated must know and say nothing; so I could only smile at what seemed a scene got up for effect, to increase the terror of the common people.

Ere long two Egbo runners in their harlequin costume entered the town to clear the streets. Their bells, dangling at their waists, gave notice of their approach, and their long whips made the crowd keep the sides of the street. Then a solitary person, curiously dressed, and seemingly sprinkled with ashes, advanced with slow and solemn pace before the Palaver House, where with bowed head, leaning on a long staff, he paced pensively round and round, muttering to himself, and unobservant of all about him, like a hermit from the wilds in a fit of abstraction, or one lost in thought mourning a departed friend. Soon two others, enveloped in gay clothes and crowned with flowers, appeared, and paraded the town as proud as peacocks. These characters were greeted with shouts by the populace, whom they served to entertain, while keeping alive expectation of what more novel and imposing was coming.

At length the procession came into view, headed by the king in robes of office, carrying the mace or grand baton which was silvered all over and ornamented with flowing ribbons. It drew up in the market square, where stood an immense flagstaff, erected for the occasion, sixty or seventy feet high, from which hung in vast folds down to the ground an immense ensign, yellow and red, that would have streamed magnificently over the town had there been wind enough to expand it.

The king made proclamation, which at short intervals was responded to by the deep tones of the Egbo drum. This done six men dressed in the highest Egbo style began to dance before him. Such a dance! "Hornpipes, and jigs, strathspeys and reels," were nothing to it. They ran, and leaped, pranced, and capered up and down, round and round, now fast, now slow, whiles suddenly stopping to bow and scrape, then springing up and flying away. That over, the procession advanced towards the Palaver House, and formed a small semicircle in front of it.

I was on my way home when young Eyo met me in the street, and smiling, remarked, "This be very fine."

"Well, tell me what Egbo be."

"When you buy Egbo you saby."

"I buy Egbo?"

"Yes, you be Calabar gentleman now. Next year my father can make you buy Egbo."

"Well, what good will it do me?"

"Oh, plenty good. Anything you like you can do it."

"But I don't want to be able to do anything I like, lest I do bad; but only what God likes."

He ejaculated "Oh!" in a tone of surprise and disappointment, and, hearing his name called, hastened back to his father. Just then Egbo was heard inside, the privileged rushed in, and I hastened to resume more important work.

All Saturday night the accustomed discordant noises prevailed, but were hushed into the utmost stillness from day-dawn on Sabbath. Unhappily, however, it was "Grand Brass Egbo" day, when only a very few great gentlemen could appear abroad, and we were deprived of our public meeting for the worship of God. King Eyo went very early by water to bring Egbo from the bush; and

at eight o'clock three canoes close together, all covered with palms, floated out of a small creek from the mangrove swamp, and without sail or paddle or any person appearing, save a disguised Egbo man in the bows of the middle one waving his hand, they slowly approached the landing. All day the town was perfectly silent and solitary; not a human being was to be seen in the streets, nor a voice to be heard, till night seemed [illegible] God's day, when the horrid din of howling and drumming [illegible] ecommenced, and continued till morning, to be relieved o[illegible] equent volleys of musketry.

I was sitting in my roon[illegible] nday afternoon, writing out my journal, when my little [illegible] maroons came up smart and smiling, dressed in a new sty[illegible] or hundreds of small bells of white metal, like big thimble[illegible] led his legs from his feet to his knees. They tinkled as he walk[illegible], and methought he took his steps more stoutly than usual for the love he bore to their sweet sounds. He came to tell me of a "very fine play," a "women's dance," which king invited me to see. It was the day for ladies to parade, and they would come forth in their finery.

Mr. Chisholm, our carpenter, being at the smithy to get iron clamps made, found the place so filled with ladies, and the important craftsman so busy making and fitting brass leglets on them for the evening display, that he could get nothing done. These leglets consisted of brass rods, like stair rods, united and wreathed spirally round their legs, from the ancles to the knees, and must have been each several pounds weight. So eager were the "gentlewomen" to get shod with these clumsy boots that they put hand to the work to expedite it; and King Eyo's eldest daughter, "the greatest lady in the land," worked at the bellows with all her might.

In the evening one or two hundred "great women" formed an immense ring in the market square, each being attended by a maiden, who carried a gaily coloured parasol over her head. They all had numerous strings of bright beads round their arms, necks, and waists, and crossing over their shoulders and bosoms, which contrasted strikingly with their dark skins. Their clothing was not more in quantity but finer in quality than ordinary; the former being always least considered. Their attendants were particularly deficient in that respect; but, habituated to it, were insensible of the want. They had what was customary, and felt no shame.

"In longitude 'twas sorely scanty;
But 'twas their best and they were vaunty."

Inside the circle three parties of ladies moved about at quick march time; meeting, crossing, retiring, following, to the music of drums and bells. They carried curiously shaped white figures on their heads, some with two faces and four arms, in a squatting posture. While these performed their evolutions the whole circle revolved slowly on its axis, the ladies all moving constantly to the right by little steps, whereby all the beauties came in succession before every one of the surrounding crowd. King Eyo and Camaroons were the only men privileged to take part in that exhibition. It must have been a great enjoyment to the poor "gentlewomen" of the harem to be relieved from their confinement, and allowed to display themselves and their ornaments, even for one day, as part of the great funeral solemnities of the time.

Another exhibition was that of *Egbo Bunko*, a full dress Egbo. Father Tom, as chief of that branch of the confraternity, is called *King Bunko*. It is public, ornamental, and very attractive to the young gentlemen. Ten or twelve of the best men in the town, completely, even elaborately dressed and disguised, performed a dance different from any yet seen. King Eyo mingled with them, masked, as one of the performers, but was recognised by those in the secret. All the others carried silver-headed staves and bunches of flowers or ribands; he his gold-headed cane and white feathers. Notwithstanding his usual gravity and decorum, and intense application to business, he performed his part with no little agility and grace. In the course of his performances he advanced towards me, and honoured me with a few figures and a low bow, without, however, discovering himself or wishing to be discovered.

These customs seem ridiculous, and undeserving the time and attention given to observe and record them; and it must be admitted that a missionary will see more to pain than to please him in them. But it was not unwise to study the people in their social relations, and national fashions and usages, and observe the sort of materials on which, and with which, we had to do the work of God. Paul in Athens affords an example of the good use such observations may be put to. In time these ways will be disused and forgotten. Perhaps generations to come may peruse the record

of these doings with enlightened eyes, seeing in them "the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit from which they were digged," and may glorify God who of stones can raise up children to Abraham.

The outlay in these funeral rites was very great. Lavish hospitality abounded. Of the dissipation and expense an example was furnished in the quantit[illegible] made use of on the occasion. What with the cons[illegible] own, and the presents to their visitors when leavi[illegible] ight puncheons, I was assured by young Eyo, wer[illegible] ven in honour of the dead. After all was over t[illegible] complained. "We lose too many coppers these [illegible] throw away all our money for nothing. These [illegible] eat us up. They bring small dash when they come, and we give them big dash when they go away. It be fool fashion. For true we all be big fool." The nature and tendency of these ceremonies were not then known to us, as they afterwards came to be, when we found them to abound with temptations, and lead to all manner of dissoluteness. The unusual amount of sickness and number of deaths, which generally ensued, might have convinced the natives themselves how pernicious they were. But they were not singular in being blind to the real character of their time-honoured and favourite customs.

CHAPTER XIX.

1847, 1848.

Mission-house at Creek Town—Distant mountains—Removing or remaining during the smoke season—Results of both plans—Excursions to various places—Caught in a tornado down the river—Visit of H.M.S. *Bittern*—Ndok and Nabikim—Christmas observances—Marriage of our carpenter—Young Eyo's majority—The king's expedition to Omon—A Calabar marriage—Visit of H.M.S. *Favourite*—Refugees in mission-house—Eclipse of the moon—Sabbath services—Why Jesus was poor—How to grow rich—To make bad slaves good—Their treatment—Dangers from them—Examples—Calabar fables—The resurrection—The new birth—Praying to the dead—Famine—Desire for children—Bad customs hinder increase.

WE entered our new and commodious residence in October, and consecrated it to God, by the observance of the Lord's Supper, the friends from Duke Town joining us in the sacred ordinance. Thankful for so good a dwelling, beautifully situated, we resolved not to give it up to the undisturbed possession of rats and ants for three months, as we had been obliged to do the year before with the Duke Town mission-house. I say beautifully situated for that country, being on a healthy elevation overlooking the town, and with an extensive prospect. Duke Town house, and Old Town were so full in view, that we arranged a code of signals by which to communicate with each other; and in the far distance appeared a grand range of mountains, from the *Camaroons*, about eighty miles south-east, and thirteen thousand feet high, by the *Rumby* and *Qua*, rugged but much less elevated, up to nameless peaks in the north-east, about seventy or eighty miles distant. Even *Clarence Peak*, in Fernando Po, was occasionally visible due south, about a hundred and twenty miles away.

The time had arrived when we behoved to consider the question of removing from Calabar to Fernando Po during the sickly season. The conviction was growing in some of our minds that this step was not so necessary as had at first been supposed; while obviously it was quite impracticable, consistently with the

due maintenance of our mission. It was vain to expect the coloured assistants to remain if the white missionaries all left; and to close our stations for three months yearly would ruin our work. I resolved, therefore, to stay at Creek Town with my assistants, keep our work going, and judge for myself by personal observation of the insalubrity of the climate at that season. The brethren at Duke Town were able to adopt an intermediate plan of removing for a month or two alternately, that there might be always one family in that town to keep the station open. The bad accounts we had received of the "smoke" season might possibly be the exaggerations of ignorance or fear. The experience of seamen could not be taken as a criterion; for we were in better circumstances than they for the preservation of health, both physically and morally; and at all events we had the means of removal at command, should it be found necessary; while we hoped to succeed in our attempt to prove the practicability of remaining at our posts all the year round.

The result was remarkable. Not one of those who remained at Calabar had a day's sickness, and not one of those who went to Fernando Po escaped it, some of them being kept there on that account much longer than they intended. It was said, indeed, that the season was exceptional in both countries. Whether so or not the fact was that thenceforward no one ever proposed to change climate in that way, and all the stations have since been maintained as regularly during the "smokes" as at other periods of the year. Even the shipping took courage, and the river has never since been abandoned, as previously, for several months in the year.

Connected with this subject it may be mentioned, that I was induced, at that time, temporarily to modify my practice of total abstinence. The stagnation of the atmosphere during the "smokes," and their depressing enervating effects, were such as seemed to render something of stimulant necessary. Following the best advice that could be got, therefore, I took quinine every morning, and a glass of wine in middle day, till the tornadoes began in March or April and purified the air. My remaining in the country over that season was an experiment, on which the future of the mission much depended. Many thought it a hazard-

ous one, and I felt bound to neglect no means to make it successful. Had it failed some might have said that I carried my temperance principles to an absurd length, and refused to comply with even medical advice. It succeeded, however, and the practice then adopted was apparently so beneficial that, every succeeding smoke season, I followed it more or less closely. It must be added, however, that one of the brethren maintained his total abstinence principles at all times, without any obvious ill effects, and that one of the sisters generally did the same.

The exception confirms the rule, and, fairly considered, our Calabar experience was not contradictory to that of Jamaica. As a general rule total abstinence from strong drinks is by far the safest course in all tropical countries, to which exceptions should be made with careful discrimination. Then, when wine may become necessary for a time, under peculiar circumstances, a little of it goes a great way, and is the more likely to have a good effect. For one whom such abstinence may kill there are hundreds it will save. The want of it destroys our countrymen in the tropics far more than the climates.

As a means of promoting health and the objects of our mission, occasional excursions up and down the river were projected. Our first was to "Guinea Company," a number of villages scattered along both sides of the lesser river, from twelve to twenty-five miles above Creek Town, but chiefly clustered about middle that distance, on and among hills cleared of wood, where they offer some variety of landscape scenery. Young Eyo was one of our party.

With the flood tide in our favour we went to the furthest point first, and landed at *Inkpára*, near the junction of two considerable streams. This village presented the novelty of a clean, gravelly beach, and a nice grassy bank, and, though small, had some good houses, and an industrious people. The men were engaged in farm labours near hand, the women, at least some of them, were employed in pottery work in the street. Children whom we saw ran without fear at young Eyo's bidding to call in their fathers, who soon came with their guns in their hands. They were civil, however, and procured us cocoa nuts, which furnished us with a

refreshing beverage. The pots of various kinds, which the women had made, were well shaped though not turned on the wheel. They were drying in the sun before being placed in the kiln, where, however, they seemed likely to receive a very insufficient firing. Baking and glazing are both greatly needed to render the native ware of much value. As now made they are frail. A few needles and fish ho[illegible]nsible of our friendship, and gained us a heari[illegible]em who we were, and what we had come to [illegible]ched the law and gospel of God to them, and [illegible]nd children to school. We found, years afte[illegible] more considerable place of the same name fu[illegible]f which at that time we were not aware.

Several villages, [illegible] we [illegible] on our way back, were also small and nearly deserted, the people having gone to Duke Town to the funeral rites for Eyamba. At the first we found the chief, a very old man, and had a talk with him; the town was in a ruinous state, and the Palaver House dirty and neglected. A rudely carved little image on a post in front of it seemed to be of no value. Another town was privileged with a weekly market, held on the crown of a hill, to which a steep ascent led up from the open street. It tried our wind to reach the top, but from it we could see Duke Town. Tracks diverged in all directions to the farms and villages beyond, and its elevated site indicated generally elevated country behind. Walking thence to the next village we passed along narrow and insecure foot tracks, over deep gullies with precipitous sides, where the ground had sunk or fallen away towards the river. Some people imagined, perhaps Abia-idiong said so, that this sinking of the earth was caused by some great beast burrowing underneath.

Further down the river we landed at "King John's Town." It was once a more considerable place and maintained two kings; now it could hardly keep one. He was not at home, and the people whom we saw eagerly inquired the object of our visit. They had an eye to business probably, as a ship's boat sometimes visited them to buy goats or a bullock. A fine little child, whose favour I wished to gain, would not come to me, but shrunk behind its mother. Gently chid by her, however, it came forward a little way

timidly, and held out its hand to receive a gilt button, with which it was greatly delighted. A chain of withes, in large links and festoons, stretched overhead across the path from tree to tree, was designed to keep away evil spirits, and all malign influences. Though such a defence probably failed of accomplishing all that was expected from it in that way, it was often used in deterring depredators from farms, having all the effect of "snakes set here." Most slaves believed that, duly placed by competent authority, it possessed hidden power, and assured the destruction of all intruders. The ignorance and superstition which can be so easily imposed on, leave the people a prey to all deceivers, and destroy their moral power.

Our next excursion was to Ekri Tabaka, about twenty-five miles down the river. The *Warree* was going to Fernando Po in November, to bring back Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley, who had gone thither the month before. Mr. and Mrs. Goldie went with me in it as far as Parrot Island, and there we took boat for the place we wished to visit, a few miles distant on the western shore. We found a clean sandy beach, and proceeded by a good foot track, up a moderate ascent, through fields of long grass, to the town. It was embosomed in cocoa-nut, palm, and plaintain trees, and in its arrangement resembled the "negro houses" of a sugar estate in Jamaica, more than the other Calabar towns we had seen. It commands a fine view of the wide river there, and all down to the sea, and is so open to the breeze that I should consider it likely to be healthy as a missionary station. Many people gathered to see the strangers, and were especially curious about the white woman, the first ever seen in their town. The head man soon presented himself, and led the way to his own house, followed by a crowd who, though eager, were not obtrusive. We explained our object in living in Calabar as servants of God, and in coming to his town to make his acquaintance. He replied that he was very glad to see us, and desired us to wait till he went out and returned. Soon he came back with two fine bunches of plantains, which he laid at our feet.

When we rose to leave, another insisted that we should visit his house. We did so, and he hastened to set stools before his door,

on which he spread fine mats, according to custom, and then brought two large bunches of plantains for our acceptance. Immediately another did the same. Had we waited much longer we might have loaded our boat with the fruits of Ekri Tabaka. But it was time for us to be away, in order to get home with the flood tide. They accompanied us to the beach, and there we made what return we could fo rom the few things we had in the boat. Wha quently saw and heard of the place, people, a ry, convinced us that it would be an important labour, and a favourable one.

After leaving t ad to pass a number of low recent islands, no overed with mangrove trees. They have been for ion of several branches and channels of the river, and have such sameness of appearance that ship boats, going from the bar to Duke Town for a pilot, have got mazed in the labyrinth, and been long of finding their way again. It was past four o'clock, and we calculated to pass that intricate part of our navigation with daylight, and be home before nine.

We had not gone far when the clouds began to gather, and the distant thunder warned us of a tornado. It rapidly approached, and the lightnings flashed in our faces. "Pull, boys, pull for your lives." "We pull, massa," the Kroomen replied, and they stretched themselves to their oars, and rowed with all their might. Their efforts were nearly in vain. The storm rushed on us, black and furious, tearing up the river in its progress, and we fled to the nearest thicket for shelter. Unhappily, we were on the weather side of it, and exposed to the full force of the tempest, one moment being nearly blown out of the water, another, nearly filled by the waves. When we did reach the bush, and thrust the boat into a sort of shelter among the trees growing out of the water, we were driven against them with such violence that it was like to be stove in pieces, despite the best efforts of the Kroomen to steady it.

The storm continued to rage for several hours, and we were half the time in utter darkness, except when the lightning dazzled and bewildered us. So incessantly and wildly did the elements play, that it seemed as though we should have to spend the night in that horrid place, commonly called "Alligator Island." At length it

abated, the clouds broke, the moon rose, and discerning the shade of Parrot Island in one direction, and of James' Island in another, we ventured out on the broad face of the river to find our way home. The tide was by that time ebbing, and our poor wearied boatmen, who had towed the schooner down, had now to pull up against the strong current. It increased our difficulty that we had lost our rudder in the squall. By the mercy of God, however, we got to Duke Town by one o'clock, not much the worse of our adventure, though so completely done up that we were not ourselves again for some days.

Our next excursion was made some months later, when King Eyo had gone up the river to settle the war palaver with the *Omon* people, and taken all our best schoolboys with him. We proceeded to *Ikunitu*, George Ekrikok's town, who had been down our way, and invited me to go to see him. Having proceeded for some hours up the eastern channel of the great river, we found the village covering a rising ground that bordered it, or rather two villages connected by a street along the ridge. The head man received us cordially at the landing, and invited us to his house; and off his Calabar yard he led us up a little stair to his "deck-house," which he had constructed in English style. It had a curtained bed in one end, a cupboard with plates and tumblers in another, a table in the middle, and a settee by the wall. Lighted by two small windows, with venetian blinds, it had an air of cheerful comfort unusual in that country, and altogether it reflected great credit on the skill and taste of the owner, who had constructed it, he said, with his own hands; and warranted him to be at least pleased with his performance, if not, as people said, he was "proud" of it.

Apart from the rest of the town was a place allotted for the unhappy women who had given birth to twins, and were therefore forbidden intercourse with the rest of the inhabitants. They used formerly to be banished to a greater distance; but though allowed now near the town, the innocent causes of their expulsion were still doomed to perish. These women employed themselves in making pots, for which a good clay was procured at no great distance, but their prices were hardly remunerative. A few halfpence

would have bought the best of them. Objects seemingly of superstitious use or regard were seen in different places as we walked about, but nothing of what might be called idol worship.

Proceeding up the river towards the king's new plantation, *Isong Iyang*, we passed *Old Efik Town*, where the Calabar or Efik tribe first settled, after being driven from their original country. It is now covered with forest, a[illegible] never been inhabited. Isong Iyang we found to consist of [illegible] houses, forming three sides of an oblong square. [illegible] stood the Palaver House, appropriated here seem[illegible] o[illegible] r lounging and talking. The best mimbo to be got [illegible] con[illegible] as there found in such quantity, that our Kroome[illegible] ied [illegible] ater keg and filled it with the sweet *minefik*. That was one [illegible] g Eyo's frontier farms where he required little service of his people, satisfied with their prosperity and fidelity, as conducive to his general interests. It and another on the opposite side of the river could be made to command the navigation of that part of the country. They promised to become, in connection with *Ikunitu*, a fine field for missionary operations at some not distant day.

We were disappointed in not seeing hippopotami there; for they abound from that point upwards, above the tide reach, and only the day previous several had been at the bank. While we rested there a canoe arrived from the king with a letter for his son, and another to the "gentlemen of the river," giving account of the progress of his negotiations for peace with the Omon people. This was the "latest intelligence," and, time and place considered, was really interesting. Young Eyo immediately despatched another canoe with a letter to his father. On our return we descended the river by the middle channel, in which were ten islands. The upper produced various kinds of trees, the lower only mangroves.

The biennial purgation of Calabar towns from all devils and ghosts took place on an appointed day early in December. It is called *Ndok*. For some days preparatory thereto rude figures of cows, elephants, tigers, alligators, and other animals, constructed of sticks and grass covered with cloth, which are called *Nabikim* were set up before every door. The use of them was not made known to us; perhaps their original design was unknown

to those who perpetuated the custom. It has occurred to me that perhaps they were designed to represent the animals, with which the spirits of departed relatives had been allied; for there exists an obscure and strange belief that the souls or lives of certain persons are bound up with the lives of certain beasts, so that whatever befalls one affects the other. I have seen a young man of ordinary intelligence, when his gun was at his shoulder to fire on a huge alligator, lower it, saying seriously that perhaps the soul of such an one was in it. Whatever the origin or use of the *nabikim*, their doom is the river when the *ndok* is completed.

The night preceding the strange ceremony a message from the king desired me not to be alarmed next morning if I heard noises in the town, "because every man and woman would begin at three o'clock to knock door." Notwithstanding this warning the tempest of noises, which awoke me suddenly at the hour named, gave me such a dreadful start, that I leaped from my bed confounded, and rushed to the window to learn the cause. It suggested the idea of a hurricane breaking down a forest in its course, or overwhelming a fleet of ships at sea, and the shrieks of drowning thousands mingling with the roar of winds and waters. It crossed my mind next moment that the town was stormed by an enemy. Everywhere were the rattling and flashing of musketry: from time to time the cannon on the beach thundered; thousands of voices were shrieking and howling; the king's great bell was all the while tolling; and every yard resounded with the horrid din of great sticks belabouring the doors, like the clash of weapons in battle.

All this wild uproar was designed to frighten the "devil" out of town, and was enough to frighten everything but the devil. The cows, which usually slept quietly in the market-place, went nearly mad, galloping up and down the streets, with heads erect and tails in the air, not knowing where to go. At dawn the houses were all thoroughly brushed down, from roof to floor, and the sweepings, old fires and nabikim, carried away to the river. After that all ghosts and devils were supposed to have taken themselves off to the shades.

There were sometimes real outbursts of grief on these occasions; on the remembrance of departed relatives, thus finally expelled—

heart-breaking passionate bewailings. The force of example and sympathy was such that slaves from afar, no one knew whence, cried like the Calabar people, till the king told them not to be so much troubled, as their fathers and mothers never lived or died in Calabar.

We joked over the custom at Eyo's dinner table, referring to the perversity of the Qua pe[illegible] would not observe the same day as Calabar for [illegible] Ndok, but the one after it. The consequence of [illegible] to defeat the design of both. The Calabar ghosts mu[illegible] r [illegible] border the first night to the Qua territory, where they cou[illegible] peace, and the next night, when expelled from Qua, [illegible] ck again and their neighbours with them. It was e[illegible] that these people were not good Christians of the old stamp, or they would have persecuted and excommunicated each other about the day, as the eastern and western churches did of old about the precise time of Easter.

Christmas arrived; but what had we to do with it who belonged to a kirk that, as King James said, "cared neither for pasch nor yule." It was regarded in Calabar, however, because white people of all nations regarded it. It was a holiday; and the natives, like their European visitors, dressed and feasted thereon better than ordinary. In Jamaica the season had been observed, as the slaves got it free, and we improved it to their spiritual benefit. So in Calabar we found no conscientious difficulties in trying to make the best of it. We seized the opportunity for arresting and fixing the attention of the natives on the great facts and doctrines of the gospel, in the hope that divine light might enter their minds, and divine grace affect their hearts. We preached therefore on the subject of Christ's birth, from the angel's song, on the preceding Sabbath; and on the day itself had a grand feast, entertaining the chiefs of our town and the mission families of both towns.

The Christmas dinner was a great affair in a bachelor's house like mine, being the first I had ventured on of that magnitude. Twenty-four principal people sat down at our first table; when they removed, nearly as many inferior or younger gentry took their place; and after them school children and servants made a complete clearance. King Eyo had sent a goat and twenty yams

for a Christmas present, and we were able to furnish of other good things enough to supply all wants. It may be observed here that certain kinds of food are forbidden, by some juju law or custom of their own, to families and persons bearing certain names. Some dare not eat cow's flesh, but they may English salt beef; nor others fresh fish, but they may salt or dry; while others, how much soever they may like fowl, must not taste it if a woman be present. These prohibitions remind one of pork to Mussulmans, and beef to Romanists on Friday. The guests came dressed more or less in European costume. At the very least they wore each a long shirt over their native cloth. That, bound round the waist with a silk handkerchief, which they nearly all flourished for the occasion, was not an unbecoming dress. Young Eyo cut quite a dash in a stylish regimental uniform, with cocked hat and feathers, and boots too, but without spurs. He was, however, by no means at his ease in them, and as soon as possible hastened away to get rid of them, and returned in a simple shirt, declaring that he had never been so uncomfortable, he literally melted at table.

In February 1848, our carpenter, Henry Hamilton, was married at Creek Town to Mary Brown, who had come from Jamaica for the late Edward Miller. When the friends from Duke Town with the bride had arrived, and our household arrangements were completed, a messenger was despatched to the king and a few others saying, "All things are ready, come to the marriage." The young folk must see it too, and after forenoon school they ran home, dressed, and quickly returned. Camaroons in new shirt and trousers, hat and boots, attracted attention and enjoyed the laugh. Young Eyo, in a plain blue suit, looked far better than he had done in his ridiculous coxcomb dress at Christmas.

The two Eyos were most observant of all that passed, and the king signed the marriage record as a witness. He inquired of one of the captains present, if "white people always put hand for book when married," and was surprised to hear that even kings and queens must do so like others. "We have very bad fashion in this country," he said aloud; "too many women. They eat a man up. They never help him, but chop and sleep all time. If

one have child for him, she never come near him again till he grow big boy." This last remark seemed designed to counterbalance the former as an excuse for polygamy. It was true the women did not wean their children till several years old, and they depended on and clung to them more than to their husbands; for they were not sure of the permanency of their connection with him, while with them [illegible] le.

The address to t[illegible] mutual promises impressed young Eyo's mind. [illegible] ntry customs in such a case he said, "The singi[illegible] n bring the bride to the man's house; wher[illegible] chair, with a curtain over her, and all people [illegible] big, and dash her plenty things. Then he [illegible] coppers and chop and rum to them people. But no one ask [illegible] if they like each other, or tell them good word how to behave. Chi! It be all same they bring two monkeys together. If God keep my heart I will never marry Calabar fashion." The townspeople, we heard, were particularly astonished to learn that Hamilton had paid nothing for his wife. They thought that Mr. and Mrs. Goldie, with whom she was living, would have charged him high. "What!" they cried; "he get such a fine woman for nothing! White man's fashion be very good."

Marriage formed the subject of my discourses for two following Sabbaths, in which I pointed out the benefits resulting from God's laws on the subject, and the evils of Calabar customs. These latter may be easily imagined, where corrupt nature is free to do as it likes, without the restraints of either conscience or shame. My auditory had, however, previously been instructed by other parties in doctrines of a contrary kind, more accordant with their own customs, for which both Old Testament practices and those of high European society were quoted as authority. This rendered it necessary for me to be clear and decided in declaring the truth, and exposing the errors they had learned. In conclusion the king admitted the need of reformation, but left it to his son. In vain he was told how unwise and sinful it was for him to leave any good work to be done by his children which he could do himself. He replied that he was an old tree now, and could not bend like a young one.

Some notice of a marriage procession about that time may come in here, as an opportune illustration of "country customs." The man was one of the king's chief traders, the wife was a gift from his master. She was conducted to the old market place in state, to exhibit herself to the public, according to "use and wont." He mixed in the crowd to see the show, like any one else, paying her no attention. The fact was that he did not want, but could not refuse her. He had wives enough already, of one kind or another, of his own choosing, and regarded this one as too great an honour.

The procession moved slowly from the town, headed by an ensign which there was not wind enough to expand, and by a band of drums aided by a long tin trumpet. The lady was fitted, by her size at least, to command admiration. On her head was a profusion of mock hair, falling over her neck and shoulders in long ringlets, and above it was a highly polished brass ornament like a coronet. Numerous strings of blue, red, and yellow beads tastefully arranged, encircled her portly person, and set off its dark shade. Her cloth was of gay colours, but too scanty to allow of much remark. Over her was an umbrella carried by one of her female attendants, and with downcast eyes and heavy steps she moved slowly along, her legs loaded with brass rods. A train of women followed clapping their hands and singing her praises. Through the crowd which opened for her in the market, she passed on to a chair covered with cloth, where many or all the females came to pay their respects and dance round her. At length she rose herself to dance; but what a dance! Softer than a minuet. She merely glided within a very limited space, unable to lift her feet for the weights that loaded them; while the drums and the horn, and the ensign did all they could to cheer her on. All this time the bridegroom mingled with the crowd, quite indifferent, and let her return to town as she had come, unnoticed by him.

Eyo's peaceable expedition to *Omon* has been already alluded to. As soon as possible after Eyamba's death he proposed to go in person and reconcile the old quarrel, which the foolish expedition in 1846 had only increased. But Eyamba's obsequies, and those of Tom Honesty and others, necessarily delayed him till March 1848. These he terminated by shaving his head—indeed

bald heads were general then—by feasting his immediate friends, giving "changes of raiment" to them and his head people, and recognising his son as come of age. This last he did by investing him with the broad cloth of manhood; for juniors must wear cloth off which a stripe has been torn. He also, his son told me, offered a goat in sacrifice for his family, and prayed to God over the blood of the victim. The was merely the expression of his good wishes for their p 7. He told them, however, that this old custom he heard nged, since the Son of God had died for all. "My father e man this day," wrote the son to me, "and I beg God to m e man pass what my father can do."

About sixty canoes followed and his chiefs to Bosun. Most of them had each a large gun, mounted on a strong frame, in the bows, and a little deck house in the middle for its owner, gaily painted, with an ensign in the stern. Eyo led the way himself in a six-oared gig, rowed not by slaves, but by young gentlemen of the best families in the land. Some of his canoes which followed were very large, sixty or seventy feet long, and five or six broad, paddled by thirty men, and carrying also bands of armed men. They had large guns both bow and stern, and were ballasted with cannon balls.

I said to the king on the beach the morning he left, "I don't wonder that the towns up the river are alarmed for your visit and prepare for war. You seem to prepare for war yourself. And such a fleet is enough to frighten peaceable people." "Oh, no, no!" he promptly answered, "suppose I make ready I no go for war." "But how will they know that you go for peace, having such a warlike appearance?" "The Egbo canoe will go first," he replied, pointing to one without ensigns, and dressed only with palm-leaves ranged down both sides.

He took an immensity of trade goods with him, to "dash" the parties with whom he might have to treat, and all the towns on his route, enough, it was said, to buy fifty puncheons of oil. Ordinarily he husbanded his resources well, but could be generous when necessary. After he left Creek Town he took a circuit round by Duke Town, to make a display before the people there, and visit the ships in passing.

In ten days he made a triumphant return. He had stopped a considerable way short of *Omon*, and sent to invite the chiefs of that place to meet him. They were slow of coming, and then wanted to exact hard terms. Among other things they would have Calabar canoes pay tribute for trading with them, and lower their flags on arrival. Eyo in reply asked them if they thought he had come to beg them, and if it were war they desired and not peace? If that was their mind he would like them to say so at once. They argued that, as Calabar receives "Comey" from English ships for leave to trade, Omon had a right to its share from Calabar. Finally, it was agreed that nothing be said about the old quarrel, that Eyo would give an annual "dash" to certain chiefs of *Omon* in lieu of all demands, and that the latter would keep the peace of the river. It was a politic arrangement, for they who received his gifts would hear his word, and he could well afford to spend some money in securing the friendship of that people. Eyo brought back a young wife from *Omon*, and two gentlemen's sons whom he sent to our school. Thus we hoped that God had opened the way for our visiting that country, with his glad tidings of great joy, which were for all people.

The visit of the French to Calabar led to two English cruisers visiting it within a few months afterwards. King Eyo, afraid of the former, had written a letter to whom or by whom I knew not, but probably at the suggestion of some supercargo, to Beecroft, which he had sent to the Commodore of the station, desiring that the British standard should be hoisted in Calabar as a means of preventing French aggression. In the end of November, Captain Hope, of H.M.S. *Bittern*, came with Governor Beecroft to see Eyo on the subject, and also favoured us with a call, afterwards inspecting the school, which they declared afforded them the greatest surprise and satisfaction. The next day there was a meeting of all the chiefs of the three towns on board, when they were informed that their application had been forwarded to the Queen's Government, and that he (Hope) had come merely to allay their fears, and assure them that the French would not be suffered to take their country. He urged them, however, to abolish the custom of human sacrifices, which their late visitors had made a

handle of, and to cherish the mission schools that he was so glad to see in operation among them. He afterwards entertained the chiefs at dinner, and when Eyo left gave him the honours of royalty, marines under arms, drums beating, and a salute of twenty guns. "He deserves it," said Hope, "for his noble conduct on occasion of the French visit, and the shabby way they treated him."

In the following March, H. [illegible] *vourite*, Captain Murray, arrived with the Queen's answ[illegible] was to the effect that the proposed measure was [illegible] advi[illegible] id was not necessary. At the same time the le[illegible] of the [illegible]n Secretary (Palmerston), while assuring the Calaba[illegible] hiefs of the Queen's good wishes for their welfare, requ[illegible]m to cease the barbarous custom of human sacrifices if [illegible]uld retain her favour and protection. For that end Murray and Beecroft urged Eyo to give them a letter promising to do so, to which they could refer, if necessary, in withstanding French schemes. Eyo refused, however, saying that, though personally favourable to the proposed measure, he had not the means of carrying it into effect, his authority not being acknowledged at Duke Town. In the end he adopted a middle course at my suggestion, promising for himself absolutely, and for the rest of the country as far as in his power. The dealing with him was preparatory to a public meeting of all the chiefs on board the Queen's ship the next day, where his promise was read to all, and the rest of the chiefs were required to make a similar engagement. Those of Creek Town followed the example of their king; those of Duke Town had then no king at their head, and were very unmanageable; but at length, with great difficulty, were persuaded to promise that they would take steps for changing the custom as soon as possible. The missionaries signed the document as witnesses, with the only two gentlemen of the shipping that had attended.

The chiefs of Duke Town, irritated with the missionaries for pressing them so closely on that point, sought to bring up a complaint against them for carrying off runaway slaves in the mission ship to Fernando Po. The slaves referred to had escaped from the massacres at the death of John Duke, King Eyamba, and Ofiong Henshaw. Others, however, had probably escaped in Fernando Po boats, which went to Calabar for the express purpose

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DUKE TOWN.

Duke Town and Mission House to the right; Old Town Mission House to the left;
Man of War, Trading Ships, and King's Canoe, in front.

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of buying slaves for domestic service at Clarence. Indeed, we were well assured that the Clarence boats did take away more than they paid for, and then our mission vessel got the blame of all. King Eyo prudently discouraged the attempt of the Duke Town people to bring up that subject on board the man-of-war, saying that we could settle it well enough among ourselves. At the same time he said that we should take care that persons guilty of crimes were not harboured in our mission houses or ship under false pretences.

Sensible of the evils that might arise from the abuse of our mission premises as sanctuaries by criminals, yet determined to keep them open as a refuge for the innocent life, we proposed an arrangement for King Eyo's consideration. We knew that he had himself saved some who fled to him at the time of Eyamba's death, in accordance with established usage, and, relying on his good sense, good feelings, the position he filled, and the character he had to maintain, we believed we could in him find the nearest approach to law and justice the country afforded. Disowning all intention to shield real offenders, we claimed that our houses should on no account be invaded by armed men. We agreed to report to King Eyo all who took refuge with us, and at his demand to deliver them up to him; while he promised to be answerable for their safety, and that, if accused of crime, they should have a fair trial in our presence. If any refugee were merely a runaway slave, fearing a great punishment for a small fault, our intercession for him should be heard, and his offence forgiven, as Eyamba promised me when we first came. Any slave taking refuge in a mission-house, on the death of his master, should be suffered to remain in safety till the funeral rites were all over, when he should be free to return unharmed to his old place. These things King Eyo approved of, and, if fairly carried out, they seemed likely to accomplish all that could or should be done on our part, and to prevent the abuses that were dreaded.

A total eclipse of the moon took place on Sabbath the 19th March, at 8 P.M., and under God our knowing and telling of it beforehand produced a good effect. I mentioned it in our public

meeting, that the people should not be alarmed when it would occur. The sky proved unusally clear, and the moon rose full and bright. When the dark shade began to curtail its lower limb, the voice of play which had resounded through the town, was hushed into a dead silence; and a band of intelligent youths came to the mission-house to see it through our telescope, and get information on the [illegible] g, who had been anxiously watching the bea[illegible] n he saw the eclipse begin, that after that th[illegible] thing I told them; while some thought I n[illegible] hand in causing what I could tell so wel[illegible] at if an Abia-idiong had known so much, [illegible] d it, he would have made a fortune; for all p[illegible] n to him to know if they were going to die, an[illegible] what they [illegible] ld do to live. The following Sabbath was "Yampy Egbo day," when Egbo runners and bells had always ruled the town. Then first, Eyo forbade them running on God's day, forbade work and play also on Sabbath, and inspired the hope that we should soon get the Sunday market also abolished in Creek Town.

A few notes of our Sabbath meetings will close this chapter. One day Eyo asked, "If Jesus Christ came to be king of the world, why did he hide himself as a poor man that no one could know him?" Among other reasons I gave this one—"that he wished to be king different from other kings, not by worldly power and grandeur which fill the eye alone, but in the hearts of men by the power of truth and love. When a king speaks every one applauds and says, 'It be so;' when a poor man speaks no one believes him unless it be true. By worldly greatness Jesus could have got all men's mouths, but not their hearts; and as he wanted their hearts, he sent forth his word to find its way through the world by truth and goodness alone." Eyo replied, "That be very true indeed. So they do here. If a king be rich, whatever he say, people cry 'It be true, yes, yes; it must be so;' and whatever he want them to do, to kill man or anything, they run go do it. But if he turn poor; hi! then his word be same as lie, no man mind him."

Another day the king said, "All man don't understand your

word. If you can tell them how to get rich, they will come plenty." "Well, king, next Sunday I will tell them how to get rich, and you tell them all come hear." "From the Bible?" "Yes, from the Bible. Only I think that life pass money; that make me preach about the life first." "True, life pass money," he replied; "no more all man no believe about that other life." On the following Sabbath we had a large audience, and I preached the way of wealth from the word of God, industry, honesty, economy, temperance, knowledge, and the blessing of God; warning against idleness, sloth, gluttony, drunkenness, ignorance, waste, and bad company, as the sure way to poverty and ruin. Seeing the company did not look pleased, I asked the king what ailed them. He said, that they knew all that themselves already. "Very good, tell them to go and do so and they will be rich. But sitting idle, talking, drinking mimbo, and crying for chop, cheating, getting trust they cannot repay, and sending for Abia-idiong to help them by his tricks, will never enrich them." "True," he answered, with a hearty laugh. "That no be way I make my money."

The following Sabbath I preached that wisdom was better than money. I don't know how my interpreter came to speak of two men I had hired from him, "Monkey" and "Tiger," but he observed how much they had improved since they had gone to work for me, and how good it would be if all their people would profit equally by the instructions they received. "When you came and asked me to hire you two men," he said, "I looked out the worst I had, men I could make nothing of, to see if you could do any good with them; and we all see what fine men they now be. I think I must change them now, and give you other bad ones to make good." Declining this proposal jocularly made, I told him that the secret of their improvement was not, perhaps, in the good teaching so much as the good pay. "So long as I gave you their hire and you paid them they troubled me continually; but since they began to get their pay direct from myself, they have changed greatly for the better."

At another time, I requested the king and chiefs to remain, after the meeting had dismissed, and discoursed to them about the treatment of their slaves. "Masters, render to your servants

that which is just and equal," &c. I pointed out various great evils that prevailed, and the proper remedies for them, to which the few hearers left gave patient hearing. The necessity of written laws carefully made, to restrain and regulate the power of masters over their bondservants, often greatly abused, was stated. "They are our fellow creatures," I said, "and have heads and hearts, feelings and passions, [illegible] ıd must have justice with mercy, or the land, f[illegible] ople coming every day from other countries, ca[illegible] urged that there should be rewards for those [illegible] the punishments for those who did ill; that [illegible] is generally found the best way to secure goo[illegible] good masters usually made good servants. L[illegible] where, however, my hearers trusted more to the whip, as a mea[illegible]s of correction than to the coppers; though well aware that much of it only hardened the hearts of their people, and made them reckless. The value of regular marriage connections among their people, according to the law of Christ, with regular public registry of the same, and the securing of these against violation by sale or otherwise, was also urged on them, as essential to the welfare of the country in time to come.

The importance of these and other things submitted to them was acknowledged, but they pleaded that it was work for the next generation, the young people now growing up in our schools. It was useless, they said, to think of written laws and marriage registries where so few as yet "saby book." They pleaded, like all slave owners everywhere, that their slaves would not value freedom even if they could get it, or as they expressed it, would not like their masters to throw them off, adding, with some plausibility, that black people had not laws like white people to regulate all these things aright. For himself, King Eyo said, that he was not yet strong enough for all that work; because Calabar was not like England, where all the people have one king, and all gentlemen from every town meet yearly, to make laws for the whole country. Every little Calabar town must have its own king, and every man was king in his own house, to do as he liked with his own people.

In connection with the foregoing subject, sensible natives have

owned that if the slaves chose to "put head together," they could take the country. Sometimes they had planned schemes of mischief, it was said, which were invariably disclosed, so that their power of combination was not much dreaded. Two recent instances, however, of the spirit of resistance among them were mentioned. "Adam Duke, King War," ordered his people to do some hard work a second time, which they thought they had done well the first time, and they refused. He threatened. They replied to his threats by leaving the town in a body, and going to the plantations; and would not return to him, till he not only yielded the point in dispute, but agreed to "set the palaver" by "chopping doctor," or swearing *mbiam*,* that he would not punish any of them for the act of disobedience. To reconcile them he even "chopped blood" with their head men, and gave them "dash."

King Eyo one time threatened to flog his canoe people for some fault among them. They swore that if he did so they would take his canoes and leave him. He confined forty of them in the Palaver House, simply by tap of Egbo drum, forbidding them to leave it, under Egbo penalty, death. Two days they remained; on the third they sent for "Father Tom," and told him, they could remain no longer, and that if king did not "take off Egbo," and "set the palaver," they would go away at all hazards. Only for fear of Egbo, indeed, they could have done so any moment, as the house was open and they all loose. The king was too prudent to push the matter too far. He called them to his yard, examined the business, put some in chains for a few days, and dismissed the rest with presents.

The Calabar people were fond of telling stories—*Inke*—in which all birds and beasts figured as acting and conversing in common with men. They were like fables, but generally without morals; though some, it was asserted, were very instructive. Certain women, story-tellers, would entertain a company all night with them. One of these "old wives' fables" was the following, which seemed susceptible of some good application:—

A great tree grew in the world, so great and strong that no power on earth could break it down. Abasi (God) said, that

* *Mbiam* was a sacred mixture, kept in a native stone bottle, which parties tasted when making oath. Like the "bitter waters" of the Hebrews, it would destroy, they thought, all false swearers.

whoever would break it down would get his daughter in marriage. Every man, beast, and bird tried, but all in vain. Even the *Ikpun kpun kpun Ine*—a fabulous animal far greater than the elephant—tried his great strength to no purpose. At last the turtle, or land tortoise, said that he would break it down. All the great things on earth laughed at his presumption. He secretly, however, engaged the gro[illegible] d with them went to work, burrowing under the tree [illegible] the roots where young and soft, without being o[illegible] tree was weakened, and by a small effort finally

That tree, I said, [illegible] at wickedness of the world, which no human po[illegible] Yet it must be destroyed, and God has great [illegible] ow on the world when its destruction has been effected. The good word of God comes softly to the minds of men, by the gospel of Christ, without show or noise, like the ants to the roots of the tree, and by gradually changing their hearts, eating into them while young and tender, prepares to uproot the tree, to overthrow Satan's power in the world. "Akpanikau!" (true word) was the immediate response of the congregation.

On one occasion, some of the audience expressed their surprise that God should have let wicked men and devils kill his Son, Jesus Christ; but were satisfied when they learned how soon he triumphed over them by his resurrection. "But," said another," "we no saby how God can make the dead people come all up again from the ground." In reply, I asked them if they saby how God make all the little children come alive out of their mother's womb? or if they saby how the children grow to be men and women by eating yams and drinking water? or how the big trees all grow from small seeds? They laughed their assent, and said, "It be true; we must believe it. God can do everything."*

It was always difficult to arouse and keep up the attention of the meeting, and at times to preserve becoming gravity in it, or keep to the subject on which I had begun to speak. In these

* Another asked why the Jews killed Jesus when he had done no ill? I asked them why all people everywhere loved their own bad ways, and hated God's word and messengers? Eyo said it was true, and that some people in Calabar would do the same thing again for the same reason. "They get vexed if one only tells them that a twin mother should not be driven away, nor her children *killed*."

respects I was much at the mercy of my interpreter. On the whole, he did marvellously well; and I found it no harm to give him some latitude, and let him and others exercise their minds, state their difficulties, and ask questions, as we went along. I could always bring them back to the subject, preach God's saving truth at every turn, and with the more effect when I had engaged their attention.

When preaching from the six things that God hates—Prov. vi. 16–19—I found that the last verse, "A false witness that speaketh lies, and he that sows discord among brethren," excited the feelings of King Eyo not a little. He said, "Oh, there be too much of that thing in this country. That be what make this town come down small, when it was first town before." Then he gave me some details of the proceedings to which he had referred in its previous history.

The subject of the new birth, John iii., and the objection of Nicodemus, led to the remark, that people in Calabar believe that a child may be born several times into this world. If an infant die having any mark on its person, and another be born with the same mark, they say that it is the same child born again. Examples were mentioned of that kind. One in the meeting had a name significant of the fact. A succession of deaths among children of the same mother leads her to burn the dead body of one of them to stop the plague, by direction of the Abia-idiong.

On the subject of praying to God, it was stated that *Aquabibio*, the second day of the Calabar week, was called there *prayer-day*, because of some service of that kind observed thereon. A little tree of a particular kind grew in every man's yard, except King Eyo's, who allowed no object of native superstition to be seen about his place. At the foot of it were one or two earthen pans, or basins, containing a little water. Beside it were generally seen human skulls, and over it a land-turtle hanging to the tree. The water in the basins was never emptied out, but every prayer-day a little more was added, and something like a prayer or wish expressed for safety, success, and length of life. The basin was called God's dish. It was said that they called on their fathers on these occasions. Sometimes prayer was made over goats and fowls killed for friends arriving and leaving.

The folly of praying to a dead father, King Eyo exhibited in a pointed, dramatic way. A man dies, he said, and people owe him money; but, having never learned to keep accounts, he leaves no books, and his children don't know who owed him, or whom he owed, anything. Some who were in his debt bring claims against his property. The children cry to their father, "Eté mi, O! Eté mi, O!" but he can't hear or he[illegible] em. They must pay what they don't owe, or be seized [illegible] l for the debt, and perhaps sold; for the claimant is [illegible]n, [illegible]an they. It may be their father's brother who has t[illegible] [illegible]nemy to get their property. They beg their father to l[illegible] [illegible]hy don't he speak on their behalf, if he can do anytn[illegible] [illegible]acted the case to the life, personating each party with [illegible] tones, looks, and gestures. He must have witnessed such a scene in his youth, and been deeply impressed with it. He takes care that no one will wrong his children in that way, keeping his account books, and written records of all his business.

When I had read from Leviticus, one day, the blessings promised for obedience, and the curses threatened for disobedience, Eyo observed concerning *famine*, that he had seen it one year in a neighbouring country, when people sold themselves and children for a few yams or few coppers. He had bought none, however; they were too cheap. It would have been all the same as stealing them.

The king expressed a wish one day that God would give them more children, as the home-born population was decreasing, and they were obliged to buy children in the slave-markets to rear in their houses. The meeting had closed, and most of the people dispersed, and I had the better opportunity to reply freely to that remark in the presence of the "gentlemen" who remained. God's blessing from the first, they were told, was, "Increase and multiply, and fill the earth;" but their bad country customs hindered the blessing. It was given to a man with one wife. They multiplied wives, and their children decreased. So was it in every country on earth. God's way had his blessing; man's way lost it. "You count it an honour for a man to have many wives, and a reproach to have only one; and to wives you add concubines, corrupting the true marriage relation, from which must spring the

children you desire. Young men sometimes take their own sisters, and old men often their own nieces, which God has forbidden, under curse of barrenness. Your daughters are given away in infancy to men, with wives already, whom they can never love; and you take wives for your sons, without knowing if they will love each other, or live together. Even your daughters, whom you wish to be mothers of families, you spoil by fattening, forcing them to a premature womanhood, and rendering them useless and sickly. You take no care to have your slaves married, or to promote the proper family relationship among them. The bad way they live destroys all hopes of a numerous offspring. These your fashions are all contrary to the law of God and to common sense, and must be changed, if you wish to have God's blessing of many children.

The parties addressed were seriously attentive, and seemed ashamed, though it was seldom they could be made to feel. They owned the truth of what had been said, and merely replied, that "they were born to these fashions," and had lived in them blindfold, before God's word had come to them; so that it would not be easy to get things changed for the better all at once. They wished their children, however, not to follow the old bad ways. The king said, that thereby white men, who have God's book, and learn it from their youth, will be worse off in the day of judgment than black men, who live and die ignorant of it like beasts. I replied, that the sins of the whites would never excuse those of the blacks; and that if black men chose to follow the bad example of some white men, instead of the good example of others, and the teachings of God's word, they could plead no excuse, and would meet the greater condemnation. They did not, I was glad to observe, seem to take this plain dealing amiss.

CHAP X.

Return to Scotland—L mission ship and fellow-labourers—
Voyage back—Mon —A slaver—Bonny bar—The Calabar
spit—Archibong, ki to Creek Town—Young Eyo—The
school—Evening cla d—A disturbed Sabbath—Vaccination
—Family morals an ies—Interview with the rioters—In-
tercession for offendi... eness—Catechising children—Visit of
H.M.S. *Rattler*—An Eg... ifices required.

ACCOMPANIED by Mrs. Goldie, I left Calabar for England in May 1848. Mr. Goldie took charge of Creek Town station in my absence, leaving Mr. and Mrs. Newhall in charge of Duke Town, while Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley were comfortably settled at Old Town. Every part of the mission was in a peaceable and prosperous condition. We went in a merchant vessel, our own, the *Warree*, following some months afterwards; and in due time by the goodness of our faithful and merciful God, I was permitted again to embrace my family. One indeed was wanting, our infant, that had been called away, almost suddenly, when sixteen months old; but what great cause of thankfulness I had in finding all the rest well.

It was my purpose to return to Calabar, taking out Mrs. Waddell and our youngest child, so soon as I could arrange for leaving the others at school. The services required of me, however, throughout the country, and six week's sickness in the winter, rendered that impossible. Happily the Rev. Mr. Anderson from Jamaica, and Mrs. Anderson were ready to sail in November, and they arrived in time to take charge of Duke Town station, when Mr. and Mrs. Newhall were obliged by ill health to leave the country and the mission altogether.

The following letter, from young Eyo to me at home, is given verbatim, and needs nothing from me in explanation:—

"My dear beloved friend, I hope you not think that I forget

you:—Always I do remember you in all my doing; for since you away I think I have you in sight; and also when I sleep I saw you as I was with you. And I am very much want you back, because I think I have no other friend like you; for you and I it seem as father and son. And I beg you, my dear friend, please to come as soon as you can; because when you was here that anything come into my mind, and I make known to you, I receive a good advice that will strengthen me, and so I hoping you to come. And if the Almighty God spare, I like you to bring with you three or four missionaries for the gospel of Christ; because Mr. Newhall is leave here to go home; for doctor says that his wife she can't live long here in Calabar. She must go home for her health; and I don't know if the doctor is our heavenly Father, that he know who can live or not. And I am very much sorry because we have no another missionary here to live on Duke Town station. Only Mr. Goldie he told me that he going to send Samuel Duncan to stop at Old Town to teach the children, and Mr. Edgerley is to go to Duke Town to teach the children there; and the missionary you told me he will come out from Jamaica, I look for him all the time, but he has not come yet. So when you come, please to bring some with you, because when you come we can try to put them in different places as we been say. And I know that you cannot forget to bring the house of God as you been told me; and try if you can get a small ship for our mission, because we cannot live without a ship to send to Fernando Po or any other places. And for all these things I hope that the great God will help you to get them for the use of his work; and for his goodness sake I know he is willing to give all what is good to his people. And I remember you to get the medical doctor, as we been speak about to bring one out for the mission, and also for the good of Calabar. Please try and get one, because sometime all ship gone away. Also, my dear friend, please to remember me for what thing I been told you to bring for me, the big Bible, and one dictionary, and one Peep of Day, the kind as one you been lend to me, and any other kind of useful book that can give me understanding in the words from the Bible. And all the books that I want, please to get me a large print.

"I have no much news to write you in our town. My first

sister she got well, by the goodness of God, and I am very glad for it. Also one Sunday my dear father say that he going to tell all his people to pray to God for it is very good; and that time I was very much glad to hear him say so. Another news, Adam Duke make his two sons a man, as my father been do to me the time you was here. So Ephraim and his brother is a man now. Another, I am [illegible] o see my dear friend Captain Smith, when I [illegible] t in the sea, and I am glad to see him again. [illegible] gone, and he told me that he meet you in Fer[illegible] hank God, for he save him, when all men say [illegible] he sea. Another thing I am sorry for it, fo[illegible] own every night now. He kill four cows, and [illegible] three goats; and all men try to kill him, bu[illegible] m to shoot him. Every night man go to look for him, and they try to shoot him very much; and only two men been see him, and they shoot him, but not kill him.

"My dear beloved friend, I hope you are quite well, as you been left me; and I hope God will keep you well, and bring you again to me safe by his love and goodness. And please give my good compliment to Mrs. Waddell, and tell her that I have sent her a bag made of beads, and also some nuts to put for chop; and I hope to see her with you; and I hope God will spare her life to live in this country as well as in Scotland; and I hope she will take this country for her own country. I hope all your beloved children are quite well, and give my compliments to your brother and sister, and Dr. Fergusson and his wife, and to all God's people in England and Scotland. And I beg them very much to pray for poor dark Calabar. Still we need your fervent prayers.

"I hope this my letter may find you, with my regards, to pay for good morning, and when next morning come, my dear friend, good morning again; and I wish you quite well this morning. And when evening come, my dear sir, good night. And this my letter will give you good morning and good night, for the time that I can't see you till you come back; for Scotland and England is so far I can't see you as I do here."

In the month of June, 1849, we sailed from Liverpool, accom-

panied by Mr. W. C. Thomson and Miss Miller, and taking our youngest child, Jessie Maria, six years old, with us. Governor Beecroft had just arrived at home and met us on the quay. Seeing our child, he asked where we were taking her to; if there were no graves in our own country that we took her to Calabar to die? With an earnestness, justified by his knowledge of the country, and his real friendship, he tried to dissuade us from risking her life, as he thought, unnecessarily. Convinced that the risk was not so great as he imagined, and that it must be encountered, to remove the prejudice relative to white children there, which would be fatal to the permanence of our, or any Protestant mission in Central Africa, we persisted in taking her with us, and had no cause to regret our doing so.

We sailed in our own mission ship, a small schooner, purchased as a new year's gift by the children of the "United Presbyterian Church:" and had for sailing master a most promising and well recommended young man, and for mate a pious and devoted youth, connected with a much honoured family in the same body. One of our own poets expressed the feelings of the donors on this occasion, in some excellent verses of which I may quote the two following:—

"The mission ship's commander
An honoured man shall be;
And honoured be the seamen
That sail her o'er the sea.
A nation's thanks give tribute
To the valiant British tar;
The church shall bless the mariners
That man the *Calabar*.

Ten thousand little voices
Shall night and morning pray,
That He who rules the billows
May speed her on her way.
May favouring breezes waft her,
And sun, and moon, and star
Shine gloriously and sweetly o'er,
The children's *Calabar*."

Our voyage was quite a contrast to that in the *Warree*, January 1846. The winds were most favourable. In twelve days we passed Madeira; and we might have been at Calabar in six weeks, but for necessary stoppages on our way. The first of these was at *Monrovia*, the capital of the free black republic—LIBERIA.

We wished to see what aids our mission might derive from it, in agents, bricks, boards, rice, and other requisites. Our visit was interesting, though the going ashore and returning was not free of difficulty and danger. The harbour is open; and the sea rolls and breaks on the beach in a heavy surf, while the bar at the mouth of the river Mesurado, is sometimes rendered quite impassable by breakers. The captain. on, and I, went to try the beach first, before t ssengers ashore. The landing there seemed ha Kroomen whom we engaged, understood the way l managed well. The headman steered our bo ' pulled oar. When nearing the shore they pa waves pass us and break. Then, when the ne: ched, and we felt the heave, our steersman shouted, "purra, purra,"* and the men took stroke rapidly and with all their might, and rode in on the ridge of the wave, till it broke high up the beach, when they leaped out, and seizing the boat hauled it still higher up, to prevent its being carried back by the retreating waters. We followed them quickly at the risk of being drenched in the surf. Then the men rushed back into the sea to find their oars. Obviously that was not the place ladies could land. On our way from the beach to the town, by a steep and bad foot track, we found some things that we wanted. *General* Lewis, of the Colonial Militia, kept a store, and had pitch-pine planks to sell; and *Colonel* M'Gill, whom we found dressing a mast for his cutter, by the wayside, had white pine boards; both necessary articles for the enlargement of our houses at Creek Town.

The next morning proved favourable to our crossing the bar; and we found a quiet landing-place for our ladies at a sort of wharf a little way up the river. The Rev. Mr. Wilson, a black Methodist minister, kindly welcomed us to his house, a good well-furnished house, built of brick, and then accompanied us round the town. It does not correspond much with European ideas of a town, being scattered and irregular. There were rows of houses, but they stood far apart, separated by gardens and fruit trees, and fenced quite round by rough wooden paling. The streets were overgrown with grass, the principal one being a some-

* Pull, pull.

what steep ascent up Cape Mesurado Hill. The president, Mr. Roberts, and the chief justice, Mr. Benedict, most respectable and intelligent gentlemen of colour, were polite and agreeable.

We had the pleasure of meeting the Presbyterian and Baptist ministers also, and regretted that we could not see their schools. One school which we inspected seemed rather efficiently conducted. White missionaries from America, we learned, were among the tribes inland; but none were resident in the colony, where all the officials, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, were coloured people. The exclusion of whites, probably in self defence, is a sign of weakness, like a protective duty, to cherish some infant branch of native industry. It is to be hoped that the Liberians will soon be able to prove their strength, by daring the competition of their white brethren, and they will improve in the struggle. The president handsomely, and of his own accord, remitted the port charges on our vessel, about fifteen dollars; and invited us all to spend the next day with his family.

Our return to the mission ship was attended with serious risk. The wind had risen and the sea was breaking over the bar. Our boat was full and deep, and once or twice was nearly swamped. To the skill of our Kroomen under God we owed our escape. The very next morning, a ship's boat, manned and steered by white seamen, was capsized there, and several lives lost. Among them was a medical man, an old resident in the colony, who was going on board a brig in the harbour to see his patients. The state of the bar prevented us availing ourselves of the president's invitation the ensuing day; and we proceeded on our voyage.

The settlements extend, Mr. Roberts informed us, from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles; and he was in treaty with the tribes northward for all the intermediate country to Sierra Leone. Inland, his government reaches about a hundred and twenty miles, comprising a population of about six thousand free American coloured settlers, and eighty thousand native Africans. The militia musters four hundred men; but could easily be increased to four thousand, by the offer of arms and pay to the neighbouring tribes, ever ready for pillage. The marine force of the colony consisted of an armed schooner, presented by the British Government, to enable them to prevent

slave trading on the coast; and the president assured us that it had been suppressed. No better way could be devised to extinguish the slave trade than to colonize the whole coast, in the same way, and cut off the communication between the native and foreign slavers. The whole western sea board of Africa, so far as it is still in native possession, might be purchased and settled at less cost than our cruiser l on the coast, and far more to the purpose. Th : require their sea coast, and have never improved sea-going people. Rather in their hands it has b worst of purposes by foreign nations. The free of the Western Hemisphere may justly assert as the inheritance of their fathers, and claim the ... ized nations in the interests of the human race to put them ... ossession. In the Kroomen of their coast the Liberians possess the best materials to be found in Africa for a native marine.

Coasting down towards Cape Palmas we called off several Kroo villages, to land some of their people from Monrovia who had begged a passage, and to engage others for service at Calabar. As we passed "Little Sesters," a man pulled towards us in a canoe, jumped on board, addressed us in English, sold us fish and sweet potatoes, desired us to anchor, and assured us of getting people, rice, fowl, and anything else we wanted at his town. This was *Tom Peters*, whom we engaged at once as head man, and employed to provide the rest of the gang. He was a well-spoken, good-tempered, active, useful fellow.

We went ashore, but could approach the village only through a morass, along logs of wood laid for a foot-path, steadying ourselves each with a pole. The village was insignificant, and different from any I had previously seen in its construction. The houses were circular, with conical roofs, about twelve feet in diameter, and the walls five or six feet high, composed of sticks and wattles. No enclosed yards surrounded them, nor were there properly streets through the town, the houses being irregularly placed. But the ground around and between them was clean sand. The people were poor, and of course eager to make the most of whatever they had to sell, but withal very civil.

Rounding Cape Palmas we noticed a number of whales playing

in their unwieldy fashion, sometimes their heads, and sometimes their tails up, and even their whole bodies at times heaved quite out of the water. It seemed strange that there should be no whaling ships in the Gulf of Guinea where these valuable animals so abound; but the attempts which had been made to fish there and in the Bights, had failed owing to the number and voracity of the sharks. They attacked the carcase, as soon as it was lashed alongside the ship, and tore it to pieces before it could be got on board; even seriously interfering with the men engaged in cutting off the blubber, and endangering their lives.

Going on, we noticed between Rio Pedro and St. Andrew's river a schooner at anchor close in shore, seemingly wishing to lie unseen under a range of wooded hills. No port or town being there we thought she might be a slaver, and were confirmed in the opinion by the canoes which came off to us. They could not or would not tell anything about her. One called her American, another Dutch, another Spanish, and another French. They were unanimous, however, in their anxiety to know all about us, where we had come from, what ships we had seen, and whither bound. These people were called Kroomen, but of another language from those on board. Tom Peters said they were too bad, and that we had better keep them off. They had large, strong, well-fitted canoes, and were themselves strong, rough-looking men. Some of them had been at Calabar, and we recognised each other—for they all spoke English; and I remembered hearing that the Kroomen of that part of the coast were wild and headstrong. Though the Kroo race are not slave traders, they hire to European and American ships employed in that way; and these people were probably scouts belonging to the vessel in shore.

We were off Bonny river early in August, and dropped anchor in seven fathoms, eight or ten miles from land, to wait for a pilot to take us in; for the sea on the bar was so bad at the time, owing to strong winds, that we could not attempt the passage without one. King Peppel had made application for missionaries, and I was to see him on the subject, and examine his country if a settlement could be made. The breakers were raging over all the banks between us and the shore, and the swell was so great

that our schooner, with all chain out, was pitching and rolling as in agonies, while the chain was straining as if it would part or tear the bows out of her. After waiting a day and a half, in circumstances most distressing, and seeing no prospect of the weather moderating, or of a pilot coming out to us, we resolved to weigh anchor and proceed, and return at a more favourable season. In attempting, however, to get [illegible] anchor we lost it, for the chain parted, and we had [illegible] e many larger ships had left theirs before us.

The next day we [illegible] of the Calabar, and looked out for the spit an[illegible] m Shot's point. It was the first time I had a[illegible] r from the Bonny side, and I was surprised t[illegible] clear channel, but no shoals. The captain went to the cabin to examine his chart, and I up the rigging to look about me, when, behold, we were steering for them! "Breakers ahead!" was shouted and repeated. The captain rushed up, and saw his danger. "Down the helm—hard down; brace the yards;" and the vessel quickly changed her course from east to south, to clear the reef. Yet so fast did wind and tide carry us towards it, that for some minutes we skirted it in less than three fathoms water, with the breakers around us. My heart was beating; and whose would not have been in my circumstances? Every instant we were in danger of striking, and if we had, with almost no chance of escape. But man's extremity is God's opportunity. We cried to the Lord, and he preserved us, giving us new cause of praise. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits; who redeemeth thy life from destruction." The danger passed, we opened the regular channel between it and East Head, and got up as far as Qua River before anchoring for the night. In due time, by God's great mercy, we reached our old and safe anchorage, and were heartily welcomed by all friends.

Archibong had been elected king of Duke Town. During the interregnum, Mr. Young and Duke Ephraim had also claimed the sovereignty—the former as brother to Eyamba, the latter as grandson of Eyamba's predecessor; but the one was set aside by the white people as a bad trader, and the other as a great drunk-

ard. It had been expected that Eyo Honesty would have been acknowledged king of all Calabar, and so end the rivalries and jealousies of the different towns, and promote law and order; but reasons were found for retaining the old system of two small and weak dominions; and Archibong was crowned in the school-house by Commander Selwyn of H.M.S. *Teazer*, with a velvet cap, trimmed with gold band and tassels—whites and blacks all concurring.

Paying my respects, soon after our arrival, to the new ruler, whose kingship sat very easily on him, I said, "Now, Archibong, you come up to be king for this town. I hope you will be a good king, and keep the town all proper, and mind God's day, and hear God's word, and send the children to school all time." He promised to do all that, and more; and added, "Me ring bell for church every Sunday, and go to Mr. Anderson's meeting myself, all same King Eyo do."

Though not the most polished or gallant of men, when he heard that Mrs. Waddell was in the town, he went to see her, and was very respectful. With our child he was particularly delighted, and talked and laughed with her for a long time. Being a novelty in the country, she seemed everywhere, for a while, to be the chief object of interest and attraction.

Mr. Young was recognised as next in authority to Archibong, as, in fact, secretary of state. But the two seldom agreed; and the former maintained his right to be king for black men, as Archibong was king for white. The following specimen of Archibong's way of settling palavers affords a fine illustration of his fitness to be king for either party. Mr. Anderson found two men fighting with big sticks in the mission ground, and brought them to him. One of them, who had got a broken head, and was covered with blood, was heard as complainant; and when he had done, Archibong would hear no more, but at once settled the business. "He broke your head," said he, "and why did not you break his back? Be off!" They were off in a moment. Turning to the missionary, he said, "That be proper Calabar fashion. When one man hurt tother, tother must hurt him back worse; and if a third man put in his mouth, shoot him."

At Creek Town the next day we received a grand welcome.

Our little mission ship was saluted with seven guns, to which it had no means of replying, except by three cheers. The king and every one seemed really glad to see us all. The school children flocked, in their best shirts and frocks, to meet us in the street, and we entered our home with hearts full of joy and thankfulness.

We rejoiced to find the mission work at Creek Town, and the other towns, in a go[illegible]ll departments. Young Eyo had improved, and w[illegible] hopes of his spiritual state than could have bee[illegible]rtained. He seemed to be really under divin[illegible]ding his Bible, and praying over it. His ship[illegible]id that he was a hypocrite or a fool, and was [illegible]but we distrusted their testimony. We admo[illegible]ver, to keep his heart with all diligence, as it was very de[illegible] He owned his need of the advice. "The devil is very strong in Calabar," he said, "and very strong in me too, and I find myself same as I had two hearts. One wants me to hear God's word, and do all good; tother wants me not to do so. Last Sunday, that place I sit down with my people, I have work to do; and one side my heart wants to go work, other side no will. So I sit down, and read my Bible." We were glad to find that he kept a prayer-meeting in his own house every Sabbath after the public meeting, and that some of the young men, his friends, and some of the best school-boys, attended it. The following letter to friends who had sent him presents, is an interesting memorial of his state of mind at that time:—

"My Dear Friends,—I have received all your kind presents by my dear minister, and six letters from many friends in England and Scotland. It shows how kind our heavenly Father is to me; for so far country as Scotland and England is, to give me so many kind friends as you all. I thank you all for the presents, and all the good books I have received; and I thank God our Father, and his dear beloved Son, who so love the world, as he been give his life for our sins, to deliver us from all our evil ways. And I thank God for his great care that he take of my dear beloved minister, in his great mercies of providence, such blessings from his gracious hand, to guide him home, and bring him back, and his dear wife and child, and two young friends,

and ship, and captain, and men; and lead them through the great sea, and bring them to us, to teach us more of His true word of everlasting life, which is in Jesus Christ, our dear Saviour. O my dear friends, I beg God every day and night to bring many of us into that life eternal and happiness. I am sorry to say we are in darkness yet; but as in the beginning God created the heaven and earth, and darkness was on the face of it, and God said, Let there be light, and there was light, so we was so long in the darkness of our great sins, and now the Lord send his good word to us, to lead us out of darkness. And I beg Christ our Redeemer, as the two blind men who sat by the wayside, and cried, saying, 'Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David;' so I beg our Saviour to open our blind hearts that we may receive sight, to see all his great love; for his love is so great, so full, and so free, to all who need and seek him. Also, my dear friends, I have read some parts of the books I received by my dear minister, and it seem as friends speak face to face; and I beg God to make me wise to salvation, and to give me good knowledge of his true book, and a good heart, which he has promised to all who need it, through Christ our Lord. I am glad to hear what the children of Scotland did for our mission; and I thank their ministers, and I hope God may bless them, and those they teach, for all the kindness they show to our mission, and for the ship they buy to help mission in God's work.

"I have not much more to say; but I let you all know that when I see my dear minister and his wife, and the friends he bring, we were very glad. Next morning, which was God's day, he came with all mission family to my father's yard, and our town gentlemen and people came to hear God's word. So he preach about King Solomon in Ecclesiastes, what he been say of all his labour; and then in the 12th chapter, where I been glad to hear what King Solomon say, the last words in the chapter. And I beg God our heavenly Father, O God, thou hast given us thy word of truth, to make us wise to salvation, make us understand it; grant us grace to receive it with true heart and mind, and by it, O Lord, may we become thy children to thy glory; and be thou our everlasting welfare, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

"I am very glad because some of my young friends pray to God our Father, and also the children say the Lord's Prayer, and the prayer which my minister made in our language, the children read it every morning and evening in school. I thank God and hope he will put in the hearts of many persons to love him and his dear son our Redeemer. Also I am glad to hear of England and Scotland, by our boy A[illegible] o been go there with my dear minister, and he told me [illegible] ngs that he saw. My dear friends, I hope this letter [illegible] you all in good health and happiness, by the comfort o[illegible] enly King, and with my good compliments to you all, I am [illegible] tc.,

YOUNG EYO HONESTY.

It may be asked if the writer [illegible] he foregoing letter was not a Christian? No, only almost one. He was such as the youth whom our Lord loved, who inquired the way of salvation and desired it, but was not prepared to give up all for it. We believed, however, that he was ripening for a decision, and would not hurry him to make a profession by baptism before his heart was so confirmed in the love of the truth that he could be depended on for consistent obedience to it. There were others, as hopeful as he, whom we believed to be also on the Lord's side and preparing to avow it.

Mr. Thomson took charge of the school, and it continued to flourish in his hands. We found on our return about a hundred children in daily attendance. Some of our best scholars were, however, one after another being withdrawn, the youths for trading operations, the girls to prepare for their husbands, while those who came in to fill the blank were younger, less earnest, and less regular, than their predecessors.

To improve the attendance of the scholars, and stimulate their attention to improvement, a system of daily tickets was introduced. One of these, with a verse of Scripture was given to the first boy in each class who entered the school, to the boy who swept out the school, and to the dux of each class at the close of school. A half ticket to the second. Three of these tickets were worth one Calabar copper. A weekly ticket with a picture and hymn was worth six daily ones. A larger and more stylish one, served to exchange four of these latter monthly.

Every one had the teacher's name or initials on it to confer sterling value. Our school rewards twice a year were sold for tickets, in a kind of bazaar, where every article had its price marked in tickets, and every scholar who had tickets might buy what he liked best. Thus they found the good of their tickets, and could not charge the teacher with partiality in the distribution of the prizes, nor despise what had come to their share. They acquired a money value, and were used by the children, and even their parents in small market transactions. But King Eyo, when requested to sell something for them, declined them as unsuitable for his trade, saying that paper money might do for the next generation. Though their value was fixed in market coppers we declined to give coppers for them on demand; having a high example and authority in the Bank of England, which may refuse gold for its own notes.

The young men withdrawn from school, with some of the most advanced scholars, assembled, for reading and Christian instruction, two evenings weekly in the mission house, Wednesday and Sabbath. There we read, beside the Scriptures, the "Pilgrim's Progress," several times with simple explanations, and other easy, good books. The former became ultimately the class of candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper, the latter continued to the last a delightful meeting, closing the services of the holy day.

About three months after we landed, we had the pleasure of seeing one of the hideous objects of Calabar superstition entirely discarded from Creek Town. That was the *Ekpenyong*, a sort of universal household idol formerly described. It came about thus. Discoursing on the parable of the barren fig-tree, and the danger of wearing out God's patience by continued unfruitfulness, I remarked that for three years God's word had been preached in Calabar, and as yet we saw no one give himself to the Lord to believe and obey him. The king in reply said, that the word of God had begun to grow a little in Calabar, and instanced some particulars of improvement that had been effected. He added that England, which had it more than a thousand years, did not yet altogether believe and obey it; and he hoped that God would be patient with Calabar. I mentioned some of the bad practices

still continued by the people of all ranks in the country, and pointed to the *Ekpenyong* as high in their confidence. He called it a fool thing, said that he never kept one, and he knew some others who cared little about it. I replied that it was sinful as well as foolish, and that bad people, trusting in it as a safeguard, would be encouraged to go and do bad things. Men could not ask the holy, living, and [illegible] o help them in any wickedness, but trusting i[illegible] ction and aid they were emboldened for every [illegible] d that it was so indeed, and when it was prop[illegible] d all be cast away from every house at the appro[illegible] iennial purgation, he caught at the idea as a ver[illegible] xpressed his hearty concurrence. Then came [illegible] n with the other chiefs present, who finally agreed, and it was resolved to give public notice that very day, by beat of Egbo drum, to that effect, that all might know and be prepared. The proclamation was accordingly made, and many rejoiced to hear it.

When the day arrived our fears on the subject were relieved. Ekpenyong and nabikim, devils, ghosts, and all were ordered to the river, and our school-boys boasted how they had carried them away and flung them into the water, and they made great fun of them floating down the stream, or lying on the mud banks. Instead of sending any of them home as specimens of Calabar gods, or proofs of the triumph of the gospel, which might have been misunderstood by ignorant people in both countries, I preferred they should be left in public dishonour, or split up for fire wood as the only thing they were good for. To complete the purification, the skulls and prayer basins of old water were also removed from some yards at the same time and no more seen.

It was a grief to us, however, that the Ndok ceremony was held on the Sabbath morning. I could not succeed in getting the day changed, as it had been long fixed, and must be held at the same time through the whole country, but was assured that it would be all over early. This was not the case. When the uproar subsided, at sunrise, a band of Egbo runners and attendants perambulated the town to perfect the work of purgation in every house, and kept up the disturbance till past ten o'clock.

We went to the king's yard as usual at nine, but sat long with-

out seeing him or his household. While there, one of the officials, in Egbo costume, rushed into the yard, at the sight of whom the native females cowered and hid their faces, or fled into the nearest open doors, while those of the mission house, both white and black, sat still looking at him, to his great amazement and mortification, and obliged him to hide himself in the midst of his own crowd, and sneak off discomfited. We had not intruded on him, and would concede nothing to his intrusion on us. That, and the expulsion of Ekpenyong, gave us after all some little satisfaction. Would to God the idols were abolished in their hearts!

When the company did assemble I reproved the sin of the morning in plain and strong terms, while the king, without justifying, extenuated it by many excuses, and displayed his usual skill in fencing. From the parable of the rich man and Lazarus I showed the state of departed souls, and the folly of Calabar ideas and customs concerning them.

Vaccination for the small pox had been more than once attempted in Calabar in vain. The people knew and dreaded the disease, but knew only inoculation as a means of abating it. Ship surgeons had brought lymph, put up in the customary and best known way, but failed in introducing it. Our first efforts, from matter sent carefully from Liverpool, also failed. At length, having obtained it from Dr. Husband of Edinburgh, in capillary tubes hermetically sealed, by God's blessing our efforts were successful. Yet they were not immediately successful; several attempts were in vain. When at length the virus took effect on two healthy boys in our house the pock was easily propagated from them to others, till we had vaccinated above four hundred in Creek Town alone. The difficulty found in naturalizing a European pock in African blood is worthy of consideration. Was it owing to constitutional peculiarities, or to external circumstances? Perhaps it comes under a general law known in the transference of plants and animals from one region to another, even a similar one. Under the most favourable circumstances how many efforts fail before an exotic becomes naturalized, and propagates itself. When the king and his household, seventy-two in all, were vaccinated, the other gentlemen of the town followed his example. Was it owing to

fear or respect that they waited for him? He said the former, they the latter. His confidence certainly confirmed theirs; for it was a new thing, and the very name of small pox infection was enough to alarm them. We had immense difficulties, however, in securing that those operated on should show themselves at the regular times, and in keeping our lists of the failures and successes. With those in town it [illegible] perable, for if they did not come to us we could [illegible] send for them. But when they came from farm [illegible] nd returned immediately we lost sight of many of [illegible]

Among those va[illegible] e of King Eyo's brothers. When his pock wa[illegible] d me to go to his house and vaccinate his women [illegible] was the king's eldest daughter, Ansa, living with her uncle unmarried, in short as a mere concubine; for she had neither been asked nor given, and her father and brothers were displeased about it. The king's second daughter, Inyang, and a reputed third daughter, Ebok, were living in a way little better. *Agoo*, our scholar, alone found what even that country recognised as a marriage connection. Heathen innocence! The daughter of another brother, a girl who had been exceedingly particular and troublesome in getting a gown to please her, on coming first to school, and who never deserved a second, took up with one of the king's head slaves without marriage. The king professed to be vexed about all these things, but unable to prevent them. Ah, his great object was not family religion or morality, but personal aggrandizement.

Speaking of heathen innocence, and family morality, reminds me of other cases of a different kind. Old Egbo Jack had come to live at Creek Town, and his chief wife was one day found hanging dead in her house at the farm. Some said that she had hung herself, others whispered that her husband had made her do so. She had been found with a native "doctor," or charmer, preparing "medicine" to protect her life in the event of Jack's death. He said that it was to make him die. Thenceforward he began to fear and hate her as much as he had previously regarded her; for she was a woman of ability and influence, to whom he was much indebted for his previous prosperity.

One Sabbath evening as we returned from teaching in a neigh-

bouring village a woman ran after us shouting vehemently for us to follow her. We did so, and found a woman who, having quarrelled with her husband, and being troubled in mind, had attempted to hang herself. He was jealous of her, she said, unjustly, and forbade her going to a neighbour's house. We brought her home with us, and sent for him; and so far reconciled them that they ate together before leaving our house, greatly to the entertainment of the bystanders.

The old gentleman our neighbour died about that time, and a great funeral was made for him. Amidst the professional and practised wailings we distinguished some very sincere and natural crying and screaming, and on inquiry found that one of the wives had been flogged for not crying heartily enough, which made her and all the rest redouble their efforts.

There being only a fence between his yard and ours, the incessant drumming and other noises disturbed us night and day, so that we could not sleep, and some of our family were seriously suffering from it. I went to the king to request it might stop at night. He laughed, called it "fool fashion," and sent me to Tom. Tom laughed, replied, "True, true," to all I said, and did nothing. One of the noisy crew, just as I returned to the house very ill pleased, mounted the roof of the house nearest us with his drum, and began to beat it there with the greatest vigour. When requested to go down inside his yard, as he should not make things worse than they were, he only laughed and beat away more than ever. Just then a flash of lightning, a pour of rain, and a rushing wind seemed to blow him over, midst the laughter of our household, and we saw no more of him.

That evening, accompanied by young Eyo and others, I went to the house to persuade the people to desist, and let us have one night's rest. Five or six men beat drums, and ten or twelve danced, while the surrounding crowd sang or wailed regardless of time or tune. At Eyo's desire they ceased a little to hear me speak, and then answered impudently. Their house, they said, was built before mine, and if I did not like their fashions why did I go live so near them. If my wife and child could not sleep why did they go live in Calabar, and not stay in their own

country. The deceased, they said, was my friend, and I should rather make play for him myself than hinder them. They said that I had changed too many Calabar fashions already, and did I want to change all? They could not play on Sundays, and now I wanted to prevent them playing on other days too. If I wanted to sleep at night I might go home and sleep. As for them they did not want to sleep wanted to work to-morrow. They would play as lo , and sleep when sleep catch them.

When I remonst ourselves and house were friends to all, and e d never refused to do good to any person, and least should have some feeling for my wife a slept none for three nights, one woman answered kindly, and requested the men either to be done for the night, or remove to another house further off. The men answered her roughly, and told her to take her singing and go wherever she liked. One of them said that their father who had died was a very great man, and more to be regarded than me or mine. I acknowledged his greatness, but told them that "a living dog was better than a dead lion." The company laughed at this joke, and though the spokesman got angry the rest seemed inclined to favour me.

Having gained their attention I tried to improve the opportunity, and spoke of their souls, of death and judgment, and of the Saviour of the world. They replied that was all very good, and they would hear it on Sunday, but that day was not Sunday, and they must go on with their play. By that time the drumming, and singing, and dancing, had been resumed in the next yard. We could do no more, and left them, entreating all who regarded the word of God and his servants to follow us. A good many did so; some had left before us, and the rioting and revelry gradually died out before midnight.

Young Eyo said there was not one respectable free person among them, but "lewd fellows of the baser sort," and slaves, glad to get rum and play. Our visit had a good effect on Father Tom, who sent word next day to that family that their play must stop at night and on Sunday: for which we thanked him, and thanked God who had inclined him to give us relief.

Intercession with masters for offending slaves by neutral parties had been customary in the West Indies, and was allowed also in Calabar. It probably exists in all slave-holding countries, as a necessity of the state of society. A few examples may be adduced. One day, at some public work, King Eyo ordered a man to do something. The latter grumbled and hesitated, as if he would not obey. Instantly the king took a loaded musket from one of his attendants and aimed at the man, who, ducking, escaped out of view among the crowd, and fled in a great fright to the house of Egbo Jack near by. Jack instantly flogged the man himself, and then sent him to the king and begged for his life, which was granted.

One night a man got access to the mission yard, and by his cries awoke the house. He had been long in chain, had broke the lock at last, and sought our protection. His fault was that he had torn the cloth of some chief man up the country, thereby transferring himself to him. I admonished him that whatever his original fault may have been, that of breaking chain at night made it worse, when he could have sent for me to speak to him, if he wished to ask a favour. The next day I took him to the king, who said that his original fault of running away was not his greatest. The man was a notorious thief, and was often in chain for that cause. He would forgive him on condition that I took him, and gave him his work and pay, and made a better man of him, and he would ask no hire for him; for the man was partly free, having no right master; and if he would behave himself no one would trouble him. I took the fellow on trial, put him with my Kroomen, and promised him the same food and pay if he worked the same as they. For a few days he did pretty well. Then he left me, was found in the farms stealing again, and again was put in chain, and I lost sight of him.

Another time a man came with a handcuff on one hand. He had been in chain for stealing rum, but managed to break the lock that fastened it on his neck. Eyo had immediately blown Egbo on him; and the culprit, afraid of being caught by Egbo, fled to me. I really did not like that evil-doers, as well as unfortunates, should seek safety from me; but could do nothing better than bring him back, and save him from the hands of

Egbo, requesting only that mercy might temper justice. The king forgave him, with an admonition. To allow this sort of thing to grow into a system I saw would be unwise and productive of evil, having no means of restraining or correcting the people whom I begged off. Yet I could not distinguish always between criminals and others, nor harden my heart against them on suspicion.

One very wretched lo , a lad almost starved, was found hiding at our ho and claimed pity. He had been long in chain, and nad l or relative to bring him food. Yam peelings from th ouse was all he had received for a month or two. The nexu when taken to the king, he was forgiven. But Eyo said tu 'You don't know that boy. He is a big thief, the worst in the country. Only I'm sorry for him, he would have been thrown into the river long ago." He was sent to the farm, where he would get work and food. Among other things, I told him if ever he was hungry, rather than steal, he must come to me. Some weeks afterwards, he was caught stealing out of my own yard, and did not seem in a starving condition. He was rebuked, threatened, and dismissed. Ere long he was again caught stealing from the mission-house, on a Sabbath, when we were all at public divine service. He had, with another lad, broken open a door; and both were so fat, I did not know them. Next day I took him to the king; for he deserved punishment.

Eyo laughed when he saw him, and reproached me. It was all my own fault, he said, because I begged for every bad man that came to me; and so the thieves lived on me, and grew fat. He had blown Egbo to keep all such people far from the mission-house, but I would never let him do anything to them; what could he do now? I answered that the Egbo penalty of death was too severe, and that, while I lived, no man should die for me or my house. I would break it down, and leave the country first. If Calabar had reasonable punishments, the missionaries would not screen offenders. As to my begging for break-chains and runaways, I could do no more than beg for them, and he was free to refuse. Nor could I do less; for if I did not bring them to him, they would not go back themselves—they would turn vaga-

bonds in the country, plunder, kill, and be killed. If he said that he did not wish me to beg for them, I would give up, and never beg for one again; but I did not think that either he or they would be anything the better for the change. He promptly answered, "No, no! Suppose you beg for a hundred every day, I must forgive them."

It happened opportunely that my discourse the following Sabbath was, in order, on that part of the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us," &c. It was a difficult subject in a public meeting—difficult to be plain, and not personal; difficult to draw the line where forgiveness should end and judgment begin, especially when the masters were always the judges in their own causes. Eyo said, that after all that had been said about killing people in his country, he had never seen more than three free people put to death. "How many slaves, king?" I asked. "Oh, you know that slaves be nothing here," he answered. "God counts them for something, king; he made them. Their lives are his, same as yours." "We pay our money for them," he answered again. "Then you only hire them from God, who will certainly call you to account for them, and you have to answer for their souls, as well as their bodies. Think of that, king."

My interpreter being dull, and the meeting languid, I called up the school children to say their catechism—a most suitable little catechism in their own language, prepared by Mr. Goldie. They seemed timid at first, and hesitated, till the king told them to speak out, when they acquired confidence, and answered well. This new exercise gave general satisfaction, and thenceforward it became a regular part of our Sabbath services, with benefit to all parties. After the meeting dismissed, some of the town's people came to plead their causes before him; but he refused to hear them, saying, "You don't come here for God's word this morning, but now you come fill my yard with your palavers. Take them, go your way. This day is God's, and my mouth is God's, and I no will give them to you. Better I go sleep."

Early in December 1849, H.M.S. *Rattler* came up the river, and Commander Cumming, when he came to Creek Town to visit King Eyo, honoured us at the mission-house also with a call.

He had Eyo and others to dinner same day, and asked him for some better security against human sacrifices than he had yet given. Eyo could do nothing without calling his council together, and the other could not wait two days for the purpose. In the evening there was an affray to be settled among the supercargoes, who had been fighting; and our friend T——, though not blameless, was likely to [illegible] nized among them. The affair was sought to be s[illegible] -war fashion." One of the combatants, D——, [illegible] ed:—"Why, it may not, indeed, be very legal [illegible] any man were to impute anything dishonoural[illegible] l strike him." The other was thus answered, [illegible] do if a man strike you? Why, knock him do[illegible] you can lay hold of, or blow his brains out, if you have a [illegible] ol." That was as good as Archibong's best plan of settling a fight. Though a bad lawyer, however, that commander was a gallant fellow. When one of his boys fell overboard, he plunged after him, and saved him; and with a single boat's crew he captured a slaver, when his ship was too far off to help.

When the *Rattler* had left the river, I spoke very pointedly to King Eyo and his brothers about the better securities Commander Cumming had required. There was, I said, an absolute necessity for their adopting decisive measures to prohibit human sacrifices for the future; and specified an Egbo law, which would bind the whole country. He had seen English and French men-of-war coming one after another to make palaver about it; and he might be sure they would not rest; for having stopped the slave trade, they would not let Calabar kill slaves for nothing; and man-of-war palaver was dangerous palaver for Calabar. They solemnly assured me that they would soon do what they saw must be done sooner or later; and they believed me when I said, the sooner the better.

CHAPTER XXI.

1850.

Mate of mission ship—French and English steamers in Clarence—A royal tug—Visit to Bonny—Its king; parliament-house; colonies; pilot—Grounded coming out—Sabbath in George's bay, Fernando Po—Return to Calabar—King Eyo's weekly dinner—Conduct of his guests—King of all Calabar—Revisited Bonny—Difficulties of channel in the smokes—A good Sabbath—White ladies and child there—School—Explorations—New Calabar—Return to Old Calabar—Human sacrifices abolished by Egbo law—Old town not included—Visit to old Willy Tom at his farm.

WE closed the year 1849 by visiting Bonny, to see what could be done about founding mission stations in that country, as King Peppel seemed to desire. Here we may advert to the loss of our mate, Samuel M'Ewan, who, a short time previously, had left the service of the mission to return home. He had done so when at Fernando Po with the schooner, with the captain's consent indeed, but without our knowledge. We all were sorry to lose him, for he was a very worthy, pious young man; and we blamed the captain for giving him his discharge, without affording us an opportunity of dissuading him from his purpose. It was satisfactory that he wrote, assuring me he had no complaint to make of any one; but he gave no reason for the step he took, except his anxiety to see his widowed and beloved mother. There was, however, a tone of spiritual depression about his letter, which, with certain views he had expressed to myself, his tender feelings and gentle disposition, indicated that seafaring duties were not just then congenial to his state of mind. With great sorrow we heard afterwards that he never reached home alive. He suffered from a severe accident on board the vessel in which he had shipped for England; it was lost on the coast of Wales; and he died before reaching shore.

On our way to Bonny, we called at Clarence; and while there, the *Rattler*, which had been so lately at Calabar, came in to coal. The French frigate *Caymanne*, Captain Daricot, came in the same

day for the same purpose. The next day was Sunday; and while the crew of the latter was employed in supplying his vessel from the beach, on board the former there was Sabbath rest and public worship. The commander read the church service himself, according to the "rules," after which I preached with great satisfaction to a large and attentive company. Beside the *Rattler's* own crew, there were a numl [illegible] hooner, and other vessels in harbour. In the [illegible] in the chapel ashore, and thus exhibited our " [illegible] Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Baptist, all one [illegible]

Captain Daricot, i [illegible] e man who induced King Glass at the Gaboon [illegible] commerce, which proved to be one of subjection to [illegible] ectorate, and was enforced by the bombardment of his town. [illegible] Clarence he seemed disposed to act in the same style of mixed cajolery and arrogance. With his lady he paraded the town, calling graciously at every house, even the missionary's, except that of the deputy governor, which he passed time after time with marked contempt, because he had not waited on him on his arrival. Generally, indeed, it it was said that French arrivals were not hailed as acquisitions there; for the officers spent no money in the place. Even their clothes were not given out to the women to wash, but brought to the brook behind the town by their own seamen, and washed among the professional ladies, who, no doubt, would somehow or other resent the intrusion. On that occasion, some of the young officers out fowling shot some of the domestic fowls of the settlers; and, being arrested, were sent, with their game tied round their necks, on board their ship, and received a due admonition from their captain.

The same night that we sailed for Bonny the *Rattler* started for Brass, and very kindly took us in tow. We asked only for a good offing, but the commander towed us for six hours. That was a glorious night not to be soon forgotten. On we bowled after our noble tug, through an unruffled sea, while the waters sparkled and flashed around us, from stem to stern, and the starry skies shone brilliantly overhead. How swiftly and steadily we made our way from sunset till midnight, seven knots an hour, so different from our former experiences of the same passage!

On the morning of the 24th December we anchored at Bonny, and spent that and two following days examining all the places we could hear of, as fit for a mission settlement. Peppel, who was on board a ship near us, we saw at once, and he seemed much pleased with the letter of our mission secretary, and fully resolved to have a missionary like Calabar. "Fish Town," or "Peter Fortis's" point, he thought, would be best; and so it would have been in some respects, being open to the sea breeze, at least ten feet above high water mark, and the ground composed of dry sand and shells; but it was occupied by only one small and miserably dirty village without another nearer than Bonny Town, three miles distant on the opposite side of the estuary. All beyond it was mangrove bush.

When we returned and told Peppel that it would not do he gave us the names of a number of "colonies," as he called the outlying settlements, situated along the banks of the river. In the course of our conversation I mentioned some of the bad practices of his country, which missionaries would teach them to abandon. "Very well," he answered, "the children which go to your school may do as you say; but we men must keep on same fashion as old time; for we grow for that already."

We found him in the same dark and dirty house he occupied on our former visit. But the horrid old juju house, we were glad to learn, had been accidentally, or rather providentially, burned down, and its site was occupied by a new building, which was denominated the "parliament house." The walls were sticks and wattles plastered with mud, the floor of bare earth, and the roof of thatch, so far as it was covered. Windows it had none, but the want of them was the less felt, as the doorway was not closed up, and the open spaces of the roof admitted both light and air. In a recess was an exhibition of goats' skulls, curiously painted, and carefully arranged in rows on the wall, trimmed with feathers above and curtains below. Whether they were designed to protect or adorn the house was not told, but they might serve either purpose equally well. There was a great palaver held there, that same evening, of the native and foreign gentlemen, about trade affairs; and Peppel supplied good mahogany chairs for the latter, while the former brought their own stools.

We were astir early next morning, and proceeded a few miles down the river to see a place called *Juju Town*. There an old gentleman, who sat before his door dressed in a long shirt, and blind of one eye, introduced himself as "Mr. Brown, the head man" of that place. He quite approved of our object, thought his town the best place in all Bonny for the purpose, and offered us the old slave bar[illegible]hool. The town, however, was both small and [illegible] low, and though dry just then, when everyth[illegible]d be a swamp in the rain season. There was [illegible] What the people used was brown and brackish [illegible]eons sunk down into the ground, for there w[illegible] [illegible]or stream nearer than the Ibo country, distant [illegible]ay's journey. Mr. Brown praised it, however, as [illegible]he ships used what they brought from home with them; unless they sent to Fernando Po for supply. Walking about with our new friend, who showed me the place, I observed heaps of elephants' bones here and there, which he assured me belonged to animals killed in the neighbourhood. They formerly roamed, he said, quite down to the sea side, which would indicate that the country eastward of Bonny was not all mudbanks and mangrove bush, but proper pasturage and forest.

Mr. Brown had been pilot for the river in the days of slavery, and himself a great slave dealer. He bewailed the abolition of the trade. "It was a grand thing for Bonny," he said, "better than the oil trade far." He had never seen any harm in it; nor thought what the victims of it might have to say in the matter. Indeed, he took no account of them. Whatever way they had come to be slaves, it was enough for him that they were so, to deprive them of all claim to his merciful consideration.

Though we differed on that subject we agreed on another, the benefits of education. "Book be great thing," he said; "it pass everything far; it make man's head fine; it settle all palaver." He had his eye on trade book, however, and seemed not to understand what greater good could be in God's book. Yet he admitted that to their ignorance might be attributed the many evil customs and disorders which prevailed among the negro race. He boasted that his town produced plantains and cassada, or *farina* as he

called it, though he had to send to Ibo for yams. It was much that it produced anything better than mangrove trees.

We afterwards went up the river, a few miles above Bonny, to other villages, of which the chief were *Ulêma* and *Ayámenáma*, where Ibo yams come to market. They were too nearly on a level with the river to be otherwise than swampy in the rain season. The head man of one of them said that there was higher ground beyond it, but nothing of the kind was visible; and as poisonous snakes were said to lurk in the grass, and the boa constrictor in the bush, we did not care to push our explorations far in that direction for the sake of a few feet more or less. In both places the people procure their "good water" in the way already described; and at that time the water holes were so dry, that in every one a little boy was standing, who scooped out the precious liquid as it soaked through the ground, and handed it in cupfulls to the women waiting around.

At almost every door of these villages were great quantities of small coarsely made blue clay cups, which might contain about a pint each. They were ranged along to dry in the sun, and women were busy making them, which they did very rapidly. In them salt was sent up the country to market. Baskets made of palm leaves, and holding about a quart each, are used for the same purpose at Calabar. Blue clay seemed to be the subsoil at Bonny, and much darker in the colour than at Calabar.

That was Christmas day, and Dr. M'Losky who had accompanied me remarked, that while dear friends at home were enjoying the festivities of the season, we could mark the day as well and agreeably spent, in endeavours to found a mission settlement, which might be the centre of Christian light to the dark regions around.

The following day I had much conversation with Peppel and his chiefs at their own houses; but could not get them together to have their united opinion and decision on some points of importance. The king was abrupt and hurried, and would have it that no more was needed, and the mission house must be put up, somewhere in his country, within a twelvemonth. I promised only to report my observations to our Board of Missions, and see him again. He would not hear of our extending our mission to the Ibo country, where a better climate and a larger population could be found, while certainly no European family could make their abode in any

of the places I had seen. A floating residence for a white missionary, and natives of the coast settled as teachers in the different villages, seemed the only practicable method that could be devised to evangelize that country.

It was late in the afternoon when we left Bonny, and nearly dark when abreast of the great sandbank called Breaker's Island. From that point there [illegible] iels outward, the windward running south-west [illegible] guese, or leeward channel," eastward. Both a [illegible] and bordered by shoals, over which, in ordinary [illegible] eaks everywhere, leaving the passages pretty wei [illegible] t time the sea was perfectly smooth and the cl [illegible] hable. Our skipper thought he had opened th [illegible] his course; when suddenly the water shallowed from [illegible] homs to eight, and five, and ere he could put the schooner about we struck on a bank over which we found only eight feet. For a moment we were stunned. As usual in such cases the anchor was let go, very unnecessarily, and at the risk of damaging the schooner's bottom, if she should thump upon it, and then we hasted to lighten the vessel by throwing out the pig iron which ballasted her. The tide was ebbing, and the shocks we received, as the swell of the sea lifted and let us fall on the hard ground, seemed enough to spring the masts, or start the rudder post, and made my poor heart jump every time. By God's mercy we received no injury; and in a few hours, when the tide began to rise, the moon to shine, and a land wind to blow, we were able to set sail and away. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits."

We sailed for George's Bay, on the west side of Fernando Po, intending to purchase a few thousand yams for the use of the mission schooner and our houses at Calabar. It was Sabbath forenoon when we got there, and we found before us two oil ships from the rivers, laying in supplies of yams and water for their homeward voyage. It grieved us to see their boats employed towing off their puncheons from the beach, and to hear the working song resounding over the bay. Immediately a respectful written invitation was sent to the captains and crews of both, intimating public divine service on board our vessel at noon, and requesting the attendance of as many as could come. No one favoured us with

his company, but our testimony to the day of God was not lost, for no more work was done.

Seeing those ships before us we feared we should not soon procure the quantity of yams we needed; but the blessing of God maketh rich, and in two days we bought more than those two ships had bought in a week, including the Sabbath. On Tuesday night we sailed, and several canoes even followed us and put their provisions on board while we were going out of harbour, though we had not the kind of goods they wanted, trusting us to pay them when the schooner returned.

Early in January we got back to Calabar, and King Eyo's weekly dinner came round. Since the meeting on board the *Rattler*, indeed, since the fight among the captains and supercargoes previously, I had not met, and did not care to meet some of them. To avoid misconstruction, however, it was needful to show face among them, and determine the extent of our acquaintanceship. In that respect the meeting in the king's house served its purpose, showing who were disposed to continue friendly, and who to stand off.

At the dinner table some one observed that wine glasses were never put down of late, as formerly. Eyo replied that gentlemen had so long disused them, his steward must have thought they and the brandy were no longer required. He then referred to the former period, when some "gentlemen" would be singing and dancing, and others quarrelling, through his house before dinner, and after dinner hardly able to go back to their ships. I trusted that such a change for the better as had taken place would continue, a sentiment that I was glad to perceive was approved of by some present, and opposed by none.

After the "river gentlemen" had left, Eyo said to me, in reference to the row at Archibong's table, "They must take care and not fight in my house, or I must fine them." On that subject I heard the following anecdote of former manners. At Eyo's table, on one occasion, the "white gentlemen" began to throw tumblers and salt-stands at each other's heads. Eyo arose and left the room, muttering, that if they could not behave like gentlemen in his house they had better leave it. One of the senior captains,

more sober and prudent than the rest, admonished his fellows that things had gone too far, followed the king, apologized, and brought him back to the head of his table.

I waited till all had gone to ask Eyo if the report was true that he had written to the king and chiefs of Duke Town, asserting his right to the supreme authority in Calabar. He answered, "Yes." I told him that not on[illegible] Duke Town rulers offended thereby, but some [illegible] so. "Why so?" he replied. "I take no more t[illegible] e. He make me king, when he make me pass u[illegible] nd power. When young I was nobody, for I wa[illegible] as long before I set up as a gentleman. I p[illegible] trade and worked, at first a little and then m[illegible] made I put down. When ships come I trade with their money, and when they go away I trade with my own; and so I come up to be king of Creek Town, and now pass every man in all Calabar. I don't make myself king for country, God make me."

"Very good what you say, king; it's all true. You are fit to be king of all Calabar, and God has made you so. After this, when I ask you to do what is right and good, as God commands and you know to be proper, you must not send me to Archibong and everybody to get their consent, saying you can do nothing without them; but use the riches and power that God has given you to serve and honour him more than ever before." To this view of the matter his majesty made no reply.

The mission vessel required to go again to Bonny in the end of January to receive the supplies sent from home. It seemed, on various grounds, very desirable that the friends at Duke Town would take the benefit of that trip to sea; but, as they were either indisposed or unprepared to do so, I had to go again myself. Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller accompanied me for the benefit of a change of air.

It was the "smoke season," and the haze was so dense that when we believed ourselves off Bonny bar we could not find our way in. The wind was so light, and the sea so smooth, that not a breaker was to be seen, yet we were on the edge of the banks, and for three days skirted them, literally groping our way with

lead in hand. No land could be seen till the captain went off in his gig and pulled shorewards, when he guessed we must be near the outlet of the Portuguese Channel. His conjecture was right, and a ship looming through the haze, to our great joy, approached us, and showed our way.

"We must not halloo till out of the wood." Pushing on in the dark to make up for lost time we missed our way again, and finding our soundings decreasing had to drop anchor till morning. Before morning, however, a very stiff *harmatan* from the north-east arose and drove us so that the schooner dragged her anchor, and surged and strained on the chain as if she would break it. Had it parted the breakers, now roaring over the *Baleur* bank to leeward, told us our probable fate, for we had not a second. The good Lord, however, still protected us, and on the 1st of February we got safely into the river.

The ships with our supplies were not arrived, and, waiting for them, we spent two Sabbaths at Bonny. On both occasions we preached twice in different vessels to large and attentive audiences, composed of crews of various ships with their captains. How different that was from the custom in Calabar, where different crews are never allowed to meet and mingle; where, indeed, the worship of God on board had long been unknown in any vessel. Seamen and officers most readily and respectfully received the word of exhortation, and the tracts that were distributed among them. The supercargoes were generally most kind and attentive, and one of the seamen, as we passed his ship, cried out, "O ma'am, it does our hearts good to see you here; it puts us in mind of our own wives and children at home." How sweet, and purifying, and elevating, are the holy family affections!

The first day that we went ashore, a crowd of people of both sexes and all ages gathered on the beach to see the white women and child; and by shouting, laughing, and clapping of hands, expressed their joy and admiration. The multitude increased every moment, and followed us to the king's house, where a servant set chairs for us, and said "his majesty" would soon come. Soon, accordingly, he came, in a new blue coat, white shirt, and striped trousers, but without shoes or stockings. It was amusing to observe the mingled airs of importance, bashfulness, and desire

to do the polite and agreeable, with which he saluted the ladies, and the degree of embarrassment that their presence seemed to cause him.

The child seemed the chief object of attraction, especially to the female part of the crowd that surrounded the house, and when its mother took it to the front, and intimated by signs that it was hers, they cheered her vo[illegible] ould not fail to be struck at the true maternal s[illegible] ht manifested by all the sex before us, rude as [illegible] then one of Peppel's wives peeped through a [illegible] hind, and made signs to the child to approach [illegible] tter unsuspiciously did, then snatching her up [illegible] off with her, without leave asked or given. [illegible] her and her companion followed, alarmed for her safety. But there was no cause for alarm; and they soon found her among the ladies of the inner chamber, where they were all great friends in a moment.

In their absence Peppel was very particular in his inquiries about my family, wishing to know if both the women were my wives, and who and what the younger one was, in whom he seemed so interested as to make some of us smile to each other. The reappearance of the ladies, however, put an end to this little pleasantry, and we went out to show them the town, and call on the "big gentlemen."

The crowd surrounded us in the streets, but were really not troublesome, except by their babel of merry voices. The little girl walking with her hand in mine was still the great object of attention, and tenderly did the attendant, whom Peppel had sent with us, lift her over every puddle. The women displayed their genuine natures, stooping down with smiles of affection and delight to gaze in her face and take her hand, then clapping their own breasts, and laughing with joy. Their gestures expressed in words would have been, "Bless the buckra pickaninny, who has come from a far country to see us, and is not afraid to walk our town." There was not one, in all that mob of uncouth humanity, that would have hurt a hair of her head had she been alone among them.

The chiefs on whom we called were Manilla Peppel, Ana Peppel, Captain Hart, Dappo, and others. The first named, uncle

to the king, and a "big man" indeed in every respect, out of care for our convenience, roared at the people about his door, and scattered them like chaff. The last, a kind fatherly old man, made excuse for their eager curiosity, but evaded them by taking us to another apartment. Wherever we called, intelligent youths came to us for a reading lesson, and it was well we had cards printed expressly for this visit, and entitled, "Grand Bonny First Reading Book." Who can tell the consequences of those first lessons? The beginnings of great events are often imperceptible.

The "Bonny gentlemen" dressed better than those of Calabar. In addition to their native waist cloths they had new flannel shirts, and over all good white or striped cotton shirts, which made them look both comfortable and respectable. The women in general also surpassed those of Calabar, in the extent of their clothing, having each a long and very full made petticoat. But the houses were miserably inferior, consisting of labyrinths of dark rooms and narrow passages, the entrances and outlets of which were not closed by doors, but obstructed by high barricades or styles, not easily surmounted. We should have had lamps to see our way through them.

We arranged to keep school the following day in the "Parliament House;" but when the time came found it preoccupied by a great palaver between the chiefs of the ships and the shore. One of the latter, however, gave us his house for the purpose; and in the front room of it our ladies, with one of our clever Calabar boys assisting, opened school, prepared to teach all and sundry who should desire a lesson, while I attended the other meeting which seemed not less important to the objects of our mission. For three hours the rival meetings divided the town. Many young men of good standing as traders, preferred their books to town palavers that day; not uninfluenced, perhaps, by the charming novelty of white women for teachers. It was, indeed, rather a confused school, not only the house but the street also being full of boys and girls, old and young, shouting A, B, C. They learned, however, something more and better than the alphabet; and the seeds of divine truth sown that day will, by the divine blessing, we hope, be found after many days.

The business which occupied the attention of the elders of the

town was, the right of white people to ascend the river and visit the interior. Four of the captains had lately made an excursion up to the towns in the Ibo country, whence part of the palm-oil comes to Bonny. They went for two days, not towards the Niger, but in a north-east direction towards the Calabar river; and they reached a country with clear streams, high and cultivated ground, clean towns, pure air, and a [illegible] eople; who were delighted to see white men, [illegible] very attention, and anxious to prolong their sta[illegible] ncipal market town, seemed like home in comparison [illegible] There they saw about two hundred canoes eng[illegible] n [illegible] e, and remained a night and day. On the fifth [illegible]

The king and ch[illegible] IBO [illegible] highly displeased with the excursionists, and alarmed at this intrusion on their preserve; and they trumped up a story, that the Ibo people were dying by hundreds, especially the women and children, frightened to death by the sight of white men; while many of the slaves, they said, had fled into the bush, and could not again be found. For that reason, Peppel said, the Ibo rulers had stopped trade with Bonny, till compensation should be made them, and he had stopped trade with the ships till they defrayed the damage.

The supercargoes treated this story as a fabrication; and not only refused to pay the fine, but, since the king had forbidden the canoes going to the ships, they blockaded the creek leading to his town, and suffered none to pass out or in. Peppel talked big at the meeting, and insisted on the embargo he had laid on the trade of the river, till the fine were paid. The senior captain replied, that they would fine him for unjust detention; as they had given him no proper cause to interfere with them. After some further hot debate the chiefs advised their king to moderate his tone; and in conclusion it was agreed to resume trade, provided the shipping did not attempt to open trade with Ibo; and to withdraw the demand for compensation, unless the Ibo people persisted in enforcing it on their part.

The account those gentlemen gave of the country they visited, entirely agrees with what we have ourselves seen and heard of the same district, between the Calabar and Niger; and the jealousy of white men exploring it, displayed at Bonny, is matched by the

fears of the Calabar people, that their commerce would be thereby destroyed. Such misapprehensions on the part of the coast tribes present a great obstruction to the advance of our missionary operations into the interior, and can be overcome only by long continued patience, and prudence, and forbearance, on our part, with entire separation of our proceedings, as Christian evangelists, from those of our countrymen, whether in the royal or mercantile marine. The natives must be assured that they may receive the Christian teachers without ruining their worldly interests.

While we were detained waiting for the expected vessels an opportunity offered for my visiting the town of *New Calabar*. It is westward from Bonny twenty to thirty miles, on another outlet of the Niger, which though wide is so shallow, and abounds so in sandbanks, that only small vessels of two hundred tons can ascend it. It was considered one of the most unhealthy places on the coast, and the mortality was so great that Consul Beecroft subsequently directed the vessels trading thither not to ascend the river, but anchor in the estuary within range of the sea breeze. The banks are clothed all the way up with mangroves.

I accompanied Captain G——, who had a barque there loaded and ready for sea, and went to square accounts with the natives. The latter immediately came off to receive their parting presents, and seemed a fine set of men, equal in *physique* to any others on the coast, though living in the midst of swamps. King *Amacree* was a great strong fellow. It seemed as if heat and moisture promoted animal as well as vegetable growth.

The town, where we soon landed, is on a low sandbank, at the junction of two streams; and was then, probably is still, stockaded all round with strong and high posts driven into the ground at the water's edge. Opposite the door of every house was a narrow entrance between them, which was closed at night, but whether to protect from human enemies or from alligators was not said. The dry hard sand on which the town stood was clean, without gardens or fences round the houses. And in the centre was an open space with the town tank, a pond of dirty looking water. The houses were, in shape, unlike any others I had seen on the coast, being simply like our common barns; but constructed of

poles stuck close together into the sand, not plastered, but lined inside with mats, with partitions of the same, and thatched with palm leaves.

There was something like an Egbo play going on when we landed, but of an inferior description to that witnessed at Old Calabar. The common people enioved it. but the chiefs took no part. *Barboy*, on whom we [illegible] t man, was dressed in a long blue velvet shirt [illegible] which he looked majestic. I explained to him t[illegible] station at Bonny, and the first principles of [illegible] d us with seeming interest, and repeated what [illegible] around, who evidenced not a little surprise at t[illegible] lid not attach too much importance to that d[illegible] iteness.

King *Amacree*, though less disposed to the kind of complaisance referred to than the other, was most attentive to our discourse, and perfectly agreeable. What struck him most was the accountability of our souls to God after death, and their eternal state. He asked about these things again and again. The existence of a supreme God, the creator of all things, was acknowledged as a primary self-evident truth; but of our relation to him, our condition as sinners, and the judgment to come no ideas existed at all. Of course the gospel of salvation was not understood or appreciated.

At New Calabar, as at Bonny and some other places on the coast, the people all wore charms about their necks, to preserve from sudden calamities. But though of the same stock as the Bonny people, and speaking the same language, some of their customs are different. For instance, books and pictures are *juju*, or sacred, as also flowered or figured cloth or earthenware. Such things cannot be traded in or made common. They are lodged in the *juju* house, where I saw them arranged along the walls; with carved figures, and such like. That might be the reason that no one there would take a reading card, or attempt a lesson. Of course no school could be established among them. How many and diversified the hindrances that Satan interposes to the spiritual improvement of mankind. It was well, however, that human skulls were not piled up in their *juju* house.

Before we left Bonny we had a number of the chiefs to breakfast with us on board our schooner, and they conducted themselves

very well at table. King Peppel would not come. I reminded him that it was the second time he had refused my invitation, and I would not ask him again. Promptly and sharply he replied, "Me, me! go to breakfast! No, no! I have too much trade to mind. You no fit to make breakfast for me. Which captain make breakfast for me must kill bullock. I like to see table choke full."

Glorious news awaited our return to Old Calabar. Our friend T—— hastened down the river to meet us, and announce that Dagon had fallen before the ark of God—the bloody superstition of human sacrifices for the dead had been abolished by Egbo law through all Calabar; and all the white people had become perfectly reconciled. The events which had led to this blessed result were these :—

Efiong Basy and Erem Cuffy of Duke Town had died, and been buried according to old custom, many of their slaves and wives being killed for them. When this came to the knowledge of the Rev. Mr. Anderson, by an escaped slave, he communicated it to the ship captains; and he learned also from them, that a number of Cuffy's slaves were chained in his yard, for the purpose probably of being killed in like manner. Receiving no satisfaction from Archibong, Duke Ephraim, and other native rulers with whom he remonstrated on the subject, he succeeded in arousing the gentlemen of the shipping, to join him in endeavours to prevent further massacres. The following morning ten captains, surgeons, and missionaries met to consult what was to be done; and in the evening nineteen white gentlemen, representing the cause of humanity, proceeded in a body to the rulers of the town, to condemn the murders already committed, and plead against the continuance of such barbarities. The black gentlemen, after attempting various evasions, yielded so far as to say, that if king Eyo and all Creek Town agreed to make an Egbo law, to forbid such doings for the future, they also would agree. This was the very point aimed at, and next morning the friends of humanity proceeded to Creek Town. King Eyo and his counsellors received them most cordially, concurred in the proposed measure, and appointed a day to meet the Duke Town gentry on board ship, to accomplish the object with the greater unanimity.

On the 12th February that important meeting, of all the native authorities of the two towns with the Europeans, was held, and, after much discussion of the great question under consideration, the two kings and twenty-six of their principal men signed an engagement to abolish for ever, by Egbo law, the practice of human sacrifices in Old Calabar. Three days after that meeting the law was procla solemnities, in Duke Town by a procession of s, and in Creek Town, the day after, by a sin m Duke Town. Thus the two towns became ther, and guarantees for the observance of thei .

On the first Sabl n from Bonny I addressed the slaves in refe ntly made in their favour. They were now somebodies in the world, and could never again be killed for nothing. If they behaved well they might live, like their masters, as long as God pleased, and should therefore be good, and do good, for their masters, themselves, and their children. They might now endeavour to improve their condition in the world, whether by farming or trading, having some security for their lives and labours. No longer should they say, "I don't care," when told of their sins and danger. They should care, and endeavour to do right before God and man, as they must give account in the day of judgment. Especially they should look to God, and praise him as the author of their mercies, and acquaint themselves with him and be at peace; should serve and obey him, that more good might come to them. Their diligence in learning his word, keeping his commandments, and believing the gospel of salvation, would best prove their gratitude for the deliverance accomplished on their behalf. After reproving some of their gross vices, I told them that their being slaves did not hide them from God's eye, nor do away with their responsibility to him, nor exclude them from his mercy; for God was no respecter of persons. Whether free or slave, if men repented and believed the gospel they would be saved, and if not they would be lost eternally. The closest attention was paid to the address by all present, and some of the "gentlemen" commended the exhortation as very good.

The "river gentlemen" and missionaries had banded themselves

together to obtain that Egbo law, and having obtained it constituted themselves a Society to watch over its operation, and promote the abolition of other inhuman customs, such as the poison ordeal, the destruction of twins, and substitutionary punishments. It did not exist very long, its incongruous elements not cohering; but was of some use for a time.

Soon it was rumoured that the new law had been violated both at Old Town and Duke Town, and our Society, being called together by its secretary, Mr. Anderson, took action in the matter. Ten slaves had recently been killed, it was said, for their master in Duke Town, for whom twenty had been put to death before the new law was made. Of that transaction, however, the proofs were deficient, and we required to investigate further before moving. Of the affair at Old Town there was no doubt; but a difficulty arose with regard to the application of the law to that place. When Captain R——, our president, told King Eyo about the Old Town murders, we learned with astonishment that the Egbo law was not in force there, not having been proclaimed. Its chief, Willy Tom Robins, being at his farm for a long time, had not been consulted, and, of course, had not consented; and without his consent the law could not take effect there. *Otu George*, his second, the very man suspected of having made the sacrifices, had declared that the law did not reach him, and he could still do as he pleased.

That seemed a very extraordinary state of matters; and we all felt not a little indignant that Old Town should have been exempted from the operation of the law, which was designed to reach the whole country. King Eyo pleaded that he could not control the affairs of that town, as its chief was independent. Any usurpation of his authority would be a violation of Egbo principles, and be repelled by Egbo penalties. Willy Tom and his chiefs must consent before the Egbo could be sent to their town with the law. To obtain his concurrence, therefore, Mr. Edgerley and I were deputed to visit him at his farm.

The Old Town plantations are situated on the upper part of the Qua river, which rises among the Qua mountains, and flows through a well wooded country, sparsely peopled, into the Calabar river near its mouth. Our expedition was performed in the large

boat, *John Robson*, the elegant gift to the mission of the young people of Wellington Street Congregation, Glasgow. By sails and by oars we succeeded in getting not only down to the mouth of the Qua river the first day, but a considerable way up before coming to anchor for the night. No, I am wrong in referring to the anchor, we never used or needed it; for, proceeding gloriously, as we th[illegible] il before a fair wind, under a bright moon, ar[illegible] e stream, we suddenly discovered that we [illegible] ogged in a great mud flat, and the river ru[illegible] us. The men jumped out to haul the boat [illegible] unk in the mire themselves without moving it [illegible] de discovered our situation, with nothing but [illegible] the eye could see. What could we do but eat our supper, say our prayers, and go to sleep, till the next tide should rise sufficiently to carry us forward.

What a contrast presented itself when, awaking about midnight, I crept from under the awning and looked around. Upwards, the moon in the zenith shone with rare splendour in the unclouded heaven; downwards, there lay our beautiful barge buried in a lake of mud. The wide river had dwindled to a rivulet, seen like a silver thread in the moon's ray, under the wooded banks far off. Not a living thing was to be seen or heard; not even an alligator grunting his displeasure at our obtruding on his haunts. The silence and solitude were perfect, and very solemnizing.

About three o'clock, or four, the tide had risen sufficiently to float us off, and aided by it we made good way, passing about sunrise a well wooded island, to which we gave the name of "Robson." At nine o'clock we reached the village of "Qua Landing," only a few miles from Old Town, and there anchored while the tide ebbed, and made ready breakfast.

As we advanced in the afternoon, some miles above that place, the stream narrowed so much that the flood tide overtook us in the manner of a bore, rushing and roaring in a succession of foaming waves, which alarmed our boatmen, unused to anything of the kind in our Calabar river. The spring tide, pouring into the wide mouth of the river below, and contracted in the narrow channel above, doubtless produced that effect; and it served us well, lifting our boat and speeding us on our way.

From Willy Tom's landing place we had five or six miles to walk to his farm. The sun was then low, however, and the thick wood through which our path lay sheltered us from his beams, so that the distance could be passed without fatigue before dark. A girl from Old Town was there waiting for company, and availed herself of ours to go to the farm. She took the lead, and stepped out with great energy, silently and quickly, like one agitated in mind, so that we had enough to do to keep pace with her. She had cause to be troubled, poor thing, having heard bad news. Her two fathers, parent and owner, having disputed which had the best right to her services, the former, in a fit of passion, had poisoned himself the day before we went thither. When he had swallowed the fatal dose he went to his master and said, "Palaver set now; I'm going;" then lay down and died. Old Willy seemed to feel very much about it, when he told us, saying, "I cry plenty for that man."

The plantation was of great size, laid out in provision grounds, and well cultivated, with high woods visible on all sides; the ground not hilly, but undulating, and rather elevated. The village was considerable, and its inhabitants came forth to salute us. The old gentleman received us most hospitably, and at once showed us into a small inner yard, where were set chairs and table, a brass pan, a tankard of water, and a towel. Though open to the sky it was close to all else; and there, in the calm, cool, evening air, as the full moon was rising, we refreshed ourselves, first with washing, and then with supper and prayers. He had invited two neighbours to sup with us, and his table was well covered, and well served, considering, as he said, that he lived so far in the bush. So mindful was our host of the duties of hospitality, that he sent a great calabash, full of "Calabar chop" well dressed, and a pot of fire, all the way to the river side, for the men left in charge of the boat, who, though they had eaten their own supper ere it arrived, managed to get through it too. When we wished to introduce the business that had led us to his place he desired rather, as we were tired, that we should defer it till next morning. In due time we found a room ready for us, opening off that little yard, the only room that did open off it, in which we found two beds, hard indeed, having only mats laid on boards,

but very welcome to our weary frames; and we slept soundly till dawn of day.

Next morning we read to Willy Tom the letter with which we were charged, and discoursed largely with him on the same subject. He gave us, in reply, satisfactory assurances, and promised to return soon to Old Town, and arrange everything with King Eyo. When we were le ted us to the extremity of his farm, and sent th a large present of goats and yams, to our bo he village of "Qua Landing," we left the boat, an e isthmus, only four or five miles, through sev ts, to Old Town; where, finding our friend t, I proceeded with him at once to Creek Town, y journey home in half the time it had taken us to go.

I cannot close this account of our trip up the Qua river without mentioning that the cultivation of cotton might be easily, and to all parties advantageously, introduced in that part of the country. The article, of a good quality, already grows wild in the country. Extensive tracts of land may be easily obtained in a state of nature. And there is a large idle population, on the Duke Town farms, in the same district of country, the half of which is virtually free. Some of these people belonged to families now extinct. Many of them were landed from slave ships when, pursued by British cruisers, to save the ship the cargo was sacrificed. These people, though sent to the farms and employed, knew very well that they did not belong either to Duke Ephraim or to King Eyamba. The people on that river have no oil trade, and could open a new branch of foreign commerce without injury to that already so prosperous. Kroomen could be obtained in any number, if necessary, to commence the work; and a model cotton plantation, in good working order there, would probably induce the resident population to commence and carry on the cultivation of the plant. The merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, however, whose business it is, must employ their own agents, and expend some money freely to further their object, and not depend on missionaries, who have another and still more important work already in hand, which they cannot neglect.

CHAPTER XXII.

1850.

Horrid doings at Creek Town—Dealings with King Eyo and others—Duties of masters and servants—"Free emigration scheme," and slave trade—Distress of Baptist mission at Clarence, and our visit thither — Egbo laws, and dealings with King Eyo about them—Sunday markets abolished—Church building begun at Creek Town—Queer scenes—Letter about schools and twin mothers.

WE found the mission family at Creek Town, on our return from Willy's farm, dreadfully agitated by several horrible occurrences which had taken place during the three days of our absence. First, a poor youth had been put to death by Egbo, though guilty of no crime, as a substitute for a free man, who had stolen and sold one of King Eyo's slaves. The head of the innocent victim was exhibited to the chiefs of Egbo, in Creek Town, and then sent to Duke Town for the same purpose, while the body was left exposed for birds and beasts of prey.

When Mrs. Waddell heard of the transaction, she went to the king to request that the body might be interred. In that country, persons publicly executed never found a grave. He promised it should be done; but the body was merely thrown aside into the bush. In the evening, Mr. Thomson went to George Eyo, the master of the murdered youth, to procure men to bury it. George gloried in having given a man to save a friend, and refused to send people for the object in view, but consented to hire them; and at length the corpse was interred—the first time, perhaps, that a slave victim had ever there received the respect due to our common humanity.*

* It was on that poor youth, *Ade Esien*, that a number of spirited verses, from the pen of my friend Mr. Thomson, appeared in the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* of the United Presbyterian Church, December 1855, of which I quote the following as a specimen:—

"Hark, the fell sound! they come! they come!
One sold by beat of Egbo drum
This day is doomed to die.
No blood spots on his hand are found;
'Tis not for crime that he is bound.
Who said so he did lie.

Another murder had been committed the following night, by order of King Eyo, in a different way. The offender was a slave belonging to Father Tom, the king's eldest brother. His fault was the same as that of the freeman. But there was no need for an Egbo ceremony or a substitute in his case. He was tied hands and feet, and thrown into the river.

A third shocking [illegible] had taken place, different from, but not less t[illegible] thers, and filled the mission family with horro[illegible] used of interchanging messages with some o[illegible] —an offence he never forgave —had first killed l[illegible] icion of her having betrayed him; and then, [illegible] himself, had mangled his face and neck in a[illegible] h kept him a day and night in agonies ere he expired.

Greatly distressed by these things, Mr. T. and I went next day to have some dealings about them with King Eyo and his brother George. The latter was not at home; but we obtained a private interview with the former. We spoke first of his brother's slave whom he had drowned, and said that the punishment was too great for the offence. To kill a man was worse than to sell him, as it could have no remedy; and he punished the less crime by committing the greater. His conduct was not clear also in another respect. He bought slaves without inquiry—knowing that the most of them were stolen; and thus rewarded some men-stealers, while he killed others. Even he could not say that both were right; for they were contradictory. In my mind, both were wrong. God's law had, indeed, condemned the man-stealer to die, but it condemned also to death whoever bought and held the stolen man. If he put his brother's slave to death under the first

"On, on, the pinioned victim comes;
A hundred bells, a hundred drums,
Greet him with hideous noise;
While frantically round they rush,
And slap him with their Egbo bush,
Nor heed his piteous cries.

"Hither and thither round they wheel,
And brandish oft the threatening steel,
Yet still protract the deed.
Oft hold the crowds their breath in vain—
The weapon glitters yet again:
O mercy! bid it speed."

part of the law, God held *him* to be worthy of death under the second part. How, then, we asked him, could he stand before the Lord with that law hanging over his head, and new slaves coming daily into his hands. He was a partner with the men-stealers of other countries, while punishing a man-stealer with death in his own. We pressed this view of the case closely and firmly on his conscience.

The king maintained the utmost composure, paid respectful attention while we spoke, and then answered calmly in his own defence. He wished that he could do without slaves—it would be better for him; but, as the country stood, that was impossible. He did not employ men to steal slaves for him; nor would he knowingly buy those which were stolen. He bought them in the market, at market price, without being able to know how they were procured; and would let no man steal them from him. He admitted that they were obtained in various objectionable ways, and even expatiated on the subject. They came from different countries, and were sold for different reasons—some as prisoners of war, some for debt, some for breaking their country's laws, and some by great men, who hated them. The king of a town sells whom he dislikes or fears; his wives and children are sold in turn by his successor. A man inveigles his brother's children to his house, and sells them. The brother says nothing, but watches his opportunity, and sells the children of the other. He admitted that they were kidnapped also; but said that they came from different far countries, of which he knew nothing, and in which they had no other trade. Calabar people did not steal, but only bought, slaves. He concluded by saying, that he had so many, that his new people, if he did not protect them with a strong hand, would be constantly sold away again by the old ones, and reported to him as dead.

After replying to his excuses and defences, we spoke of the other crime that had been committed—the murder of George Eyo's boy. He was silent while we condemned, in very strong language, that public crime. The land, we said, continued to be defiled with innocent blood—a high offence in the sight of God, which he had always particularly avenged.

The king condemned the deed, and said that it was not by his

will that his brother George had given his slave to die; that he wished the friends of the guilty person to pay the Egbo fine among them, and understood that they had agreed to do so; but he supposed that, as usual, they found it cheaper to buy some worthless slave to take the offender's death, and die in his stead.

We again declared the abhorrence with which the Lord regards the shedding of innocent blood [illegible] read from his Bible on the table, "that the son sho[illegible] the sin of his father, nor the father for the sin [illegible] that every one should bear his own iniquity." [illegible] d, I said, the blood of the slave was as good as tha[illegible] er; and their own law and custom said the sam[illegible] ng [illegible] ccepted the one instead of the other. God was the [illegible] judge of both, and had declared that he would require the blood shed at the hand of every blood-shedder. We knew that the country "gentlemen" did not like white people to know their doings; but from us, who lived among them, such things could not be concealed. Without obtruding, we must know—having eyes, and ears, and tongues. When he called for missionaries to teach them, he doubtless desired men able and willing to do so, and not "dumb dogs," who would let everything go on as before. We were bound to be faithful to him, as teachers of God's true word for his salvation; and as we could not speak all things publicly on Sabbath before the mixed multitude, we must speak some things to himself and chief men in private.

He replied, that he liked us to speak to him about anything that we saw wrong, repeated his assurance that it was not by his desire, or with his knowledge, that the man had been executed, and spoke of his constant endeavour to reduce the system of killing which had formerly prevailed. Then he digressed to speak of the difficulty of managing slaves, their inveterate badness, which no moderate punishment could cure, and the necessity for strong laws and government, without which neither he nor we could live in the country. But for his constant efforts, he said, we could get no one to hear God's word on Sabbath. For his own part he wished to know and do what was best before God and man, as far as he could.

Acknowledging his personal attention and respect to ourselves,

and to the preaching of God's word, and the safety we enjoyed in his town, we at the same time assured him that the progress and power of that word did not depend on the favour of any man. It was wont, with the blessing of God, to make its way unaided, even against opposition. With it missionaries feared not to go into all countries, speaking truth and doing good to every man. Our security, therefore, and the progress of God's word, needed not that the slaves should be treated unjustly or harshly. They would be better, and the country safer, were they more mercifully governed, with a due regard to their lives and comfort. They would not become insufferably bad, as he supposed, nor would leniency be lost on them.

The foregoing is but an outline of what passed between us. His self-command, ingenious and ready replies, and freedom of speech were uncommon, and he succeeded in impressing us with an idea of his honest sincerity, in spite of our previous strong doubts to the contrary. No appeal to the Searcher of hearts could be more solemn than his, that he hated blood-shedding and wanton cruelty, and desired to stop the waste of human life so awfully prevalent in that country.

George Eyo, whom we failed to see in the forenoon, came to our house in the afternoon, with the utmost assurance talking and laughing, as his way was. Marching up to where I sat writing, he shouted, "My friend!" and held out his hand. "No, George; I cannot shake hands with you," I replied; "I have something to say to you first." Duncan, who was with him said, "He comes for payment for the men who buried the body." "Pay him, then, whatever you promised." When he had got his coppers I spoke to him in strong terms of his criminality in giving up that poor innocent lad to die for his brother-in-law, whereby he was guilty of murder; and rung in his ears the cry of the victim, "What have I done that my father sends me to die? They go kill me for nothing." After the word of God had been spoken weekly in that town for four years, such atrocities were without excuse. Knowingly he had committed one of the most dreadful crimes which God abhored, and the innocent blood of that slaughtered slave would hang like a curse on him, and cry for vengeance against him, till it had destroyed him. The holy God had fit judgments for such

daring sinners as he. If he made light of the word of God, and thought that missionaries were fools, who could be deceived by lies and laughter, because we lived quietly among them, and tried to speak always kindly, he would find himself mistaken, and see his folly when too late to remedy it. "Fools made a mock of sin," but God would judge them for their mockery. The sooner, therefore, that he rep nd cried to God for pardon and mercy on his s r himself." Bowed and dumb he sat without foot for some time after I left him, and then one condemned. Months passed before he ha out his blood-stained hand to me again, and I when he promised before the king never to re

The next day was the Sabbath, and the subject which came in order, in a course of lectures on relative duties, those of masters and servants, was appropriate. The king was quite self-possessed, and, on the duties of masters to their servants, he spoke out as freely as on the other part of the subject. When I read the words, "Masters give to your servants that which is just and equal," I said, "Is it just and equal that slaves should have the hardest work and least pay, and for the smallest faults receive the greatest punishments?" He promptly answered, "No." "Is it just and equal that they should be made to suffer when not guilty, and be put to death for the sins of others?" Again he responded aloud, "No." "Is it just and equal that the better they behave, and the more valuable they become by industry and fidelity, the greater should be their danger, if their master should break Egbo law, and to save himself must give up his best man? Should not every man get the reward of his own conduct, in his own person, to encourage the good and deter the evil?" "True," he replied. "It be all quite true. We saby our fashion be very bad fashion." Well, then, king, let such wickedness as you have done this week never be done again, and let every man repent of it before God." Looking sternly at George he said, "This is your palaver." * I continued,

* George was given to drink, and never got much respect from the king. One day a captain said to the latter, "I can get nothing from George. But for your sake and the shame of the thing, I would have caught and chained him ere now. But I must do it." This appeal to fraternal feelings was lost. The king smiled, and coolly replied, "I wish you would. It is the very best thing you could do."

"Is it just and equal that slaves should be bought and held by slaves unable to maintain them, and be turned loose every day like goats to 'pick their chop' where they can find it, of course to steal, and be beaten when caught? Should not slaves buy their own freedom first of all?" He assented as before, and delivered all with much emphasis, striking the ground with his staff while speaking. Turning to me he added, "The slaves also treat each other very bad. The old ones flog the new ones without mercy. They take a cow-skin whip, a fathom and a half long, and cut up their flesh; and don't know but they flog their own brothers, born after they were sold. They don't know, and don't care."

It seemed amazing that with such a clear head and sound judgment, as Eyo had on most subjects, and such knowledge of the enormous crimes involved in the slave-trading system, he should yet uphold it as justifiable and necessary. But such is the blinding and hardening effect of early impressions, confirmed habits, self-interest, and ambition. Yet why should we be amazed that Calabar people favoured it, on whom the light of divine truth had only begun to dawn, when educated and professedly Christian men, citizens of free countries, could wink at the horrid system for the sake of gain, and become consenters with robbers, and partakers with murderers. At that moment a proposal was on the way from Liverpool to Calabar to resume the slave trade under a new and deceptive name, that sugar, cotton, and coffee might be bought and sold a penny a pound cheaper than they could be by honest free labour. For that petty consideration all laws of God and rights of man were to be violated, all the interests of humanity outraged, and all the efforts of the Christian Church, for the conversion of Ethiopia to the benign faith of our Redeemer, frustrated.

Only three weeks after that time the king asked me if the British cruisers were to be withdrawn from the coast, and the slave-trade resumed? He had heard so, and in proof produced a letter from correspondents in Liverpool, desiring to know if he could provide "*ten thousand men, women, and children, as the quota from Old Calabar river*" for service in the West Indies.

"Ten thousand" as "the quota" from our river would imply at least a hundred thousand from the whole west coast. The scheme was that absurd and deceptive one, originated while I was in Jamaica, called "free emigration." It spoke of *hiring* slaves from their masters in Africa for seven years, freeing them in the West Indies, and afterwards sending them back, enriched and enlightened, to benefit their o It contained a falsehood or an absurdity in eve rd. Eyo was not to be deceived by it. "It be slave-t hen I warned him against having anything to d all same as old slave-trade. I no have too many .... for me must send and buy people for them in all co s. a harge them full price; for them man when he av come back. Merchant no will send ship for bring them back, and sea no be same as land for man to walk." He concluded by saying that he had a treaty with England to stop the slave-trade, and could not begin again; oil-trade, he said, was better for him. By it he had made his money, whereas in the slave-trade he sometimes had lost a hundred men in one night.

The project, it grieved me to see, was not disrelished by some of our sea-going countrymen, who said they "would as soon take a live cargo as any other." Long in the coast trade they had grown familiar with the ideas and the practices of the slave traffic, and would easily have been allured, by the prospect of great and rapid gains, to embark in it under a new name instead of the slower, if honester one in which they were engaged.

To get at the sheep the wolves knew they must get rid of the dogs. Thus the parties, both in the mother country and the colonies, that favoured the scheme, were urgent, by the press, and in parliament, to have the cruisers removed from the coast, and to obtain legal sanction for their delusive free emigration. Acquainted as I was with the design in all its bearings, and convinced of its certain ruinous effects both in the West Indies and in Africa, I furnished our Mission Board with a complete exposure of it, which they could publish if necessary. Happily it was not necessary; for the Board applying, through a member of parliament, to the government, learned with pleasure that the latter would sanction nothing of the kind. Indeed a parliamentary committee soon after

condemned it. In Calabar, however, the schemers would have found no opposition, but from the missionaries. The letter of King Eyo agreeing with them, notwithstanding what passed between us, will be found in the appendix. Some years passed indeed before it became public, and when it did he was very much ashamed of having written it.

It happened, singularly enough, that, at that very time, as if scenting the prey afar off, a Spanish slaver came half way up the river, the first and only one during our abode there, and remained a few days in communication with Duke Town, seeking slaves. If it obtained any we could not learn; for every one said that they feared to break their treaty with England, though the Spaniard had both rum and dollars.

In April Mrs. Waddell and I were suddenly called over to Clarence on an errand of mercy. The Baptist mission schooner, *Dove*, brought letters from Consul Beecroft, and the surgeon of one of H.M. ships, detailing a sad story, and imploring our sympathy and aid. Mr. Newbegin, the missionary in Fernando Po was dead, and his bereaved widow was so ill as to require the attention of a Christian sister, while unhappily there was not a European missionary there, or at the other stations to afford the necessary care. In this extremity it was asked, could any of our missionary ladies afford their aid? It was indeed a sad story. Mr. Newbegin had gone to Camaroons on the business of the mission, and while there was seized with fever. Requiring medical attendance he returned to the island in the hope of finding some ship, with a surgeon, at anchor. Disappointed there he was conveyed to Old Calabar with the same object in view, but expired before ascending the river. The *Dove*, with his remains, and widow, and two of the deacons on board, stood again towards Clarence; but was becalmed for two days off the harbour, too far off to communicate with the shore, till a queen's ship, in which was the consul returning from England, saw the signal of distress, and brought the schooner and its sad company into the cove.

We prepared to sail the very next day, but found it necessary to get some one competent to act as master, and another as "able seaman" of the *Dove;* for her crew was such as we could not trust

ourselves to, being all Clarence boatmen and "boobies," quite unfit to navigate her; except only the man in charge; and he was only mate under the deceased missionary. The numerous and often fatal misadventures, that happened through the rashness and incompetence of those Clarence people, justified my precaution. We were three weeks away, and by God's blessing our visit was useful to the afflict bereaved church. Deacons and teachers from k advice, about the continuance of their dutie ould hear how matters stood, and send out anot take the oversight. They were as sheep wit d seemed glad to have some recognised author idance, without any fear that our different con tate against their interests. While there we conducted all the usual services of the church, and classes, including the administration of the Lord's Supper, at the especial desire of the deacons, but only to old members in good standing. The principles of the Evangelical Alliance we found to be of easy application, in the circumstances of the case; and, though possibly some "close communionists" might object to the proceeding, we were happy to learn, afterwards, that the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society appreciated our endeavours for the welfare of their church there.

When the improvement in our poor patient permitted, and intelligence of our own child's illness at Calabar required our return, an unexpected difficulty presented itself. The crew of the *Dove* mutinied, and would not go with us, because of the mate and seaman we had brought over; or, perhaps, because of some temporary restrictions I had placed on their use of the mission schooner. After two days parleying with them in vain, I resolved to hire Kroomen and go, and keep the vessel at Calabar till the society should send out instructions. Then the deputy governor sent an old captain of his own over them, and threatened to put them in irons if they continued to refuse their duty. They yielded; and then the mate I had brought over in charge was like to blow up the ship for being superseded. However, we got back safely; and by God's mercy found our darling child in a fair way of recovery. It happened opportunely that just then one of our ships was about to go home, under our friend T—— as supercargo, and with Mr.

and Mrs. Edgerley as passengers, in which I engaged a passage for our afflicted sister Mrs. Newbegin.

About that time two laws of very different character and importance were promulgated at Creek Town. The first denounced nothing less than death to runaway slaves. This, the king explained, was meant only for old offenders, who fled with stolen property. I said that he could not lawfully put them to death for such a cause; he must himself have respect to the laws of God. He enlarged on the difficulties he had with them, and their disregard of minor punishments, the necessity of checking an offence become so common, and the way they perverted the recent law against human sacrifices, and the preaching of the word of God to them, meant for their good.

What he condemned, however, I reminded him, was no new thing; nor was it peculiar to the slaves of Calabar. It had always prevailed, and always would prevail in all slaveholding countries; and could be prevented only by making it better for them to stay in Calabar than to go anywhere else. Such a law, like every other unjustly severe law, would defeat its own object. It would not prevent all from trying to make their escape, but would certainly prevent any from ever returning alive. They would fight, and kill or be killed, rather than be caught and flogged to death, or thrown into the river. Those who might be deterred from absconding would grow sulky and mischievous, and ready for a servile war to the ruin of their country. If slaves could make their escape in America, and rebel in English and French colonies, so as to compel attention to the improvement of their condition, what was Calabar, that he should talk of killing any one that attempted to get away. These were things, I said, about which I could not speak before his slaves, and must therefore talk of them to himself for his prudent consideration.

He enlarged on his difficulties with them, and asked what was he to do? But when I described various particulars of improvement, of which their moral and social condition was susceptible, he replied that he had gone as far in that way as was possible, or proper; and the strong hand was all that now remained for him to employ in ruling them. This interview was eminently unsatis-

factory. Eyo's manner was destitute of the good feeling that he sometimes displayed; it was calm, but rigid; cold, hard, and dry.

The other Egbo law was a burlesque. It was nothing more, and could be nothing less, than the prohibition of long shirts and morning gowns to all persons below the rank of "gentlemen." No man who had not "bought all Egbo" must wear these garments reaching below thei [illegible] native dress, in its greatest amplitude, for t[illegible], it may be remarked, never amounted to half [illegible]t of them.

Wearied with ba[illegible] rejoiced about the middle of this year to obtai[illegible]-the prohibition of Sunday markets in Creek T[illegible] market of about two or three hours' duration w[illegible]oon of every day, alternately in the town, and in the old market-place beyond it, where not only farm produce but all manner of trade goods were exposed for sale.

The public market on God's day had always been not only a distressing sight to us, but a great hindrance of our Sabbath-day duties; and we had been long preparing for its abolition, by speaking to the townspeople, rich and poor, on the subject, till we had gained over some of both classes, not only to abandon the use of it, but to favour the object we had in view. At length it was proposed, one Sabbath after public divine service, when the most considerable of the town gentry were present; and while they discussed the subject, the mission family present raised their hearts to God to guide the decision to his own glory. The measure was agreed to; and that very afternoon an Egbo procession, headed by Young Eyo, and followed by our good school-boys, gentlemen's sons, proclaimed by beat of drum, at the palaver houses of the three divisions of the town, that markets on God's day should, thenceforth and for ever, cease to be held in Creek Town. That there might be no mistake as to the day, the king had an ensign hoisted over his house every Sunday morning. In Calabar the eighth day had always been observed as a holiday, when no work was done, and that day the markets were always greatest. It was agreed, however, that the "Calabar Sunday" should never interfere with God's day.

To celebrate this auspicious occasion we made a great feast, and bade many. Beside native gentlemen we had shipmasters

and surgeons, with brother and sister missionaries. The school boys and girls, who went so heartily along with us, in all our endeavours at moral and social ameliorations, deserved to share in our joy. To leave good and agreeable impressions of the great event on their minds, therefore, we made a feast for them also in the school-house, at which their teacher presided, and above a hundred of *bona fide* good scholars were entertained. The young men who aided Mr. Thomson on that happy day, said, that the like was never before seen in their country. Children dining together, at tables, off plates, had never been even imagined. It must be admitted that our plates and tables were insufficient for such a number, and we did not pretend to supply knives and forks for all. The junior classes, therefore, were content with benches alone, and a plate between two, while the youngest sat on the floor in groups, armed with spoons, and glad to have one well-filled plate between three or four.

A becoming sequel to the sanctification of the Sabbath was the erection of a church at Creek Town. "Thou shalt honour my Sabbath and reverence my sanctuary, saith the Lord." A suitable house of galvanized iron arrived this year, in plates, duly fitted and marked, and ready to be rivetted together. On a gentle eminence, at the head of the main street, in the centre of the town, an excellent site was appropriated to the purpose, the houses which occupied it being, by the king's orders, broken down and swept away. When the ground was ready, he and other gentlemen attended to commence the work. We could not lay a foundation stone where there was no stone, for the foundation consisted of seventy strong posts sunk deep in the ground, and standing seven feet out of it. But the first day's work was equivalent to our home ceremonial on such important occasions, being a public and formal proceeding. These posts had been procured by the town classes, and were placed in the presence of Eyo and his chiefs by the hands of their people.

Some characteristic scenes took place that day, which showed the state of native society. Eyo sat, as usual when superintending work, under the canopy of his immense umbrella, the staff of which rested on the ground behind him. His table and books were before him, and friends around, and he did business with all

who came, writing in the intervals of conversation, and transferring from slates to books the lists of goods delivered by his stewards to his traders.

Among others who came to him was a woman from his own yard, leading a man bound, whom she had detected stealing rum, and with the help of other women had seized and tied. The woman herself was [illegible] massive copper rings, thick as her wrists, so[illegible]. She had worn them many years as a punish[illegible] run away, and had grown so used to them that [illegible]m as an ornament. She and her prisoner, who[illegible]d at, led captive by a woman, were sent back t[illegible]

Afterwards app[illegible]ed men from the farms, with a thin, naked, half-starved looking creature before them, his hands tied, and two yams hung on his neck. He was accused of stealing them, but spoke in his own defence with such earnestness, yea, vehemence, though speaking through an interpreter, for he was a new man, that he was acquitted and released. The moment his hands were free he seized a staff from a bystander, and struck madly at the men who had brought him in. The king smiled, others laughed, the accusers jumped hither and thither, and then fled, while he pursued down the street and through the market, their well-fed bodies in full flight contrasting strangely with his emaciated figure in frantic pursuit. The market people, ignorant of the cause, became alarmed, and began to scatter with a great hubbub, as if Egbo had been let loose on them. Then Eyo arose, saying, "We have too many palavers to-day; I must go see that thieves don't steal the people's things." Some rogues were caught, order restored, the market resumed and finished, and then an Egbo runner called out to inflict punishment. At the first tinkle of his bell our workmen fled to the nearest houses, and the "gentlemen," who had superintended the work, left it to attend a "palaver" in the king's yard. In the afternoon the workpeople were again gathered, with the aid of additional "chop and coppers," to finish the day, after which some gentlemen, who had turned out with their people, accompanied me home to take their evening "chop" at the mission-house.

The following morning, when one of Eyo's brothers brought

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his people to give us a day's work, two of them began to fight, one of whom received two severe falls. Their master and others enjoyed the combat, and cheered them on. I separated them, and rebuked him, saying, "You tell me your slaves are bad. Is that the way to make them good? You make them bad when you see them fighting, and sit laugh." The fact was that masters seemed not to care about their people quarrelling among themselves, yea, rather encouraged it, as their enmities and jealousies prevented combinations.

The foundation posts being erected, the carpenters had to lay thereon a strong framework, firmly bolted down, before the iron superstructure could be erected. That done, and the house raised and roofed, the want of flooring planks, which had not been sent with the house, caused a delay of several years. An American ship was in our river, just then about to go home, and its captain took my order for what we required, promising to return in a few months. He never returned, and we lost a year waiting for him. Then I wrote home for them, but ere they came out I was obliged to go home myself in bad health, leaving the house of God, to our grief, unfinished. Not till after our return in 1854 was it completed, and till then we must intermit our account of the work.

The following letter from Mrs. Waddell, to a friend in Scotland, supplies some blanks in our story, which I trust will be deemed a good reason for inserting it.

"In our attempts to instruct the girls we have great hindrances to encounter. For a considerable time after we came, there was an interesting class of them, about the ages of twelve to fifteen, who promised fair. *Agoo* was the cleverest and furthest advanced, and in some respects had a mind like her father. She could read her Bible, had learned to knit and sew well, and was becoming useful in helping to teach the younger girls, and interpreting for us in the women's yards. Her poor mother, however, thought nothing of these attainments, and took the opportunity, when we were called away to Fernando Po, for taking her off to the farm to be fattened. Her father professed to be much opposed to her going, and said that he had repeatedly sent for her; but her mother would not let her return. Lately, however, a messenger informed

us that she had come to town, and we went to see her, but scarcely knew her again. She was swelled up to twice her size; and she will have to be fed up for another year, till she be married, or rather given to a man who has already too many wives. Had she her choice she might have been married to a fine youth, her cousin, who can read his Bible well, is much attached to her, and now sadly distres[illegible] to another. Poor *Agoo* cannot return to sc[illegible] to her now. Can the seed grow in such a sc[illegible] parents. The father blames the mother. Th[illegible] Calabar fashion.'

"The other gir[illegible] 's example; and Miss Miller, who had done [illegible] like myself, very sad about them. For som[illegible] of younger girls took their place, and were ve[illegible] resent they are at the farms with their parents. They will return, however, and remain another year, and then go off like the former.

"Since the prohibition of Sabbath markets there is another monstrous evil we are endeavouring to bring down. A woman having twins is banished from town, and her infants cast out to perish. Mr. Waddell has often exposed the sin of such practices, and some persons have acknowledged it. Preparatory to public measures, we tried to press on the women their duty in the matter, expecting their co-operation; but, you will be surprised to learn, instead of favouring our object, they cried out against any change. They think it disgraceful to be the mother of twins, and brush down their arms, as if sweeping off a defilement, crying, *ifonke*. Instead of being horrified at the idea of infants being destroyed, they are displeased at our alluding to the subject. Some of them laugh at our expressions of distress, but others do begin to think about it. Some of the gentlemen, who have wives in banishment for that cause, send them provisions. One of them has even given his a house to live in at his farm. Let us have the prayers of our sisters in Christ, that this stronghold of the enemy may be broken down; and for the school girls also, that crooked things may be made straight, and rough places plain, that the Lord's way may be prepared.

"We have a large and interesting Sabbath school in the afternoon, when we divide the labours. The first class of young men

and school-boys read in the New Testament. They come up also in the evening to worship, and read in the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Beside Young Eyo, a few others seem much impressed with the truth. It is evident that he is under the teaching of the Holy Spirit. He seems afraid, however, to come out and join the people of God. We often have interesting conversation with him about divine things, for he is very conversable."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Human sacrifices at E ... **sults—Discourse with women there—Alarm of *Guinea*** ... **ealing with them—Sad story of Eshea Ita—Medical aid** ... **ivers—Native jealousy of our movements—Visit to U** ... **aerolite there—Many languages.**

THERE is a ... about seven or eight miles from Creek ... of the river that flows by *Guinea Company*. The people came originally from another part of the country, and maintain their own language and customs, mixed with those of Calabar. The chief died there, and ten slaves were put to death for him. Some people from our quarter, being there at the time, declared that such deeds were no longer lawful, being forbidden both by white men and Calabar; but the little colony smartly replied, that they were neither white men nor Calabar men, and would follow their own fashions.

That same evening a man was caught stealing at our house, and was tied up, till we should know what to do with him. His wife had been at *Ebunda* buying yams, and hearing on her return where her "goodman" was, came to beg him off. To engage our favour she told us what had occurred at that place, and got him home as her reward. We were indeed glad to get rid of him, even on her promise of his better behaviour. When we told the king, next day, the report that had reached us, he professed not to have heard, but promised to inquire; while, as we afterwards learned, he knew all about it. Mr. Thomson and I proceeded thither, therefore, to inquire for ourselves, accompanied by a messenger on his part. Entering the village we met a "gentleman" whom our guide called, with evident truth, "drunken Jack;" and soon after another who, though not very sober was very civil. He took us to his house, sent for

the other head men, and by beat of drum called all the people together.

About a hundred people assembled to whom we delivered a message from God. They denied not the deed imputed to them, but pleaded that the Egbo law had not been "blown" in their town; and, therefore, they had done no wrong; for "where there is no law, there is no transgression." We replied, that we had come not as messengers of Egbo law, which was King Eyo's business, but of God's law, which was of higher authority. After much discussion they promised to keep both God's law and Egbo law for the future. As we went over the commandments of God, to show them their duties and their sins, we touched on *drunkenness*. One of the company who had indulged too freely became very talkative, in an approving and patronizing way; whereupon another, unexceptionably sober, told him to "shut his mouth and go sleep;" for it was a shame for white people to come to their town and find so many of them in his condition. The advice was good, and he took it, though so bluntly given. The reprover was one who frequented our Creek Town meetings, and we were glad to see that apparent fruit of them.

After all our "legal preaching" we could not leave them without declaring the sweet gospel of Jesus—the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the dead, and the life everlasting.

The result of that affair was that their plea of exemption was refused by the heads of Duke and Creek Towns, who found that it had not been customary to send Egbo to them to proclaim laws; yet were they bound by every law which ruled in those towns. They were, therefore, fined eight slaves for their violation of the new law.

To do away with any bad impression that visit may have produced on their minds, and to teach them more of the precious gospel, Mrs. Waddell and I went to them again some time afterwards. We found the town empty; and after walking about till we were tired, without seeing any one, and sitting in the Palaver House till we had cooled and rested, we rose to return to our boat. Just then a little dog appeared, and after a bark or howl, ran back into a half open door. Ah, there must be some one there, we said, who has sent the dog to spy who is here.

Our attendant went to inquire, and brought back word that the wives of the deceased chief were there mourning, and could not come out.

We went to them. They were timid at first, but acquired confidence; and as the townspeople were all at their farms, they said, we might speak God's word to them. So we sat down and spoke to them, for two hours. words whereby they might be saved. The whole of th to consist of this one great truth, God made y to him was comprised in throwing crumb d when eating, as they said to "give God c f their devotions extended only to beggin hat wanted to kill them.

We asked th ught that the great God—*Abasi Ibum*—wl made all things,—He who gave them life, and breath, and a hey had, would come down to pick crumbs off the ground, like the fowl at their feet. They hung their heads, laughed, and replied, that they had never thought of that before. Again we asked if they really thought that the great God—*Abasi Ibum*—the Father of all, would, at their bidding, kill whomsoever they hated or feared? They did not know; so we tried to teach them the Christian duty of forgiveness. They replied that they would like to do whatever God liked. A lesson on the ten commandments convicted them of the contrary; but they knew not their sins or sinfulness; and when we preached Christ to them as the Saviour of sinners, they heard with languid ears and insensible hearts. It is easy to prove to people that they are sinners, but how great the difference between convicting and convincing them! Oh for the breathing of the four winds, to quicken the dead to spiritual life!

The proceedings in relation to *Ebunda* alarmed the villages beyond them, composing that division of Calabar called *Abiaboh*, or "Guinea Company." The trespass of that place had rendered it necessary to publish the new law more widely, and the Guinea Company chiefs, having a right to an Egbo visit, yet dreading it, proceeded in a body to Creek Town to protest against the application of the law to them, at least for some time longer. The arguments were original on both sides, and as worthy of record as some made on similar subjects in greater assemblies.

They pleaded that they were not in as favourable circumstances for adopting the new system as the people of Creek Town, for they had old fathers and mothers still alive, who expected to be buried in the old way, while the very aged people of the other towns were dead and buried before the change came. They required more time, therefore, till their old people should have all died off.

There was a point in this argument that does not at once appear. King Eyo had temporized with the proposed reform, during the life of his mother's sister, whom he regarded as a mother, having promised her the old honours at her funeral. Not till after she was gone could he say that he would never kill another for such a cause.

He replied to the objection, however, that there were still old people among them, rich in slaves and goods, who might claim the same privilege, and that they were all growing old fast enough, so that the difference in their circumstances was not so great as the others wanted to make appear. If the old people of Guinea Company were so determined to be buried in the old fashion, they should have died sooner, while the old fashions prevailed, and not have lived till the world changed. "If you no will for the new fashion," he added, "would you like to see a man-of-war go up your river to make you will?"

As they continued to object, and to plead for delay, Camaroons told them, that, if they were determined to bury their old people in the old fashion, they had better not lose time talking, but go home and do it at once; for in a week more Egbo would certainly be sent among them to "blow the law," after which it would be ruinous for them to kill a single slave for that purpose. Should they, however, refuse to receive Egbo with the law, then all Calabar would "blow Egbo" on them and disown them. They would be cut off for all purposes of trade or friendship, and would never be allowed to pass their own boundaries for any cause. Then they might bury their dead with yams and plantains, which was all they would have, for nothing that came by ship should ever reach them. They would not even have a slave to kill; for why should their slaves stay with them to be killed for nothing, when they could get good living with better masters

at Creek Town. Then, he slyly added, he would get a few himself for nothing. He advised them, therefore, by all means to hasten home, and kill their slaves and bury their old people offhand, for they had but a few days left.

The recusants stood aghast at the atrocity of the proposal so seriously made to them, and asked how he could possibly imagine that they wo[illegible] r old fathers and mothers! "Oh, very good," h[illegible] don't like to kill your own parents, why do y[illegible] of others?"

They argued th[illegible] had paid Creek Town and Duke Town to r[illegible] before they could adopt it, they must get t[illegible] ward. "Yes," replied Eyo, "so you shall. [illegible] give us for doing this is God's word and missionaries, [illegible] can get as much of that as you like."

The Guinea Company people went home determined to refuse the new law, and, in consequence, were put under the ban of Egbo. They were outlawed, and, in effect, blockaded. They might live and die in their villages and farms unmolested, but dared not leave them by land or water, except at the risk of being treated as strangers and enemies, and despoiled of all they had. Their market was emptied. No one would go to it from any other town, nor dare they attend any other market. Astounded by such a blow, the threat of which they had thought was a joke, they hastened to make submission, but had to pay a heavy fine for their contumacy, before Egbo was taken off them. Whether that application of the principles of the Egbo body was new, originating in the sagacity of King Eyo, or was in accordance with old practice, could not be certainly ascertained, but the former is most probable.

Our little friend, Camaroons, it will be observed, had some humour. Another example of it occurs to me, though in connection with a different business. Two men divided a plat of ground for building their houses. The elder lined out and staked off both portions, and then took the one he liked. In time he found it too small, and applied to his neighbour for an addition. Being

* In allusion, perhaps, to the subsidy given them in lieu of losses sustained when abolishing the export slave trade.

refused, and quarrelling about it, the other complained to Camaroons, who having heard both parties, decided in this manner: —"You divided the land, and took the part you liked, and now find it too small. Well, just take it to the blacksmith, and tell him to put it in his fire, and hammer it till it come bigger."

A young man of good family, one of the first in the country, began to come forward this year on the Lord's side in a way to encourage our best hopes of him. *Eshen Ita* was related both to the Eyo and the Ambo families, had a sister among the king's wives, and had recently been acknowledged as an *Aubóng*, or "gentleman," with a right to take his place in the town council. He attended our meetings well, seemed impressed with the truth, and disposed to favour the social improvements we were trying to effect. If there were four men in the town, he said, who loved God and his word, he was one of them.

Eshen first appeared prominently on behalf of the Sabbath. Ambo town, where he lived, needed a new Palaver House, and every member of the family had to put his hand and his people to the work. The heaviest part of it consisted in procuring the three main pillars to support the roof, as they required to be trunks of large mangrove trees, the hardest and heaviest wood in the country, and must be brought from the morass. That job fell to be done on Sabbath, and to Eshen Ita's class to do it. But he refused, as it was the Lord's day. He was admonished that it might become an "Egbo palaver," and replied that he had already done evil long enough, and now he wanted to serve God. Egbo palavers, it was said, might end in death. Undeterred, he answered that it would be good for him to die for God's word, better than to live in sin and be lost for ever. This public stand he followed up by orders among his people that no one should work, or market, carry wood or water on God's day.

We had lively hopes of Eshen at that time, but, unhappily, his end was not like the beginning. His career was a shorter and darker one than so fair a commencement had led us to expect. He next appears as judge over one of his slaves, in a case of life and death. It was this. A runaway had returned, and was

him. His own head also was "sp
what he was doing. He could on
back to his "father's" place.

Eshen was undecided, while hi
condemning the man. Therefore he
and give advice. As there was n
should delay judgment; but his p
made up in clamour what they wa
triumphantly, if a man would not b
hung his mother? more disposed t
the execution than in the trial.

The master put an end to the p
arms and breast with chalk, in tok
afterwards that King Eyo and Fath
let the fellow go. The old woman,
was dead already, but the son was
further service. Inquiring of the ki
with surprise, that, only because the
slaves, was he called to account for h
might have hung her with impunity,
Egbo law, Eyo said, recognised the
mother, as well as his wives, if he
longed to him. People might laugh
wise punish him. To be laughed
punishment there. It must be added
of matricide in that country

sophistical and unscriptural reasonings. Only a missionary, he said, was required to keep to one.

Eshen had a dear little girl, of which he was very fond. She became ill, lingered, and died, notwithstanding the best medical advice we could obtain for her. For a long time he was disconsolate, and brooded over his loss, but came not to the Lord for comfort. He began also to neglect the Sabbath, and the prayer-meetings. His second child also sickened and died, and the fond father sunk broken-hearted. God had taken his children, and what had he left? "There was nothing like children." He abandoned the town, and we lost sight of him. He became ill himself in his plantation, and "in his sickness sought not to God, but to the physicians"—*Abia-idiong* and *Abia-ibok*—went to the Ibo country, and swore to some reputed god there. We saw him no more, and he soon followed his children to the grave, having unhappily given plain proof of his enmity to the gospel which he had once seemed to love.

The application of medical skill, to the evangelical work of the Christian missionary, comports well with our Lord's instructions to his apostles, to heal the sick and preach the gospel. A pious and devoted medical man is an invaluable addition to a mission among the heathen; and some degree of medical knowledge is always useful to every missionary. With such a degree of judgment and capacity for accurate observation as any of them may possess, one or two judicious medical books, and a medicine chest, a missionary, in the absence of qualified practitioners, may do much good. He may heal sores and wounds, allay pain, and check, yea, cure, a variety of complaints, quite within the reach of common sense, ordinary skill, and some experience. A "smattering" of the healing art is indeed condemned by the *faculty*, as likely to do more harm than good; and among them, doubtless, it would. But I hold, in spite of old authority, that "a little knowledge" is better than none, by whatever opprobrious name it may be called, and in an emergency may be of great value, provided only that one presumes not beyond his knowledge, nor neglects competent professional advice, when it can be had. These observations are the result of some little experience—

God having enabled me, with such helps as have been mentioned, to afford relief to many, both in Jamaica and Calabar, when other help was not to be had, and, it is believed, to save the lives of some.

In the latter country, the people were long averse to proper medical treatment, saying that "white man's medicine was too strong." Perhaps nel formerly on board ship, and its effects on l that prejudice; for many who were not st under the name, rather to learn the coast t. nedicine. And when ships were running be West Indies, nothing was more liable to ab ne, being fatally unsuitable to the fevers of t ugh of great value in those of the latter. We u. he unfitness of calomel for African fevers, by its dreadfully prostrating effect on ourselves, but not before the following ludicrous incident took place. Mr. Edgerley gave a dose of it to his watchman, whom it salivated. His face also swelled so much, that his wife thought he was going to die, and came with a great complaint that the missionary had killed her husband, and now must marry her himself. Happily for our brother, his patient recovered, and the good wife had to be satisfied with her old man.

Our medical practice at Creek Town gradually increased, till it became a regular, and not unimportant, part of our daily missionary labours. Having occasion, in preaching from James v. 14, to condemn the practices of the conjurors and "medicine men," the *mbia-idiong* and *mbia-ibok*, I recommended the king to procure a proper white doctor to live in his town, and attend his people. He confirmed all that had been said about their native practitioners; and said that he had at that time two of them in chains, for befooling the people, whom he would have thrown into the river, but that he feared God. He concluded that, till a proper doctor could be found, he had best send his sick people to the mission-house to be healed. Then the little we knew of the healing art, our medical books, and medicine chest, came into extensive requisition, and God gave us his blessing. I must add, that generally the ship surgeons who visited us, or whom I met at the king's house, frankly gave us advice and assistance, when-

ever asked, in difficult cases; and I must say that these gentlemen were frequently of a much higher character, in their profession, than their predecessors, by all accounts, had generally been. Some of those healed were brought under Christian influences, to their spiritual benefit; and others showed that they were not devoid of a sense of gratitude. Yet it must be owned that the greater number were satisfied with the bodily healing, and seemed little thankful for it. Was our experience singular? No. "Were there not ten cleansed, but where are the nine?" We could not trust the people with medicine in their houses to take at stated periods; every dose had to be given by ourselves, or by the hands of confidential messengers. A surgeon, called in by the king to see one of his people, gave him half-a-dozen of opium pills, to take one every night. The first dose did the patient such benefit, and its effects were so agreeable, that he became impatient, and, to get all the good at once, swallowed the rest of the pills the second night. When the doctor next inquired after the poor fellow, he was surprised to hear that he was dead. Had that happened with a missionary, it would have been attributed, doubtless, to the "smattering." The people called opium pills the "little doctor," and having got them once, had a great desire for them again.

Some of the poor creatures required meat, as well as medicine, which led others to pretend sickness, and take the physic for the sake of the food. Two men of that sort, not very hungry looking, nor ill looking either, were overheard consulting what they would beg after getting the salts, which was rather a favourite medicine with most people. Of course, they got neither dole nor doctor. Another obviously suffering from nothing so much as laziness, was ordered to take axe and cut down a tree, when he would get his dinner. He went off laughing. I asked a surgeon what I should do with fanciful and pretended cases. Give them an emetic, he replied. It will please them in the first instance, prevent them deceiving again, and do them no harm in the end. Chest and bowel complaints were most numerous; active fevers rare. The following rules were prescribed to our patients:—To use no native medicine; employ no country doctor; drink no rum; pray to Jesus for a blessing; and praise him for recovery.

For regaining and preserving health, frequent boating excursions, as formerly mentioned, were found beneficial. They were made conducive also to the advancement of our mission, by exploring the country, and discovering new openings for the gospel in neighbouring territories. For these purposes, a system of short trips, which had been commenced during the smoke season of 1847–8, was resumed were conducted prudently, to avoid appearing ssession of the country, or had ulterior object these points the Calabar rulers were very si

Three principal gain that year: to visit the town of *Uwet*, nea eastern branch of the river, never yet seen by isit *Omon*, on the principal river; and to explo river, previously unknown to our countrymen, westward of those traversed by Beecroft, which bordered the Egbo Shary country, and received the rivers that flowed through it from the westward.

This last gave us most trouble; for the natives, wishing to keep the European traders ignorant of the oil-producing countries, to which that channel of the river led, would give us no information about it. We had ascertained that the branch of the river referred to broke off at Isong Iyang, and rejoined the other branches, about fifty miles lower down, at Ekri Tabaka, being separated from them by a long, and seemingly unbroken, island, covered with mangrove forest; and that into it flowed the *Ikpa* river and others, which led up to the great oil markets. We had ascertained also, by indirect inquiries, and in other ways, that there must be some intersecting creek crossing the long island about the middle, through which the canoes, to and from the *Ikpa* oil market, found a more direct route than round by Isong Iyang or Ekri Tabaka; but no one would tell where it was, much less guide us to and through it. It was at length discovered, opposite the head of the second island, in the middle channel, concealed by overhanging trees, too narrow and winding to admit a boat with oars, and too shallow to be passed except at high water.

It was well named *Otip*, the strait. A canoe slipping out one day, when we were boating thereabouts, revealed the secret. We

hastened to return the next day with paddles, made our way through it, nearly three miles, and to our great joy emerged in the western waters. What a grand sight presented itself!—a noble river, above two miles wide, with many islands, large and small, above and below. But we did not venture to go much farther that day, for fear of missing our way back among them. From Creek Town to the nearer end of *Otip* we calculated was about fifteen miles.

The next excursion required a long day and a particular state of the tide. We started at six A.M., got up to and through *Otip*, with the flood-tide, by nine, crossed to the Egbo Shary shore, and then traced it down with the ebb-tide to *Ekri Tabaka* and *Parrot Island*, noting the streams that flowed into it, with the villages on the one hand, and the islands that dotted the river on the other. At Parrot Island we met the flood-tide about three oclock, and by its help came up the river again quickly, by another channel, and reached home by seven. The distance traversed must have been sixty or sixty-five miles. As we passed *Ekri Mimbo*, we observed a dead animal floating in the water, which, on being lifted into the boat, proved, from its musky smell, to be a *civet-cat*. It was more like a dog than a cat, however. The skin was all I wanted; but, on reaching home, the Kroomen and Calabar men were ready to fight for its body, and glad to have it divided between them; for they counted it a dainty, and feasted on part of it for their supper. It was at least a change of diet to them, from their salt beef and dried fish. Its skin, nailed on a post in our yard, diffused its peculiar but not disagreeable odour for a long time.

It was soon apparent that these excursions were both watched and disliked by our gentry; and the demur which I expected at length came. King Eyo said that I should let him know before I went any place. "Any place, king?" "Yes; except Old Town, or Duke Town?" When going to any far away or important places, I had told him, I said, and had got his messenger with me, and, in similar cases, would still do so; but, when boating about the river for health or pleasure, should not think it necessary. He insisted that it was always necessary, and that his own brothers did so, whenever they left the town to go any

place. Yes, I replied, his brothers, whom he might require to send for, should let him know where they were to be found; but our position was different; and, unused to such restraint in our own country, we would take ill with it in his. Was he afraid, I asked, of my going to any wrong place, or for wrong purposes, that he should keep his eye on me so? Oh, not at all, he assured us; but still it wa[illegible] ell him, for he was answerable for our safet[illegible] happened to any of us, it would bring "pa[illegible] On the ground of safety, while we thanke[illegible]s, we assured him he might keep his mind e[illegible] if we could not go to any place without h[illegible]soners. He declared that nothing of that [illegible]or would result; but that such was the custo[illegible]y. The restraint, however, that he wished to impose was, I replied, equivalent to it. Suppose I told him, and some day he should try to dissuade me, "palaver" would come up. Why should he thus seek a cause of quarrel between us? It would be better for him not to interfere in such matters, but trust us; and he would find no proper cause of offence in our movements; we would do nothing to hurt him. He answered that, for himself, he was not afraid of anything we might do; but other gentlemen were afraid, that we were only opening the way, for white men to follow, into the oil markets, and take their trade from them, and, perhaps, also their country. Without making any promise, I thought fit to concede a little, being now sure of my object; and accordingly told him that, on the following day, I purposed going out again into the "big river," and as far up as possible; if he liked, he might send a canoe with me. I also requested him to send and inform the *Omon* people of our design to visit them in a few weeks; for the time was near when he himself had proposed, from the previous year, that we might go thither, and it was desirable that he should give us a guide and messenger. These were the only two trips that remained to complete my programme; for *Uwet* had been visited in the beginning of the dry season, as shall be noticed by and by.

Though prepared to intermit my explorations for a while, out of deference to the feelings and prejudices referred to, I wished,

by one more trip in the western channel, to complete my survey of it, before the opposition should become stronger. Having reached and passed through *Otip*, at an early hour, I crossed as before to the Egbo Shary side, and thence bent my course up the stream north-westwards, marking the confluent streams on the one hand, and the islands on the other, our direction by compass, and distances by time. We were in unfrequented waters. On the preceding trip we had not met or seen a canoe or human being till near Ekri Tabaka, but monkeys in great numbers gambolling securely in the woods. On this occasion, the first we met was in the afternoon, above *Anakpa Creek;* and we were glad when the man in it hastened to meet us, and proved to belong to the King. He kindly gave our boatmen drink out of his mimbo jar, which refreshed them much. Further on, the King's people making a farm for him, hailed us, and filled our water can with fresh mimbo. Better still, they informed me that a river we had just passed, flowing from the westward, was the long sought *Ikpa Creek*, which leads to the chief oil market. A few miles further we reached *Isong Iyang*, where we had formerly been, and thence found our way back by the middle channel. It was eight o'clock ere we reached home, having gone over about seventy miles. To avoid show, I used only my little boat, whereby the rowers, four stout men, having the tide with them both ways, accomplished so much.

Uwet stands on the eastern or Guinea company branch of the river, about sixty-five or seventy miles above Creek Town. Many years ago a person, called Nicholson, sought to explore the interior in that direction, but neither reached that town, nor returned alive. Beecroft tried it in the *Ethiope*, but found the river too small for his steamer. Mr. Goldie and Mr. Thomson being of our party, we took the large boat; but the river being then in flood (October), and very strong, we had great difficulty in forcing our way up. In the dry season, on the contrary, we were assured the boat could not go at all for want of water.

With a guide and canoe from the king in company, we started at sunset, and at midnight dropped anchor at *Inkpara* junction. Next morning we passed *Okóyong* landing, where men, armed,

seemed prepared to resist us; but we passed on quietly. The tribe of that name are bold and quarrelsome, and occupy much land in that quarter. It was there Beecroft had to turn in 1843. So strong was the current that day, that with six rowers, we could hardly make way. At a bend, we were swept back into the bush, where we got entangled; and but for the king's canoe, which took us [illegible] erhaps, have weathered that point. The fo[illegible] its to the water side were frequently seen, [illegible]. We came to anchor the second night, [illegible] s on both sides the river. From Okóyong [illegible] third day we reached the farm of one of [illegible] a native of *Uwet*, who sometimes visited u[illegible] was the first appearance of human residence we had seen [illegible] the morning of the day before. He was on the look-out for us, and we spent some hours with him and his people. A bundle of strange-looking things hanging over his door, as a charm of sovereign efficacy to protect his house and himself from all evil influences, took our attention; and we told him how much more reason he had to trust in the power, wisdom, and goodness of God for protection than in such things; and how sinful it was to look to them rather than to Him. He at once removed them, saying that he did not know all that before. His grandmother was living with him; she had never seen a white man; and now, she said, she would die happy, and go tell her father that she had seen us, and that we had been at their place. Was she, in her dotage, wandering back to childhood again, and running to tell any strange good news to her father? or consoling herself in the hope of a meeting and recognition in the world of spirits? The persuasion of some kind of future state of existence seems natural to all people; and, like some other primary truths, is not the result of reason or of instruction, but is an instinct of our nature. We anchored at *Uwet* that night, but too late to land.

Next morning we went ashore. The way to the town is up a steep sandstone hill, bare of wood, and we felt it refreshing to get our feet on a solid rock—the first we had seen in the country. The town was irregular, being built in detached portions, and the houses, whether as to materials, plan, or workmanship, were inferior

to those of Calabar. The adjoining forest, indeed, would have furnished materials both good and abundant, but the inhabitants seemed destitute of implements and skill to turn it to good account.

The people of *Uwet* are in an alliance of brotherhood with those of Calabar, both being bound by the most solemn oath never to look on each other's blood. It was formerly a great slave market, but had sunk when the foreign trade ceased. It was only half a day's journey from *Omon*, for a man could go and return in one day—probably fifteen miles—yet there was little intercourse between them. A great lagoon, overflowing in the rain season, but much reduced in the dry, spreads itself over the intermediate country, and is frequented by vast numbers of large birds. Such was the information we received from Akáma, who had often been at the other town.

It was not the loss of the slave trade alone which ruined Uwet. The cruel superstitions of the country had accomplished the purpose even more effectually. After the death of a former aged king, several successors were quickly cut off, and their deaths were imputed to the prime minister of the old king, who had been each time a disappointed candidate for the sovereignty. Still he aspired to the throne, and at last his election was made to depend on his clearing himself of the charge of witchcraft against his predecessors. He underwent the ordeal and survived.

Soon afterwards an epidemic ravaged the town, the cause and cure of which were alike unknown. An *abia-idiong* denounced a certain class of the townspeople, among whom the king's former opponents were chiefly to be found; and as he had "chopped nut" at their instigation, they could not now refuse it themselves. Many of them died, but the plague continued, and another class was denounced and doomed with as little effect, and then another, and so on, enemies and friends alternately, till the town was laid waste. Eyo, who related the story, had seen the town large and prosperous, and when he saw it again falling to decay, and overgrown with grass and bush, he asked had some enemy invaded and destroyed it. An enemy, indeed, had been there, and that desolation first filled him with a dread and hatred of the doings of the *abia-idiong*.

We proceeded first to the house of King *Abadip*, the *Obórabóra*

of the country, followed by a great crowd, who filled his yard. Having saluted him, we made known the object of our visit, and placed our present before him, every object being separately exposed to view, as was the custom of the country. King Eyo's present was also laid out in the same way, and a message delivered in his name. To all this *Abadip* and his head men made cordial response. He seemed an intelligent man, of middle age, good size and shape, with an agreeable countenance of the common colour. His ornaments were few but rare—namely, strings on neck, arms, and ankles of peculiar blue, pipe-shaped beads, precious as gold. They are said to be a natural production, found in some countries, which art has failed to imitate. Behind him sat six wives and as many children, not in the public yard, but off it, to whom we presented needles, thread, and handkerchiefs, to their great joy. Mr. Goldie and I delivered the message of God, in both its parts of law and gospel, to the *Obórabóra* and his people. They all heard us with attention, and he promised to "keep head" for all we told him.

Having arranged for another and more public meeting in the afternoon at the Palaver House, we proceeded to call on the other chiefs. Each of them sat at the door of an inner house, with his wives behind him, and his feet on a kind of small deer skin of a tan colour, spotted with white. The wives being introduced in that way was different from "Calabar fashion." After a short address at each place, declaring our object, and inviting them to the public meeting, we attempted to get them into conversation, but, unlike *Abadip*, they were reserved, though pleased with our presents. One old man, indeed, remained silent all the time we were with him, all our efforts to get a word out of him having failed, though he uttered a grunt of satisfaction when our present was laid before him. He had trembled the night before, we were told, when informed that a "white man's ship" had come up to their town, and had hardly done trembling when we called on him. For his protection he had gathered all his charms or jujus about him at the time of our visit; and it was really sad to behold his trepidation before us without cause, and his reliance on them without reason. It might have calmed his fears that his own townsman, *Akáma*, had accompanied and introduced us,

even if our assurance that we came in the name of the God of peace and love, as friends, to speak to him only what was good and true, had failed to reassure him.

The great curiosity of that place was a stone of perhaps a hundred and a half weight, probably an ærolite. The inhabitants aver that it fell from the sky during a thunder storm, many years ago, in their fathers' time, and when it fell was so hot that those who saw it could not touch it for a long time. It was above a foot in length, less in breadth, and still less in thickness, of an irregular shape but smooth, without edges or angles, of a lustrous appearance, metallic sound, and dense weight. To lift it was a feat. A very strong man might raise it to his shoulder, ordinary people only breast high. Our Calabar attendant, and a Krooman, did the former, Mr. Thomson and I the latter. The townspeople, without worshipping, preserved it with jealous care.

A large company having assembled at the Palaver House, Mr. Goldie and I in succession addressed them, preaching the truths that pertained to life and godliness. Abadip insisted on our dining with him, and afterwards accompanied us to our boat, presenting us at parting with a goat and yams. We started at sunset, anchored for the night at Akáma's farm, and the next night reached home, having been carried swiftly down by the rapid river.

The people of *Uwet* seem but the fragment of a tribe, knowing of only two other towns at a distance which speak their language. In several respects their customs contrast favourably with those of Calabar, Bonny, and Omon. Human skulls were not exposed, nor did they sacrifice slaves for the dead.

Their language differs totally from all others around it, the Omon, Okóyong, Calabar, and Qua. Besides these there are five others different from them within a distance of eighty or a hundred miles from Creek Town—the Ibo, Ekoi, Iniong, Camaroons, and Bakasy—and still more up the coast between Tom Shot's and Bonny. That is the country for philologists. The Tower of Babel must have been in Africa. "Walking through the country," said young Eyo, "every third town, or through a market every tenth man, speaks different from, yet understands all others." The blacks have certainly a rare aptitude for language.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Visit to a farm—Expedi[illegible]—Meetings and occurrences at Omen—Revisited *Ita*—[illegible] In a tornado—Executions at Creek Town—A discarde[illegible]ent—Our efforts on her behalf—Her subsequent improv[illegible] people and covenant of blood—They alarm Duke Town a[illegible] Beecroft arrives, and arranges matters with them—Eg[illegible]lood; comments thereon.

WE commence[illegible] commenced the year, by a pleasant visit to the farm of [illegible] little friend, *Item Ared*, or "Camaroons." Miss Miller and Jessy were with me. It was not much more than an hour's walk to the place; and the road, though a mere foot track through the bush, led over somewhat elevated and gently undulating ground, where the air seemed purer than near the river. He had sent in two boys to guide us, and met us himself some way from his farm with a hearty welcome, though disappointed at not seeing "mammy" too, as all called Mrs. Waddell. His people, whom we passed at their work, came to salute us, and his wives also—only five or six in number—came without ceremony for the same purpose, especially welcoming the white woman and child.

He showed us over his farm. His yams, just dug, were strung up in rows on frames of upright posts and cross poles, strong and high, to dry in the open air during the smoke season, for in that way they keep better than when housed. The frame was sixty or seventy yards long and about four high, containing about fifteen thousand yams, each on an average three pounds weight. On another smaller frame were the "yam heads," designed for being replanted.

At the foot of a gentle hill a beautiful clear stream flowed among tall trees, over a sandy bed, without a particle of mud. It was a treat to see it, just such a place as children could delight to bathe in. Thence we went to see his people making oil. The simple process has been already described. That was not for the ships, but "fine plantation oil for chop."

'MY LITTLE FRIEND CAMARGOONS.'

MY LITTLE FRIEND CAMAROONS.

Page [illegible]

After we had partaken of refreshment our host called his household and farm servants together, and I preached to them the message of God for their salvation. They all paid the best attention to what was said. It was really delightful to witness the kindness and cordiality between the master and servants there, so different from what we had been used to in the West Indies. When we left he insisted on our taking his present, a sheep, a basket of yams, and a bunch of plantains. "That is too much," I said. "No, it is nothing to me," was his reply. "How can I repay you?" "Pay me!" he cried, "I don't want you to pay me. You give me plenty things already." "But when you 'dash' me so much I shall be afraid to come back." "No, no; you no must fear to come back. If that make you no come, very well; next time I give you nothing." Then he laughed heartily at finishing off my objections so neatly.

Such scenes as the foregoing form a striking contrast to others of a savage nature that were too often exhibited in Calabar, but every picture must have its light and shade. Camaroons represented the Ambo family in town, and was King Eyo's right hand man. He was favourable to our missionary objects as far as he understood them. I am sorry to add that he never seemed to understand them in the highest sense, never seemed to apprehend more than social ameliorations. He frequently came to the mission-house, and was always agreeable, and often helpful. He took home to his farm, where we saw her, a banished wife, the mother of twins, and lamented the loss of his children. With so much in him that was pleasant, it grieved us the more that he never came really to know and love the Lord.

Our long-projected visit to *Omon* or *Bosun* was at length made in March, when the river was lowest, and the tide flowed furthest. We started on a Monday at noon with low water, and about the darkening, when the tide turned, anchored between *Isong Iyang* and *Ikorofiong*. Soon afterwards a furious tornado broke and raged till midnight, but everything had been made snug in time, and the boat rode it out well. There were thirteen people on board, namely, beside Mr. Goldie, Mr. Thomson, and myself, seven oar-men, or "pull away boys;" Anana, a boy at school, son of an Omon chief, Ana Yum; Hogan the king's messenger, and his boy, a great lazy fellow, averse to everything but roasting and eating yams and plantains. We made the last our cook.

The next morning was deliciously clear and cool, and we passed Ikorofiong early, but did not land, hearing that all the people were at their farms. The river was there nearly half a mile wide, but not deep; the banks were high and cultivated; no mangrove trees were visible; and the waving plantain and banana leaves indicated plantations on both sides.

Early in the forenoon we reached *Itu* about twelve miles above Ikorofiong. It stands on the top of a high and rugged hill, covered with wood, and difficult of ascent, from the broken and rocky state of the pathway. The people there have a bad name. They used to exact toll from canoes passing, and on one occasion seized a Duke Town gentleman and held him to ransom. Calabar made war on them at that time and freed the river, Captain Beecroft being of the company; which the people remembered on occasion of our visit, calling me Beecroft. For these reasons our Creek Town people were averse to go ashore there.

The houses of Itu were small and every way inferior to those down the river, though constructed on the same plan, and the passages through the town were narrow foot-tracks, between rough stake fences which surrounded the houses and gardens.

A noisy crowd followed us to the house of the head man, and nearly stifled us by choking up the apartment to which we had been led, while, with unusual rudeness, they quarrelled among themselves for the front rank. The entrance of the chief for whom we waited restored order, while his decorous conduct, intelligent countenance, and agreeable manners commanded respect.

Addressing the *Aubong* we explained the object of our visit to the places up the river, and expressed our wish to be friends and teach them the word of God. He replied in the most courteous manner, that it was sweet to him to be king of the town that day, when white gentleman had visited it; and that he was sorry the other chiefs were at their plantations, but if we could wait till evening, or call again on our way back from Omon, they would come in to meet us.

The disorderly young men who crowded the place, asked if we had anything to give them; and, as we really had brought nothing from the boat, they said scornfully, that our coming to see them with empty hands was useless. We replied that we were not

traders, but teachers of God's word, and as we had not come to Calabar to make money could not give large presents, yet we might be friends without them, and might prove our friendship in some better way. This was new and unwelcome doctrine to them, and they hooted it as quite inadmissible, being urged on by Duke Town traders among them. The fact was that we had a present in our boat for one chief, who, we heard, was worthy of attention, but had left it till we should learn which was he, and if he were in the town.

Promising to see our new friend the Aubong on our way back, we took leave, while the rabble shouted to us not to return, for we were poor fellows, that had nothing to give our friends when we visited them. And as we descended the hill they followed with drumming and hooting all the way to the beech, where they threw sand after us as we got into the boat. They fairly drummed us out of their town. To show, however, how little we cared for their rudeness, we merely shoved the boat a little way from the shore and went to breakfast.

Between *Itu* and *Omon*, not more than twenty miles, our progress was slow, the river being wide, and the channel winding from side to side. We lost it also, and grounded on a vast flat, with hardly more than a foot of water, and there stuck fast till the evening tide, though it never turned the stream, raised the river and floated us off. We passed *Iniong* in the dark, but heard the voices of the inhabitants, and saw their lights moving on both sides the river, as if they saw or heard us, and wondered at the apparition. At midnight we reached Omon island, and dropped anchor within a mile of the town landing-place.

Next morning, as we approached the town, great numbers of people crowded the banks, about thirty feet high, and the broad, shelving, white, sandy beach. Before landing we sent Hogan with our respects to the king, and Anana with the same to his father. They were heartily welcomed by the people ashore, and on their return brought us word that the king and chiefs would be glad to see us.

The town stands on the highest part of the island, as the river rises in the rain season so as almost to wash over it. The situation is good, commanding a fine bend of the river, with an open

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peared everywhere. It was Bom
origin.

Introduced into the yard of K
lying on a mat by his house side
supercilious aspect. He had a coa
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numerous complaints, the consequ
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native superstition, had the chief
was *Ana Yum*, the father of ou
trader and richest man, had mos
should properly have been the king.
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Having laid out our present for
found it graciously accepted, we
listened to with good attention b
things we spoke of the education
Ana Yum for sending his son to
do the same. The old fellow, wh
elbow to hear, interrupted us to ma
our discourse. Book-learning he d
nearer home, thought it incompatibl
he asked jeeringly, "how can a man
cut bush and make farm with mache
he politely called a fool, before his f

and other crimes; and then directed them to the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of men, who alone could bestow all good and save from all evil. When we ceased, he asked the name of the Saviour, and repeated *Yeesus* and *Sheesus* several times; but vainly endeavoured, with strange contortions of the mouth, to pronounce Christ. *Jesus, Son of God*, he made sure of; and we were glad that he had acquired even that little of divine truth.

AN OMON CHIEF AND HIS ATTENDANTS.

In the houses of the other chiefs, also, we addressed the assemblies whom we found gathered to meet us—Mr. Goldie and I performing that duty alternately. Thus a great many people had "certain strange things brought to their ears," which we hoped,

The river at that spot was ac
only about four feet deep, anc
and bottom; and it seemed a:
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out, plashing and plunging, of
small proportion, nor the least

Going ashore in the evening
place, where a few dealers still l
a boy with some small articles c
facture, for sale. He was an *Ibo*
for skill, who travel about, and
remaining away from their ow:
work in his hand showed skill :
of different sizes—the finest bein
which, as a curiosity, I offerec
needles. He would have accept
trader standing there told him sl
drew back his hand then, and
papers. Of course I left him wi
missionary in a market need not

Passing along, we paused at a l
his operations. It was like wha
workman—a sharp-looking young
iron pellets, perhaps to serve as s
was in the fire, he bruised a little
anvil; then drawing forth the i

was appointed to be held, and there Mr. Goldie expounded the laws and exhibited the grace of God. At the close, old *Asuqua* said that they would think of what had been told them, and we must return the next morning, and tell them again all things that God liked and did not like; and then they would tell us what things they could agree to, and what not; and so far as they could keep them, they would take oath to that effect. This was communicated confidentially to Hogan, who seemed much pleased with the proposal, and said that "it was the best word the king had spoken." "If they do so," said he, "it be all same as when man-of-war come to Calabar, and all gentlemen put hand to book to put away some bad fashion, and do things better."

We were not quite so taken with the proposal as our friend Hogan. Their plan of choosing and rejecting among God's laws we could not sanction; and we had neither any right to bind them by treaty or oath to any particular line of conduct, nor means of enforcing the obligation.

King Juju, as we may call him, had rum brought in and a glass filled, which he carried aside, probably to pour out to some of his idols; for he returned with the glass empty, had it filled again, and drank it off. After going the round of the chiefs, the glass was handed to us; but how great was their astonishment when we all refused. The old gentleman urged us greatly "just to taste it; only to put it to our lips;" and then reproached us with making and selling to him what was too bad for ourselves. When we replied that we had nothing to do with the making and selling of it, and would rather it were never made or sold at all, he turned on Hogan: Why should he bring it to sell for King Eyo, when he counted it bad to drink it himself? The other answered, that he sold it for the king under orders, and it was not his palaver; but when with us, he was on our business, and free to refuse, as he never drank it of his own choice.

The next morning we were early ashore, having been promised meetings both in Asuqua Obo's yard and in Ana Yum's. Both had engaged to call the people to hear God's word, and both disappointed us. A few did assemble, however, to whom we preached the word of the Lord, applying it to their bad customs, and showing them their need of a Saviour. The *pontifex* replied

that they were willing to stop all war, if all countries would agree to be at peace with them; but, he added, "when our slaves run away, and the *Akuna kuna* people will not give them back to us, what must we do?" The Sabbath they were willing to keep, but they could hear nothing against their abia-idiong and juju. The commandments of God were all very good; but as for the seventh, it was impossible for a great man to keep to one wife; and it would be time enough, he said, to talk about it when King Eyo and all Calabar gentlemen agreed to "God-man's fashion" in that respect.

When we were in Ana Yum's yard, he took his son and Hogan into an inner room, which he locked on them; and then said that he was glad to see his son grow such a fine, big boy, and to hear that he attended school and learned his book well. Had he been at home, he would not have improved so much. Indeed, somebody would have killed him, rather than let him "come up so fine." Because he liked King Eyo's ways, he gave his son to live with him, and he wished him to be a good boy. All this, though said in secret, was probably designed to be repeated openly, and it was repeated to us as soon as we were alone with them in our boat.

At noon we bade good-bye to *Omon*, and, with the stream in our favour, made good way homewards. Below the island on which the town stands are *the narrows*, where Eyamba was twice repulsed in his expeditions against that place. The current there was unusually strong, and on each side stands a thickly wooded hill, well fitted to shelter a defensive force. A few miles lower down, the river expands, and forms an island, where King Eyo's company stopped in 1848, when he went to settle the "war palaver." We called it *Peace Island*. Further down was another that we called *Isantem Island*, from the number of hippopotami there seen. The farms of the *Iniong* people, who are in close alliance with Calabar, cover both sides of the river. They have a language of their own, but all learn the Efik. A canoe put off to meet us, and invite us to land; but our desire to be at *Itu* before dark required us to hasten on, and we could only promise to see them another time.

A tornado, which was gathering and grumbling in the mountains, might, with the previous rudeness of the people of *Itu*, have induced us to pass them without calling; but we had promised,

and it was proper to show them how little we regarded their incivility. The polite gentleman, King Eyo's friend, whom we had seen before, received us gladly, and with him were a few elderly chief men, whom he had called from their farms. The unruly youths were absent; but their misconduct was apologized for as the effect of rum, and the rulers promised that the like should not again occur. They inquired about our proceedings at Omon, and if we had no word from God for them also. This enabled us to preach the gospel, the one word for all places and all people—that men should turn from their idols and sins, to serve the living God, and look for his Son from heaven. Ere parting, we gave the present we had brought, which filled him with joy, as a proof of our respect.

Before we could reach the boat the tornado burst on us. Unhappily, those left in charge had neglected their duty, and it was not prepared for the storm. The sail was not taken down to make an awning for the people, nor dinner cooked, and we could only sit and suffer till the tornado abated. After some hours our fire was rekindled, and things made snug for the night, which we spent at anchor before the town.

Next morning we grounded at Ikorofiong, and every one had to jump out to assist in hauling the boat over the shallows. When the water deepened, it was so suddenly that the men at the bows lost their footing, and plunged unexpectedly overhead. Then a lively scene of scrambling took place, as every one was clambering in while the boat was drifting away. A few hours later at Isong Iyang, Young Eyo, who awaited our return, made us welcome, and that same evening we reached home again, well ourselves, and happy to find all well there.

A few weeks after our return from *Omon*, an attack of fever had nearly proved fatal to me. Of an insidious kind, it reached a crisis on the third day before it excited alarm. The exhaustion of nature was complete, and life seemed to be ebbing, when powerful stimulants had to be employed. The little that could be administered would have been ineffectual had I been in the habit of using wine or spirits, but, being a total abstainer, the smallest quantity, even drops from a spoon, had a powerful effect, and, by God's blessing, succeeded in restoring me.

A trip to sea, accompanied by Mrs. Waddell, promoted my recovery. In Clarence we were very sorry to find our missionary brother, Mr. Wheeler, worse than myself, and he had been so for several weeks. As he was still unable for public duty, I was thankful to be able to officiate for him. While there we learned of the loss of the brig *Englishman* on its way from the Gaboon and Corisco to Clarence, with an American missionary and his wife on board, who were seeking health in the ocean breezes like ourselves. All went down in a tornado, all but a Krooman, saved on a spar. Alas, for the brother and sister, whose lives and hopes of usefulness had been so abruptly terminated! When we thought of the many "perils by sea" from which God had delivered us, we had cause to say, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits, who delivereth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies."

On our return we heard, as usual, of some barbarities that had been committed in our absence. One man had been put to death for the least possible cause. As a farm-servant, he had paid his master the quantity of oil required of him, but had sold the surplus, admitted to be his own, to another than his master, and so had violated a law of the plantation. For how little cause was precious life destroyed in that ruthless country! Another person, it was said, had been put to death by the most horrid mutilation. The whole affair had been kept secret as the grave, but suspicion was awakened by an old and peculiar Egbo being called out, which put a certain kind of offenders to death with diabolical atrocity, the victim being left bound to a tree in the forest with his lower jaw cut off. Only hints and whispers could be heard. It was the first time that that infernal Egbo office had been performed at Creek Town for many years. But at Old Town Mr. Edgerley had found a putrifying body bound to a tree, mutilated in that way; and at Duke Town, when we were clearing the site for the mission-house, we came on one of the same kind, without imagining that the mutilation had taken place while the doomed wretch was still alive. The cause could not be known. What tigers those Calabar men were towards their offending slaves, though so smooth-faced towards the missionaries. Like beasts of prey that had tasted blood, they were in their wrath perfectly ravenous.

About the middle of that year we came into direct collision with King Eyo, about a matter which excited all his keenest and strongest feelings. In duty to conscience, to the permanent interests of the mission, and to the honour of our Lord, we had to oppose him at all risks, and God in his goodness conducted us safely through the trial, and brought the affair to a good issue.

Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller used to visit and teach his wives, who could never leave their court-yard to attend any public meeting. One of them, by name *Ima*, the Efik word for *love*, was missed for several weeks, and to their inquiries they received from others only evasive answers. At length she was discovered, out of the yard, under a broken shed, an outcast, in a neglected and starving condition, without help or pity from any one in town.

What had she done? She had gone into the street without leave, quarrelling with an impudent girl that had provoked her. Her face was seen and her voice heard, where they should never have been seen or heard, in a way so dishonouring to her lord and master. Eyo had left his house to visit the shipping, but had not left the beach, when the unhappy woman's passion led her into such a dreadful impropriety, and he instantly gave orders to close the yard gate against her, and never let her enter it more. She rushed back, but was too late. She ran to Father Tom to implore his favour, but found none; to others of the king's brothers, but they all repulsed her. Not a house in town dared open its door to receive her; and in the wretched hut where she had been discovered, open both to wind and rain, near to where she had lived in ease, had she been crouching night and day for nearly two weeks, with only a little food and water, brought to her secretly at night, by a slave woman.

When Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller spoke to the King on Ima's behalf, he answered them in anger, though usually most respectful. Had it been as in former times, he said, she would have died the day she left his yard. They wished to give her some clothing, for she was suffering from the weather, but he forbade it, saying that their presents should be for good women, not for bad; nor would he consent to her being removed to some better shelter, having given her, he said, a good house, which she had thrown away, and now let her get better if she could. Their

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and also Father Tom, whom we

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dinner while the case of that woman, which lay heavy on our hearts, was unsettled. This step caused me anxious thought, for it involved serious consequences; but it appeared as if we could better encounter the consequences of a quarrel with him on that ground, than other consequences which would ensue from an opposite line of conduct. There are times when we must sacrifice peace; and when mercy, truth, and righteousness, and God's honour are in danger, that is the time. We had been grieved about many things before that, and must make a stand somewhere.

The King's answer proved how much he felt my refusal; being written in a tone of asperity altogether unusual to him. He thought that I put that woman before him, and believed everybody's word more than his. She had troubled his mind plenty already, he said; and now for her palaver I had refused his dinner. The desired effect was, however, produced. Before night she was in a good house, though at the extremity of the town.

We may write about these things calmly now; but they agitated us at the time. Dangers past cease to be dangers, and are forgotten. The fears they excited seem afterwards excessive. But they may not have been excessive at the time; and the review of the case by unconcerned parties may be in fault from ignorance and apathy. That case disturbed the king's mind as much as it did ours. It must have cost him a great struggle ere he let the offender go. Not merely his domestic rule was at stake, but his honour and authority in the country, and the good opinion of all the nobles of the land, who might require that wife to be made an example of, for the terror of all wives. The case bears some analogy to that of Queen Vashti. When I called on him two days afterwards, to pay my respects, and remove any bad feeling that might have been produced, his appearance struck me, as that of one who had suffered a great internal conflict, and passed nights of sleepless anxiety. To myself he was calm as ever, and no allusion was made to the subject, but his agonized looks betrayed the mental agitation.

To Eyo's credit be it said that he never bore a grudge. Neither to *Ima* nor to us did there appear ever after any trace of lurking resentment. She kept her house, however, by our advice for a full year, as it were mourning her widowhood, after which she

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may have joined it. One of that class, reckoned a "gentleman" in Duke Town, had some dispute with a "gentlewoman" of Duke Ephraim's family. The lady sent to the farm, called her son, and told him the case. The latter took a whip to the house of the man and flogged him there, saying, "How dare you make palaver with my mother? Don't you know you be slave for our family." The other could neither deny the fact, nor resent the injury. Tortures are the doom of any slave resisting his master. He brooded over it, however, for a long time, till it seemed forgotten; when, having wiled his opponent to his house, he said to him, "You called me a slave, and you flogged me; now we must die both of us this day together." Saying which he attempted to get at a keg of gunpowder he had ready to blow them both up; but by some means he failed in the attempt, and his victim was rescued.

The apparition of armed bands from the bush holding the town, so alarmed the ship captains, for their property ashore, that they sent off hastily to Fernando Po, for the consul and a man-of-war. Talking of these things at King Eyo's table one of them said, "I would like nothing better than to see the heads of a hundred of these fellows cut off." To that humane sentiment another old trader added, "They ought to be shot down like dogs." All the rest of the company, but one, echoed these opinions. "Before they have committed any crime?" I asked; "while perfectly peaceable and seeking only lawful objects? They claim only what our Society was formed, less than a year ago, to secure for them,—that they should not be killed for nothing, nor flogged without cause." A storm of condemnation on all sides was the only answer to my remarks, and the proposal of a conference with the heads of the party, and a reasonable attention to their complaints, was pronounced impracticable and absurd.

They soon found that they need not have been so frightened. The "bushmen" were called in by Archibong and went away at his bidding, having done no harm; and those who wanted to shoot them, and behead them off-hand, were ashamed of their panic when the consul and man-of-war came, and had nothing to do. Beecroft, however, sent for the plantation head men and leaders, heard their complaints in the presence of the town rulers, and arranged a treaty of peace between them, in six or seven articles,

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table, he was not insensible to t
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vent its spreading by the old me
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'FATHER TOM,' NOW KING KIM II.

"FATHER TOM," NOW KING EYO IV.

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it would never be executed; a fine would be exacted instead. In conclusion, we set forth God's justice and mercy in the death of Christ for us, because he loved us, and gave himself for us, of his own free will.

XV.

Trial for witchcraft in Cre- ins—Upheld by women—Great meeting on board ship ab ith breaking—Discussions concerning these things—Sunda ; Eyo irregular—The king's growing knowledge of divine

A REMARKABL ed witchcraft came from Ekrikok to Creek Town for adjudication. The private use of the *esére*, or poison bean, otherwise "chop nut," had been forbidden, and its judicial use placed under *Egbo* authority, at the time of the prohibition of human sacrifices. Thus it was restrained and sanctioned at the same time, taken from the hand of personal revenge and placed in that of public justice. From King Eyo's known aversion to "abia-idiong and free-mason palaver," we hoped that he would not allow anything of the kind in his capital; but in this instance were grievously disappointed.

The case was this :—Of four brothers who lived in Ekrikok the eldest had died, and the youngest charged the other two with *ifod* or witchcraft against him. An abia-idiong had declared it; the deceased believed it; a wife was involved in the accusation; and the country knew no better way of settling the matter than by applying the customary test, in which all parties had such implicit faith.

It was after dark when a secret message reached us that "the free-mason palaver" was being tried in the town; the woman had "chopped nut" already, and the men waited their turn. Mr. Thomson and I hastened down, and found a great crowd in the street surrounding the front of Tom Eyo's house in a semi-circle, in the centre of which were torches and lanterns, and the three victims seated on the ground. As we pressed through the crowd our name was whispered, and one said to another, "Who told him? who told him?" The woman was in the act of swallowing

her second dreadful dose. The men had drunk theirs and sat, with elbows on their knees, and heads on their hands, awaiting the operation of the infallible detective. One stood near grinding the beans on a stone and making ready the deadly potion. Looking around, and not seeing the chief ruler, I cried aloud, "Is King Eyo here?" but got no answer. Advancing and peering, I cried again, "Is King Eyo not here?" and then heard his voice, from under the projecting roof of Tom Eyo's house, "Yes I am here."

"King Eyo," I said, "what sort of wicked work is this going on in the dark? You may think to hide it from man; but God sees it all clear as day. Here you encourage by your presence and authority, this free-mason palaver, which you know is fool palaver, and make these people die for nothing. They are not murderers nor thieves, that they should be killed this night before your face."

"It no be my palaver," he replied softly; "I try to stop them, and they no will."

"It be your palaver, King, when done in your town and under your eye. No man can lift hand in this place if you no will. If it be done against your will, then you no be King. Yes; now I see, for true, that Calabar has no King, no God, no missionary, none but abia-idiong. At his word people live and die. He says they have witch, and you make them chop nut. You be slave for abia-idiong."

He replied with energy: "It no be so. You know very well I no be man for abia-idiong; he never come for my house. I been want these people no for chop nut, but they won't hear me. I no come here for make them chop, but for fear they make too many men chop. If I no watch them they can make ten or twenty people die this night."

Having brought emetics with us, I begged him and the other chiefs to stop the trial, and let me give it. He consulted them; but they decided to the contrary. Our most earnest entreaties were positively negatived.

Just then the woman retched, and running to her I placed my hand on her head and claimed her life. "By your own law and custom," I said, "this woman is clear, having twice vomited the

nut; and now no more must be given her." "True, palaver set for her," replied Eyo; "she must chop no more."

The next moment he leaped to his feet, and stood face to face with Mr. Thomson, who had just made some pungent remarks on the proceedings. "Thomson, Thomson," he cried, "you say I sit here; I sit here; yes, I sit here; where do you want me to sit? Do you take me for your boy? Do you want to put me in your pocket?" He was very angry.

Knowing the authority attached to age, and being Eyo's equal in years, I hastened to interpose and appease him. "King, don't be vexed. You know that all the mission family honour you, as head of this town, and first man in all Calabar; and we always pay you the respect which is your due. But we are the servants of God, and must speak the truth to all men. We must denounce such murderous work as this, when we see people put to death for nothing. You know yourself, and have said it, that 'witch palaver be fool palaver;' and chop nut can prove no man innocent or guilty. So don't be angry with Mr. Thomson, for he speaks only the truth; and we don't wish to vex you, for we all be your friends."

"Oh, I am not angry," he replied; but corrected himself: "yes; true; I been angry little bit with Thomson, but it done now." Then he pleaded his own good wishes and designs, and his inability to carry them out, by the stubbornness of the country, which, he said, cared neither for his word nor mine, so much as for its old fashions.

I said that he feared the country too much and God too little, and that he should act on his own convictions of what was right, trusting in God who could defend and prosper him. The Lord of heaven had declared his wrath against kings and countries that shed innocent blood; and if those strangers would not take his advice he should have sent them away, and not let them bring sin on his town, and waste sacred life in his streets, before his eyes; for surely if he took part in their sins he would have to share their punishment. Perhaps he might think that I spoke too strongly, as he had told Mr. Horsfall, that "white people did things too strong in Calabar;" but strong evils required strong measures to remedy or prevent them.

"Oh, no, no!" he exclaimed; "I no been talk that word for you. It be trade palaver. I talk them captains, not the missionaries."

While we thus debated, at greater length than can be remembered or repeated, the closest attention was paid by the whole assembly, and the proceedings were interrupted. At length Eyo arose, and gave the word; the victims were removed to the Palaver House, and the crowd dispersed. He gave us his hand ere parting, and we entreated him, as he valued the favour of God, that he should never again allow in his town such a sinful and senseless custom, which destroyed precious life, on the imputation of an impossible crime, at the word of an ignorant and wicked deceiver.

We returned to our house much dejected, for we were disappointed in Eyo. He seemed to pander to the superstitions of the country, when we thought he would have resisted them. We were glad, however, that we had been able to testify so publicly and effectually against the custom; and still more when we heard next morning that two out of the three survived. That was the last case of the kind, to the best of my knowledge, in that town, public or private, while Eyo lived.

The subject of *infanticide* came up prominently this year. At all the stations it was determined, if twins were born in the towns, to bring both mothers and children to the mission houses. Our "Humanity Society" was bound to move in a matter which so loudly called for its action, and in which all parties might be so harmoniously united. At Creek Town some of the principal men could be depended on to aid our design; while some others would not oppose it; and they who might resist were, we hoped, neither many nor influential.

To our surprise, the greatest opposition we met came from a quarter whence it was least expected, the women themselves. A public and general demonstration on the subject being contemplated by our "Society," it was proper to prepare for it, and endeavour to win over the people by previous instruction. Preaching on *Christ the light of the world*, I referred to the deeds of darkness perpetrated in heathen countries, and particularized *infanticide*

as beyond most bad customs unnatural, above most crimes heinous and unaccountable. Eyo approved of all that was said, and enforced it by arguments and illustrations of his own. But the elderly ladies of the town, sitting in double row behind us, murmured and contradicted us both; and maintained so sharp a dispute, that for a time service was interrupted. These were the matrons, or dowagers of great families, who had gained freedom and independence by widowhood, and influence by their children. They repudiated the doctrine of twins as monstrous and abominable, and spat out in disgust at the mention of such a thing. Their opposition, I remarked, presented a new illustration of our subject, evincing the darkness, depravity, and deadness of mind and heart, which prevailed where the light of Christ had never shone; and made women worse than tigers to hate their own new born infants. One of the men in Young Eyo's meeting, where the subject was afterwards referred to, said that the "old gentle women" keep up all the bad customs. "It be this," patting his mouth significantly with his hand, "It be this make them bad fashions so strong in Calabar."

On the 21st October a great public meeting was held on board the *Abeona*, the largest ship in the river, to consider the subject. The best means had been used to secure a full attendance of the principal men of the three towns, by the captains asking them to breakfast beforehand, and conveying them to the place of meeting in their own boats. Even Mr. Young was out, free from arrest, that day. The company filled the quarter-deck of the ship, and was admirably arranged. Captain D—— presided, and Mr. Goldie was clerk. The meeting was opened with prayer; the chairman stated the object of it generally, and then called on Mr. Edgerley, Captain T——, and myself, to plead the cause of humanity. The addresses need not be reported; any one could speak on the subject under consideration; and some peculiarities in the arguments and illustrations proper there would be improper here.

The native gentry being requested to consider and reply, King Eyo, after a few moment's pause, addressed his assembled countrymen on the subject, recapitulated what had been said, and put the question in a manner favourable to our object. A free conversa-

tion ensued among them, in which the Duke Town gentry all seemed opposed to us, especially Archibong Duke, Mr. Young, Bassy Ofiong, and Hogan the pilot. At the close of the discussion among themselves, King Eyo expressed their opinion, that the old customs of the country could not be changed.

This result was unexpected, and led to a number of hard questions being put to him and them. Eyo said that he had delivered only the opinion of the meeting, but being urged to declare his own, said that he agreed with us; and being further pressed what he would do in the case of a twin birth among his people, he assured us that the children should not be killed if he could help it.

To remove what seemed the chief stumbling-block, I stated that we did not insist on keeping those mothers and children in the towns. If they were allowed a village of their own to live in near hand, or to live among their own people in the farms, it would serve the principal purpose we had in view, to save their lives. The Duke Town gentry, however, refused, and said that any man keeping those women and children would be "blown out of town."* Piqued probably by their tone of defiance, King Eyo at once answered boldly—"I thank you, Mr. Waddell, for that word, and agree to it. I will give those women and children a place to live, and then we'll see who will blow me out of my town." That speech raised our hopes, and Eyo received, as he deserved, the greatest applause from our "Society." His brother John, who had apparently been dubious, became at once decided, and said that he also agreed to the proposed measure.

Mr. Young was hard put to it for his double dealing, and could keep face with his own side only by downright lies, told with amazing effrontery. He was reminded by one of the captains that he had said if his wife bore him twins, no man could make him put her away, but stoutly denied having ever said any such thing. Mr. Edgerley put him in mind also, that he had spoken in similar terms to him and Captain S——, but again he vehemently asseverated the contrary. "I won't say so, Mr. Edgerley," he exclaimed; "I can't say such a thing." Every one, white and black, laughed outright, and some said that his denials were as good as confessions.

* Expelled by Egbo.

The meeting broke up without coming to any satisfactory conclusion. As a demonstration in the face of the country, however, it was well fitted to have a good effect, bringing the subject under universal discussion, and adding weight to our private remonstrances. The young men, and all who attended the schools, were with us on the side of God and humanity; and ere another year was over, the cause had made such good progress that we had mothers and twins living in our houses, both at Old Town and Creek Town.

Unity of sentiment between the missionaries and their commercial countrymen in the river, on subjects pertaining merely to humanity, by no means indicated concord on all others. Questions of religion and morals divided them. Prominent among these were *polygamy* and *Sabbath-breaking;* and within three weeks from the harmonious meeting in the *Abeona*, they were in open antagonism on these points.

To take these subjects in the order which led to the collision, so as to explain matters, we must go back in the order of time. In the course of our regular ministrations at Creek Town, *polygamy* came several times fairly before us; and for the sake of a class of most promising youths who wished to become Christians, and indeed of all, both old and young, it was necessary to give clear and distinct utterances on the subject. Our young people had not only the bad example of their own countrymen, sanctioned by custom, to mislead them, but the bad influence of some of ours, more than one of whom increased the evil by perverting passages of Scripture to justify their misconduct. King Eyo had also at that time taken two new wives publicly, contrary to a kind of promise, and in scorn of all remonstrances, while his whole household distressingly exemplified the system referred to in all its demoralizing nature and effects.

Commencing a regular course of reading of sacred history, we saw in the first human beings the intimate nature of the marriage union, and that the true conjugal relation never can be realized in more than a pair. The primeval blessing of fruitfulness promised to them was shown to be still bestowed on the legitimate marriage relation, and withheld from the perversions of it, as

exemplified in Christian and Mohammedan nations; the former overflowing and colonizing the world, the latter wasting away for want of people. These subjects afforded matter for exciting discussion. King Eyo said that they multiplied wives for the sake of offspring. I replied that they took the wrong way; the blessing was given to a pair. He said that his father had forty children. I replied that he had sixty wives, half of whom were barren, while, in a Christian land, they would have had two or three hundred children, every woman having her own husband.

A course of lectures on *relative duties* led to those of husbands and wives, when I had to point out that their marriage system was contrary to that ordained by God. They made nothing of the wife any more than a slave. God made her to be man's equal and helper in all things, though not his rival, having her own appropriate sphere of duty. They were like a man's right and left hands—a stronger and a weaker—the latter somewhat contrary in its mode of working, but thereby the more helpful, and though weaker so necessary that without its help the former would lose half its power. Polygamy was the multiplying of left hands on one body, which ceased to be a help, and by their number became a hindrance and positive encumbrance. As there were only left hands enough in the world to balance and help the rights in pairs, were it possible that men could multiply them in any place, whoever took two would deprive another of one, and whoever had ten would leave nine others destitute. What a state of society would that be where most of the people were crippled on one side, and the rest were overburdened with a superfluity of limbs. The audience laughed at the parable, but felt that they were laughing at themselves.

Another time, being on the 50th Psalm, I had to speak of thieves and adulterers, and their partners. The former part of the verse comprised those who would not pay their debts, and the King maliciously applied it to some near him. They returned the *joke* by applying the latter part especially to him. I had charged the sin in some form or other on all. The King appealed to Camaroons if any gentleman had taken new wives since the mission began. The latter quietly replied that he believed the King had got all the new ones himself. The other tried to explain that

they had all been given to him before my coming to the country. But he owned that he had too many, and five would be enough for him. The whole abominable system of polygamy and concubinage was exposed to their faces that day.

Several lectures on the book of Proverbs and the wisdom of Solomon were concluded by one on his folly and sin. He was at times referred to by Calabar men, taught by others, as an example rather than a warning, his sins being boastfully proclaimed, while his repentance and paternal admonitions were overlooked. To Eyo, who was reputed a wise man in government, but was addicted to the same folly and sin, I recommended the example of Solomon's latter years, both for his own sake and that of his sons, who would succeed him.

A band of careless young men enjoyed the opposition that the King made to these doctrines, and disturbed our meeting with talking and laughing. His brother John also said that "no man could put his finger on a text which forbade a man having two wives." *That* from one who did not know the difference between a verse and a chapter, or one text from another, showed where he had learned his lesson; and in reply I referred to false doctrines and false teachers in plain terms. Captain W—— and Surgeon H——, who were present, reported all that was said to their companions down the river.

These discourses did not follow each other in immediate succession; nor was that particular subject selected to the exclusion of others more important. It came before us naturally; but when it came required particular attention.

During the course of these lectures a little *mulatto* girl came under our notice. She was remarkable as being the only one in the country,* and as destined, though the daughter of a white man, a professing Christian, still trading to the river, for the King's harem. It seemed better, if it could be effected, that she should receive a Christian education, and be reserved for Eyo's second son Eshen; and I spoke to the King to let her father take her to England, and educate her there properly for that purpose. But he would not hear of it, denied the right of her father to

* We cannot venture to explain here the different reasons we have heard adduced for the remarkable fact of there being only one child of the mixed race in Calabar.

her in any way, and referred the case entirely to Willy Tom the owner of the child's mother, and the child's self. Then he proceeded to excuse the "fashions" of his country, by referring to nearly similar practices in ours, and to justify the doings of his white friends in the river, by saying, that only missionaries were required to keep one wife, while all other men were free, even by Bible authority, to increase the number. I knew his teacher.

The person referred to had just arrived with his ship from England, and being a church member at home might be dealt with as a Christian brother. We discussed the subject pretty fully in his cabin; but he still maintained his opinion of the lawfulness of polygamy, to a limited extent, under certain circumstances. In conclusion, I said that if he allowed any man a plurality of wives, however few, under any circumstances, however urgent, others would feel entitled to increase the number, and vary the circumstances. Beyond number *one* it would be impossible to establish any rule of limitation; and his views would open the door for the whole system of polygamy and its cognate vices, with all their ruinous consequences to individuals and to society. I besought him, therefore, as a professing Christian, not to encourage the sins of the country, and counteract our labours for its conversion, by expressing such opinions; and for his own soul's sake not to act on them.

Matters were going on in that way when we went one Sabbath afternoon to Old Town, to have united fellowship in the Lord's Supper. Boats sailing about took our attention; and it grieved us to learn that Sabbath breaking had increased among the ships, while no divine service was allowed on board any of them. A conversation on the subject between Mr. Edgerley and myself, in which references were made to the judgments of God, and to the loss of four Calabar ships and some boats during the past year, was repeated by the clerk of one of them, then present with us, as soon as he got on board his vessel.

When the "river gentlemen" heard of these remarks, and of those made in our Creek Town meetings, probably in an exaggerated and distorted form, they were inflamed with resentment, and agreed to call me to account. The time and place was fixed for King Eyo's dinner table, and hints reached me beforehand of

what was coming. D——* opened the discussion by referring to what had passed at Old Town. He had heard that particular reference had been made to him and his owners, as under the especial judgments of God, for their sins, because of the loss of some ships, and he felt aggrieved. In reply I stated exactly what had passed, in which he was not particularly referred to, and called on his informant, then present, to say if anything more or different had been uttered. The person referred to stumbled over a speech, which confirmed my statements. T—— introduced the question how we should understand the judgments of God. It seemed enough to say in reply that we were bound both to obey His laws, and to observe the operations of His hands, accordant with them, in the events of divine Providence. These were neither to be disregarded, nor attributed to chance. If men knowingly offended God by breaking His commands, He would certainly find some way of making them know His displeasure.

D—— then adverted to the allusions which had been made to them in our Sunday meetings in the King's yard, and denied that they were enemies to our mission, and incited the natives against our instructions. I repeated what had been said on those occasions, and which had reference to only some of their number. One of them asked, point blank, if he were alluded to; and was answered, as directly, that he was. He said no more. "Gentlemen," I continued, "you come here for trade, and we to teach God's word. We don't interfere with your business, nor should you with ours. If any one ventures to express infidel or immoral sentiments among these people, we shall oppose and denounce him, whoever he may be. We are here for the defence of the gospel; we represent a large and influential Christian church, and must not suffer the word of God to be blasphemed."

One and another immediately cried out that they had never done so; and Eyo added that he had never heard them say so. I knew who had done and said so; but though called on for names hesitated to give any, as unnecessarily personal. At length Mr. H——, a young supercargo, who was forward in the affair, exclaimed, "Oh, you are afraid; you are afraid." "No, sir," I replied;

* The reader must observe that in references to persons by the initials of their names, the same letter does not always mean the same person. Sometimes several names began with the same letter.

"no man ever saw me afraid. But since you are so urgent for a name I shall name yourself. Do you remember on board the ship —— laughing at Ephraim Eyo, him at your back there, when he knelt down to say his prayers, and telling him there was no God for him to pray to? And when he answered, 'O shame, Mr. H——, don't say so, remember who made you;' what did you say? Who did you tell him had made you?"

Mr. H—— immediately leaped to his feet in a fury; called it a lie; then said it was an old story, why did I not give something more recent; next he wondered why I should have singled him out rather than the old traders on both sides of him; and concluded by speaking of favours bestowed on the mission.

As to more recent cases I could produce some if necessary, I said, but if he liked the old one so ill, I feared he would like the new ones no better. It was his own fault that he had been singled out, for he called for names, and had made himself very prominent in the business. Whatever favours the mission had received were always thankfully acknowledged; but we were indebted to him for none.*

H—— was for replying, when D—— interposed and quieted him, saying, "O Mr. H—— recollect, we engaged to keep our tempers; let that matter drop." I had my eye on C—— sitting beside H—— for the next example, as he used to say that the Bible was "cooked;" but he wisely kept mute. The two who had reported my sermons in the King's yard were also silent. Others also kept out of the fray. Then T—— began to heal matters a little by saying that all his hopes were founded on the Bible; and D—— supported that sentiment, saying that he only wished he could act up more fully to his convictions respecting it, and he hoped whenever I had anything to say about him, I would say it to himself.

On the whole the debate ended favourably; and we all shook hands at parting, except H——, who sulked and would not say "good night." To B——, a hearty fellow, just arrived, I remarked, as we parted: "So, that squall has passed." "Yes, and I am very

* Various merchant ships, by the kindness both of the owners and captains, had frequently brought out the mission supplies without charge; but Mr. H—— had not. The only favour he ever conferred was selling us a hundred weight of tobacco at full price, for brass rods. The exchange was an accommodation, and I thanked him for it at the time.

glad of it, he replied; "for it has been gathering very black all week down the river." For a long time we heard no more of infidel and immoral teachings.

A few additional illustrations of our Sabbath-day services will suffice to complete the picture of that department of our missionary work at that period.

It may have been noticed that our meetings were not always so quiet and reverential as Sabbath and church services at home. We were liable to disturbances of various kinds. Sometimes the King's wives and their attendants, who assembled in a yard opening off that where we met, kept up a rattle of small talk, till Mrs. Waddell took her seat in the open doorway, and kept them in view. Sometimes the ceaseless bleating of goats and kids, tied up in the yard, was accompanied by the incessant cackle of a hen and chickens, too free to move about. Once or twice a lively pig bolted into the midst of us, pursued by a barker, and made its way under benches, and between people's legs, till it took shelter beneath the king's table, and turning stood at bay. It was not easy to maintain one's composure amidst such disorder. Sometimes the town-watch took the hour of public service to present themselves in the King's yard; where they would draw up in rank and file, march round, and out again, greatly to the satisfaction of the audience, glad of any diversion. Messengers, giving and receiving private communications, were frequent. Occasionally a great gentleman from Duke Town, or elsewhere, would enter with his train. But we were generally pleased, for various reasons, with such an increase to our congregation. One day the people were long of coming in, and the King, after he had sent twice to strike the town-bell, ordered his yard-gate to be closed. Then he took note of his own people, who were present and absent. The following Sabbath there was a greater than ordinary crowd, and a greater than ordinary clamour in the outer circles. At the close, Eyo made a long speech on the necessity of his people attending the meeting and hearing the word of God, and concluded by saying, that since he had got missionaries to teach them, he would never draw back. Another time, a company of people from *Iniong* country were so delighted at hearing the children cate-

chized, and their prompt and accurate replies altogether, that, when the lesson was done, they shouted and clapped their hands. Again, when teaching the ten commandments, Eyo stopped at the eighth, and the whole company burst into laughter. What for? "Because," said he, "they all steal, and always will steal, and it is no use to tell them not to steal." The interruptions were more numerous and varied than can be described; but we got used to them, and, on the whole, had many good, quiet, devotional meetings. By such a process was a regular, attentive, quiet Sabbath-day congregation formed at Creek Town for the word and worship of God, such as we shall afterwards have to describe.

Young Eyo was not always punctual in attending to the meeting in his own house; and one day he delayed so long, that I left the place to return home. Falling in with him on the way, I said, "Well, Eyo, if you think it right to behave in this manner, I don't. After sitting in your house this half hour, and seeing no one, I am going home." "Won't you come back?" he said, with surprise. "Not to-day, Eyo. These palavers in your father's yard that you waited for are not work on God's day for you and me." "Oh, you must come back!" he replied, earnestly. "It no do we no have meeting." "I cannot go back to-day, Eyo. This is not the first time you have kept me waiting too long. Your father never does so."* My mind almost misgave me, he looked so sorry; but it was needful to be firm with him. He made speedy amends, however; for he hastened after us with all his people to the mission-house, and we had an excellent meeting.

It was interesting to observe the growing capacity of our interpreter to understand, and, we hoped, to appreciate, the higher truths of the gospel, and his increasing willingness to deliver them. This was especially indicated, soon after our return to the country, in a discourse on the love of God to men in the gift of his Son for their salvation, and the love due to him in return. Long after our first arrival in the country he could not comprehend the subject, simple as it looks to us; and he repulsed it, saying, "Calabar man no fit for saby that; tell them about the fashions." He

* King Eyo was a pattern of punctuality. He was usually in his seat at nine o'clock to a minute; and if anything detained him, so that we arrived before him, he apologised.

meant the reformation of their bad customs. Neither he nor his people knew the merest elements of moral and spiritual truth, on which the gospel message must be based. To convict them of sin was, therefore, in the first place, necessary; and the exposure of their abominable practices, public and private, by the light of God's word, was found to be beneficial, both for the reformation of manners, and the awakening of conscience. They who know not the sinful and dangerous state of mankind cannot comprehend the love of God, and the death of Christ, for the world; nor can those who have not been convinced of their sins value the Saviour for themselves. Once, when Cain and Abel were the subject of lecture, the difference between a thank-offering and a sacrifice for sin was explained, and the duty of all men to follow Abel's example. Eyo owned that they never confessed sins to God, never prayed for pardon, and knew nothing of such things before time. They used only to thank God when they had plenty "chop and coppers," and to beg him to let no one kill them. On the occasion referred to, our interpreter entered with interest into the subject of the grace of God in Christ for the forgiveness of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost to renew the vile human nature. Pressing his hand on his breast, he said, with great feeling, that he wished God would give him his Spirit to change his heart. Nothing more apparently sincere in tone, look, and gesture, did I ever see.

The gospel in all its simplicity must be the first and principal topic of a missionary's preaching. "Preach the gospel to every creature." True; but what instructed Christians would call simple gospel, might be the reverse to ignorant heathens. That precious verse which we teach children, "God so loved the world," &c., contains to the mind, in native darkness and deadness, as many mysteries as words, and requires a course of preparatory instruction in primary and elementary truths to render it merely intelligible. The young people in Calabar, and in Jamaica too, their minds not being prepossessed, nor their hearts hardened by old errors and sins, required less previous teaching to understand the gospel than did their seniors. The simple gospel is not in the New Testament alone. It begins with Genesis, and may be read in every book of the Bible, in promise, precept, or exposition.

The law, both ceremonial and moral, was elementary gospel, and preparatory to the full revelation of Christ Jesus. The first Greenland convert, so often referred to, had probably got many a lesson, which prepared him to hear and understand the touching narrative of the Saviour's sufferings; and all his previous instructions, which his teachers, perhaps, thought lost on him, produced their proper effect in preparing him for the blessed work of the Holy Spirit by means of his word.

It is not meant that the gospel message of mercy is to be withheld, while the thunders of wrath are heard in the law. That would be an error of the opposite kind. Every exhibition of the duties and sins of men, and of their condemnation before God, should be accompanied with an exhibition of Christ the Lord as the Saviour of sinners and fountain of all grace.

In concluding these notices of our meetings, I may mention that, for a long time, for years indeed, the King and his chiefs retained their seats during prayer. At length I asked why they did not pray to God? He said that they did with their hearts. I asked him again, would he like his servants, when they came to beg favours, to sit down carelessly before him? At once he replied, "You never told me that before;" then repeated my words to the company; and ever after he and they stood up to join in the prayer, and devoutly responded AMEN.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1852.

Death of King Archibong—Dreadful doings in Duke Town—"Blood men"—Some of the chiefs there escape for their lives to Creek Town—King Eyo goes and restores order—King's house at Creek Town burned—His own good conduct—Egbo laws encourage crimes—Young Antica Cobham's brutality—Other examples—Native trial for libel—My house boy—Conversation with Egbo Jack, and meeting in his yard—Fanties fight—Egbo Jack's blasphemies—Law against family quarrels.

IN the beginning of February 1852, King Archibong of Duke Town died, and the association of "blood men" again appeared. During his illness, the brethren there, Mr. Goldie and Mr. Anderson, visited him with the word of the Lord; but he heard it with apathy—his recovery engrossing his whole attention. The means used for this object were, indeed, in the eyes of reason, little adapted to promote it; but they were all that native skill could suggest. The putrifying bodies of fowl and goats, in different parts of his premises, poisoned the atmosphere. He owned at length that they were useless; and in answer to the missionary's admonitions about his soul, and trusting to Christ, had them removed.

His mother, *Obúma* by name, sometimes called Mrs. Archibong, from her prominence and influence, became still more distinguished at that time, and seemed to reign as queen of the town. Attributing his death, as usual, to witchcraft, she began to make his wives and others "chop nut;" and it was said also that she had broken the new law by the death of many slaves. Mr. Young, though taking part with her in administering the fatal test, most solemnly assured the missionaries that no one had in any way been put to death for the deceased King.

The town was soon filled with bands of armed men from the plantations, who came to avenge the death of their "father." *Obúma* had called them in, having her eye on higher game than the poor wives whom Mr. Young had helped her to destroy. She

directed their attention to himself, his ruthless brother, Antéro, their fierce and bloody-minded niece, Ofiong, and other members of the late Eyamba's family. Her antipathy to them was understood to arise from the following cause:—

Old *Duke Ephraim*, who died in 1834, had begun to weaken his own family by having some of them put to death who might covet his property, as well as rivals who might rejoice in his decease. After his death the work of destruction was continued by the late *Eyamba*, to remove opponents of his elevation out of his way, and the Ephraim family were the chief sufferers. Young Eyo told me that, one way and another, above two hundred free people died for Duke Ephraim, besides slaves without number. He had seen the devil house erected for him, which was covered roof and sides with the skulls of the victims. Eyamba designed to break down the Ephraim family altogether; and the sudden death of John Duke, in 1846, was attributed to that cause. The only considerable person of that family remaining was Ephraim Duke, formerly mentioned as one of the competitors after Eyamba's death, and who now renewed his claims. Mr. Young was again his rival, and had begun to sign his name "Eyamba VI." Him and his, therefore, the Ephraim party resolved to get rid off, and the farm slaves were ready to help on the design; for these people, beside their attachment to the family of their old master, the great Duke, had an enmity to the others for their cruelty, mingled with contempt for their poverty.

Several thousand armed negroes assembled in the market-place, with the chiefs and their attendants, to oblige accused parties to stand their trial. Some of the missionaries attempted to address them on the subject, and stay their murderous proceedings, but, were regarded as intruders, and desired to go away. Some of the supercargoes also proposing to interfere were ordered off the ground. Among the doomed ones, the brethren saw a young woman take the "nut" with levity, talking and laughing with the by-standers without seeming fear. A free man of the town, who had joined the "blood men," saw one of his wives subjected to the ordeal, without attempting to save her.

Mr. Young gradually drew off from the work of death; but Ephraim Duke furiously urged it on. At length a woman of

some rank being accused, exercised her right of challenging an opponent, and called on Mr. Young to "chop nut" with her. It was late in the day, and he managed to get the business deferred till next morning; but took care during the night to escape on board ship, and thence, on Eyo's promise of protection, to Creek Town. Thither he was speedily followed by *Antéro*, while some of the females of that family got refuge in the mission-house, which by turns sheltered both masters and slaves. It seemed a righteous retribution, that these men should have to flee for their lives, from the doom they had so often unpityingly allotted to others.

When Young's name was called next morning some one made answer for him that he would "chop" with *Obúma*, and none other. But that lady was as little disposed to be put on her trial as he; and she threatened to blow up the town if any one dared to speak to her on the subject. Nor did she merely threaten; but forthwith prepared to execute her threat, by knocking in the heads of six casks of gunpowder that were in her house, and laying a train. Known to be a woman of determination, her fell purpose created a general consternation, both in the town and among the shipping.

When Duke Town had been for several days in that state of anarchy, the brethren wrote to King Eyo to interpose and save it. He answered that he could not go till called on by its own head men; but he would send and inquire their wishes in the matter. He had sent Egbo the day before without being able to effect anything; as the "blood men" filled the town; but he was willing to go himself the next day if necessary.

The same day that Eyo went to Duke Town, the missionaries also assembled there for united prayer, on behalf both of the country and the mission; and when he landed they went to meet and salute him. The sight which presented itself was an uncommon and impressive one. At one side of the market-place sat King Eyo under his grand umbrella, guarded by a moderately numerous, but very select band of armed men. He had brought only his usual retinue of three canoes following his boat; but they were filled with picked people. Beside him Duke Ephraim, Heny Cobham and other chiefs, took their seats, with their followers. The "bush people," several thousands in number,

surrounded the rest of the market-place, standing in good order, three or four men deep; and all armed with guns and cutlasses.

The situation was critical. A rash word or act might have made open war in the town before night. To restore order it needed a self-command and tact equal to the boldness with which Eyo had presented himself with a small guard in the face of that armed multitude. He accomplished that object, however; and before night those wild hordes had retired to the plantations, all parties having sworn *mbiam*, that no more persons should die, in any way, for the late king.

A few weeks after the foregoing events, when they had served to exalt King Eyo to a great height of fame for wisdom and power, his dwelling house and stores were burned to the ground, with great quantities of valuable furniture and trade goods to the amount of five or ten thousand pounds. Viewed in connection with the help he gave our work in the country, it was likely to be misunderstood by those in whose eyes outward prosperity and adversity are the proofs of God's favour or displeasure, the tests of right and wrong. Happily the calamity was not misunderstood by him.

The fire happened the night after I had gone for health to sea for a week or two. The following notes by Mrs. Waddell, written in my absence for my special information, gives an interesting account of all that occured :—

"We retired to rest as usual about ten o'clock, but ere midnight were aroused by a noise in the town, the violent ringing of the great bell, and a glare of light which filled the house. I rushed into the hall, and met Miss Miller coming out of her room in equal alarm with myself, and then saw that the King's house and stores were all on fire. We sent off our house-people and Kroomen with pails and tubs to carry water, and then joined in prayer to God. The buildings were being consumed with fearful rapidity, illuminating the whole country around.

"Mr. Thomson went to see if he could give any help, and found hundreds of women carrying water, while the men were employed in breaking down the surrounding houses, to prevent the fire spreading. The King and his brothers were endeavouring to

save some valuables; even his women's yard was thrown open, and his wives all called out to work, some to carry water from the river, others to carry away, and save where they could, cloth and other goods.

"By four o'clock, the fire having burned itself nearly out, Mr. Thomson went down the river to acquaint the brethren with what had occured, and bring them up to comfort the King. At seven o'clock, Miss Miller and I having got a little sleep went down town to see him and offer our sympathy. He was sitting in his new yard, where he always sits on Sabbath, and looked sad and exhausted. Truly it had been a sad night for him. Some way off sat Egbo Jack, silent and sorrowful. For a few moments we also could not speak. At length we told him that we thanked God to see himself safe, and reminded him of the afflictions of Job and his patience. He remembered the story, and applied it, saying, that the Lord had given to him, and now the Lord had taken away again, and he was satisfied. It grieved him particularly that much goods in his store were not his own. I proposed to send breakfast for him and his brothers, who had been up all night labouring in the fire, and inquired what he would like. He thanked me politely, and said, anything I pleased. We went to his wives, who were sitting down in sorrow, as when mourning for the dead. Some murmured, saying, where would they now get their chop. Others blamed God as having done very ill to their 'father.' But there were a few, wiser than they, who admonished them not to speak so.

"The brethren from Duke Town and Old Town soon came up, and were gratified to find the King in such a proper state of mind; neither despising the chastening of the Lord nor fainting under it. The ship captains and Duke Town gentry also soon began to arrive. Camaroons, who had been at his farm, came in great distress to see us. We spoke words of comfort to him, which pleased him so much that he wished we would go and tell them to the King, not knowing that we had already done so.

"We went again in the evening to see what he might require, and offered to send him supper. This he declined, but requested a blanket and sheet for his bed, knife, fork, &c., all which had been lost. On our way back we found Tom Eyo and

others sitting at his door, very down-cast. They were in a good state of mind, however, and owned that it was of the Lord; and what could they say. He added, with truth and good feeling, 'We all suffer this loss, for we all get out of that store.' We said that it was good that King Eyo saw God's hand in the fire, and did not regard foolish witch story. 'Oh, very true indeed,' he replied. 'Suppose King Eyo been mind witch palaver, the half of this town been chop nut by this time. But he hear what God says, and he done for that thing.' We visited some poor sick people, and found them in great distress, as no one could mind them that day.

"On the Lord's day Mr. Edgerley preached, and the King was in his place as usual. He said, 'I tell all my people they must come and hear God's word, same as before. Suppose I flog any man, and he sorry for his fault, and beg me, I must stop. If he not sorry, and beg me, I must flog him more. God flog we all now.' Some great gentlewoman, he said, had talked about somebody having 'free-mason' against his house; but he told her that it was God who had done it, and not man; for if he had pleased, he could have sent a great rain, and killed the fire at once. From all the country around, people came in daily to comfort him, bringing presents. One poor, sickly woman, coming from the farm to pay her respects, died on the way.

"The next day the brethren and sisters from the other towns came again to see him, and bring such things as he might need. All his house boys also needed things, having lost their shirts, blankets, cloths, &c., which we tried to supply as we could."

To the foregoing I have only to add, that missionaries and captains all said that Eyo had conducted himself so well on that occasion, he stood higher in their esteem than ever before. To myself he said that he was glad no house had been burned but his own, and no lives lost in the fire. He also remarked truly, that, had he been away from town, every one would have said, if he had been present it could not have happened; but he was there, and his brothers and their people, and they could not prevent nor stay the fire; for God sent it. A good proof of his chastened and subdued feelings was afforded, when some people, that had been caught stealing during the fire, were brought to

him. He merely reproved and dismissed them. His daughter *Inyang*, formerly referred to as a monstrously great "gentlewoman," joined others in saying that "God do their father very bad to burn his house, after he always call people to meeting, and speak God's word to them." She was reproved, however, by her young brother *Eshen*, who said that she spoke foolishly, like Job's wife; and that perhaps God saw that their father loved his riches too much, and for that cause took the half of them away. The same youth observed that it was a mercy of God they were not all burned, and the whole town too; and that God could make great good come out of this seeming evil.

We may bring together here several exhibitions which the peculiar Calabar institution *Egbo* made about that period, from which its nature and design may be gathered. Its inutility for good government was strikingly manifested during those disturbances at Duke Town which have been described. Yet the power with which it subdued the refractory Guinea Company people, showed the facility with which it might be applied to useful purposes.

The eldest son of Antica Cobham, of Duke Town, who in 1846 killed his father's head slave, and afterwards another, with perfect impunity, had this year been guilty of a barbarous outrage on one of his wives, without any notice being taken of it by the chiefs of the town. The gentlemen of the shipping were, however, moved with the utmost indignation, and said to King Eyo, that if there was no power in the country to bring the villain to justice, they would arrest him themselves, and send for Consul Beecroft to come and try him for his many crimes. Eyo was silent; but after they were gone, he remarked that they wanted to usurp authority over Calabar, as if it belonged to them. I replied, that the daring and repeated crimes of that young man rendered it necessary for the rulers of the country to do something with him, and not seem as if they approved of his atrocities; thereby they would leave no occasion for foreigners to interfere.

After a few weeks, finding that Duke Town would not act against the barbarous offender, the captains and missionaries went in a body to King Eyo, to persuade him to exercise his great

power to some good effect, by arresting and punishing the criminal himself. But he, while condemning the crime, demurred to the line of action they proposed, having, he said, neither the right nor power to do as they wished. He was not absolute king of the country; he had no authority in Duke Town, as they knew,* unless invited; and could not seize and punish that man, who had broken no Egbo law, without himself becoming an offender, and raising the whole country against him. In short, it appeared, though Eyo was loath to own it, that the Egbo Society was originated and maintained, not to repress crime, but to render its members absolutely irresponsible for their conduct towards their dependants.

The white gentlemen were astonished to learn that the native oligarchy was so powerless for good, and strong only for evil. It could fine Captain K—— for an act of mercy, when he had rescued a poor woman from the whip of a savage Egbo runner, who had pounced on her in the streets. Could it not punish one of its own subjects for an act of atrocity? No; the one opposed, the other favoured its objects and designs. So young Cobham continued his murders, and laughed at his accusers, till judgment overtook him from an unexpected quarter.

The town of *Ikorofiong* came under the ban of Egbo in the following way: A man there sent an officer of the society to another in *Ikunitu*, to obtain payment of a debt; who, not receiving it, seized his children as hostages by tying the sacred yellow band on their arms. He did more, and exceeded the license of his order, by carrying off goats belonging to other people in the town. The *Ikunitu* people appealed to Duke Town, which took up their cause, and sent an Egbo with several armed canoes to repair the damage, by plundering *Ikorofiong*. The latter resisted, and prevented the landing of these unwelcome visitors, which provoked the Duke Town people to prepare for war in earnest. All the proceedings were irregular; but King Eyo prevented the war against the offending town, which had appealed to him, by calling a grand Egbo meeting to settle all palavers. *Ikorofiong* was condemned for having resisted Egbo, its fault being high treason;

* He referred to the opposition the supercargoes had always given to both towns being united under him, their rivalry being considered good for trade.

but was allowed to redeem its life by two substitutes, finally reduced to one head and a fine. We endeavoured to secure that the fine only should be exacted, even were it increased, and thought we had succeeded, and that the affair was all settled, when, after several weeks of silence, the Duke Town Egbo suddenly appeared at our beach, and, ere we learned what it came for, carried its victim to the old market-place, and took away his head.

King Eyo, when dealt with about this shedding of innocent blood, pleaded that he had opposed it in the Egbo council, but in vain, as his voice there was no more than that of any other; and he appealed to God who knew his heart, tears at the same time filling his eyes, that these things troubled his mind very much. "Calabar men never think," he said; "they no will take time and think what they do." Duke Town gentlemen, however, declared that they would have been better pleased with double the fine without the head, had Creek Town consented. On the other hand, Old Egbo Jack asserted that no amount of money could redeem *Ikorofiong's* head; its offence could be purged only by death. In other words, that "without shedding of blood there was no remission;" and he pointedly asked, almost in the words of Caiaphas, if it were better for all Ekrikok to die, or one man instead of it? "Egbo law," he said, "is the same to Calabar as God's law. If any man break it, all Calabar must make war on him till they kill him, if he no give man for his head. It be Egbo make Calabar pass all black man's country." And he laughed at the idea of any other equalling it. "Is it Bonny?" he asked with disdain; "or New Calabar? or Brass? or Camaroons?"

The following is one instance of Egbo justice. Two of the minor gentry quarrelled, and one called the other a thief. The latter challenged his opponent to prove his words, or pay for the slander; and he fixed the damages at two slaves, or, failing them, his two ears, agreeing, if the other could prove the scandalous imputation, to forfeit as much to him. Not being himself a member of the higher grades of Egbo, he engaged a great gentleman to plead his cause in an Egbo meeting, on the usual terms of a half of the proceeds if he gained it. The advocate succeeded, but made little by it; for the defamer had neither ears nor slaves to spare, and both the interest and honour of his family connections

were concerned in his not losing any he had. He was, therefore, condemned to be publicly flogged; and, tied to the flag-staff in the market-place, he received fifty lashes from an Egbo executioner, in the presence of the king and other gentlemen—the whip being no cat-o'-nine-tails, but a cowskin, long, and strong, and lithe, fifty strokes of which would be worse than several hundreds of the other. The punishment was not very public; for neither women, nor children, nor slaves, could appear when that Egbo was abroad.

Another case occurred, in which an "Egbo palaver" was compromised altogether by fine. A young man had let fall an Egbo drum, which he carried in one of the ceremonies; and disrespect to any of its sacred things is a capital crime. I pleaded with its chiefs how disproportioned the penalty to the fault. "He was drunk," said one of them; "and we must teach them young men not to drink rum on Egbo day, to make fool of Egbo thing." I thought of the prohibition against priests drinking wine when serving in the tabernacle.

The following instance of the absurd despotism of Egbo in trifles, came home to myself. A procession passed within a quarter of a mile of our house, while one of our boys, a gentleman's son, was engaged beside me in the veranda. He was seen from the procession, or else a spy, unobserved, was watching our house; and a messenger came from the Egbo gentlemen to summon him to the Palaver House. "See, sir," said he, "what Egbo want to do now; they want to fine me, because I stand here while they pass yonder." I sent answer by the messenger, that he had not been out of the house all morning to look after Egbo; and also, was engaged at my work, and could not leave it. Ere long, another messenger, more formal, came to summon him, and, as before, without speaking to me. Instead of sending him to be terrified and punished for nothing, I went myself to protest against their intrusion on my household, in violation of customary courtesy and acknowledged good order.

They were all in Egbo Jack's Palaver House, and the boy was a nephew of that same great man. I asked why they had sent to call away one of my servants without reference to me, or word of explanation? The boy had not been out of the house, nor off his duty all morning, and why should they seek to trouble him when

he had done no wrong? Was it not enough, that when Egbo was in town, none of our servants could leave our house for any business? Must they also be locked up in dark rooms?" "Yes," cried old Jack, "lock 'em up; that be proper way. If 'em no lock up, they must stoop down so, when Egbo pass;" and he bowed down till his own face was almost on the ground. I said that we were careful never to intrude on their Egbo, and it must not intrude on us, for we were not subject to it. Such vexatious and absurd proceedings would bring it into contempt. A good man, who feared God, could not join it. It killed the innocent, and let the guilty escape; strengthened men in their crimes, and persecuted good boys for nothing. Eyo said, "Palaver set;" and I came away. But it was told me subsequently that the lad's friends had to pay a fine for him after all.

Creek Town consisted of three divisions—the Honesty town, the Ambo town, and Jack's town—and I tried to establish a weekly meeting for instruction in each, beside the public one in king's yard, which would soon be transferred to the church. Having succeeded in Young Eyo's and Camaroon's houses, where neighbours, as well as the households, attended, I hoped not to fail with old Jack. On our first interview for that purpose, I said that I used formerly to call to see him, but his people always told me that he was sleeping or working, and could not be seen; and I supposed that he did not want to see me. "No!" he replied; "what way I can fear for see you?" I asked if he prayed to God? "Yes," he said, "he did so all times." "And what do you pray for?" "For life," he replied, "that God make me live life long time." "Well, how long do you think you can live life?" "Don't know." "A hundred years more?" "Don't think so." "Well, time will come, you must die?" "Yes, must die." "What will you do then?" "No saby." "Can you live again?" "Me no saby." "You would like to live for ever?" "Yes." "Then pray to God in the name of Jesus to make you live for ever." Thereupon I preached to him Jesus and the resurrection; but he seemed to have no interest in the precious and important message of divine love and life eternal in the gospel.

On the day, and at the hour appointed, I went to his yard to

teach his people; but found him and friends at chop, and had to sit aside till they were done. The idle people loitering about his door were then called in; but he scouted the idea of his wives attending. "King Eyo do them thing," he said, "but it no fit for Jack; Jack no will." The jugs and mugs of mimbo were still on the table, and were being filled and emptied while I spoke. Soon as I began, he also began to talk to his guests. Having paused till he ceased, I resumed, and then he at once resumed his conversation. Thus he interrupted me several times, still filling and handing mugs of mimbo to friends who came to salute him. At length I said to him in, perhaps, not the softest tones, "Am I to stand up here like a fool, while you and every one are talking? Or shall I sit down and wait till you are done? or take my hat and go away?" "We are done now," he said, "go on." Ere long, a messenger summoned him to a palaver in king's yard. He instantly got up, called for his hat and silver-headed staff, and without a good-bye left us. The rest followed. By comparison with the meeting there, we learned to appreciate those elsewhere. Mrs. Waddell tried meetings among his women, but with little better success. They had all imbibed his spirit.

Another example of that old gentleman, but not more favourable than the last, presents itself in the following occurrence. It is probably the last time we shall have occasion to mention his name.

A faction fight took place between his people and those of the *Ambo* family, represented by Camaroons. A person of the latter town seized a woman of the former as security for a debt, which was due, however, not by her master, but by some one else of that family. He resented it, and seized one of the Ambo slaves in retaliation. Hostile messages passed between the heads of the towns, which ended in a street fight, the slaves on both sides being led on by their masters. King Eyo, hearing of it, hoisted the yellow flag of Brass Egbo over his house, and sent out a strong band of Egbo runners with their bells and whips, who soon dispersed the rioters.

The streets were cleared by the time I got down, and all parties were within doors; but I called on two of the principal men on each side, to try by friendly counsels to promote peace. Camaroons, small as he was, could not be surpassed for high

spirit; and he was very bold that day; but promised to be quiet, keep his people within doors, and set a good example. Hogan Basy, on the same side, made good promises, and gave a specimen of what Calabar people called "sweet mouth." Three things, he said, kept Creek Town—King Eyo, Egbo, and Missionary—and he must hear me as he would hear God.

Egbo Jack was better known for "strong mouth" than "sweet mouth," and was, indeed, a strong man, having more slaves than any other, except King Eyo. His yard was full of people prepared for a fight, with long heavy sticks, bows and arrows, and bundles of darts about two feet long, sharpened at both ends. No guns and cutlasses were seen, however, as they were weapons of war.

Jack was highly excited, and would hear nothing that could be said. He was indignant that Hogan Basy should presume to equal himself with him; and when the law and authority of God was mentioned, he blasphemed shockingly, as if his Maker were altogether such an one as himself. He raged about his long-continued sickness—the consequence chiefly of his intemperate habits—and about his declining trade, for he was deeply indebted to the ships and could get no more trust. He acknowledged neither goodness nor forbearance on God's part, nor any sin on his own. He had done God nothing, he said; but God had done him too much bad. If he could see him he would fight him. He boasted of his power of injuring others, saying that he "could do bad past every man in that town, if any man did him bad." Exhausted by his own violence, he at length calmed a little, promised to leave off fighting, and to send away his people to their farms. I spoke of the danger of encouraging the "bush people" to come and fight in town, (that was before the outbreaks at Duke Town), hinting, that if they came one day by his orders, for his purposes, they might come another day, without his orders, for their own.

The town was not quieted till after some days, when an Egbo court was held, and the Ambo family which began the disturbance fined. Then a proclamation was made by the king in person, in full procession, forbidding family fights, under heavy penalties. "If two men fight," so ran the law, "no one must join on either side, lest it grow into a family quarrel. The third who engages in it will be held guilty, and have Egbo palaver."

CHAPTER XXVII.

1852.

Fate of Mr. Chisholm—Many boats and crews lost—Twins saved at Old Town, and Egbo blown on mission-house there—Twins saved at Creek Town with King Eyo's help—Thieves and punishments—Young Eyo's letter—Consecrates his house to God—Mixes in country customs—Opposes his sister Ansa—Opposed by his father—Ill effects of his unsteadiness—Use of interpreters—Books in the Efik tongue—Failing health—Fernando Po; address to Mr. Beecroft—Voyage to England, and incidents thereof—"Billy overboard, sir"—Lying-to in a fair wind—Fog in the Channel—God hears prayer, and shows our way.

THIS chapter will conclude our second campaign in Calabar, and end with our return to England for the recovery of health.

What has become of Mr. Chisholm; we have heard nothing of him this long time? The question so easily put is not easily answered. While I was at home in 1848, 9, he dissolved his connection with the mission with consent of the brethren, and settled in Fernando Po to work for himself, expecting to better his circumstances. I found him there on my return from Britain, and at his own desire settled accounts with him. We knew that, whether as house or ship carpenter, he could get good work and wages at Clarence if he minded his business, and might be more likely to mind it there than he had been with us.

In the spring of 1851 King Eyo sent for him to come and work at putting up a new house. He left Clarence in a small coasting vessel with that object in view, and has never been heard of since. Whether it was upset in a squall, or got into the shallows of the *Rio del Rey*, between Calabar and Camaroons, where all on board would be seized by the natives, and held or sold as slaves, or was becalmed, and drifted away with the current southwards, and out into the wide ocean, is a matter of conjecture. In these several ways boats and crews were often lost. The following cases came within my own knowledge:—

A ship's long-boat left Calabar for Bonny. Unable to reach that place, after many days beating to windward Captain C——

put back to Clarence, and thence sailed for Calabar. For six weeks the boat was not heard of. At length a white sailor and a Krooman, ransomed from the *Rio del Rey* people by Calabar native traders, reached Duke Town, and told the sad fate of the boat and crew. It was upset in a tornado off the mouth of our river, but the men clung to it for several days and nights while it drifted down the coast, till exhausted by exposure to sun and rain, and by want of food and sleep, all fell off, or were torn off by the sharks, but these two, who were taken by a native fishing canoe, and kept till liberated in the way mentioned. The Calabar people had orders, when they traded in that direction, to inquire for shipwrecked seamen of any nation, and bring them to the ships, where they were remunerated; and as that happened soon after Mr. Chisholm was missed, fresh orders were sent by King Eyo, both to his traders and his farmers in that direction, to make every inquiry for him, and if alive, to spare no pains or cost to recover him. But he was never heard of more.

In the beginning of 1850 Mr. and Mrs. Y——, missionary teachers going from Clarence to Camaroons, were capsized in a squall. Happily they escaped from the sinking schooner by its boats, but were seized by the barbarous people of that part of the coast, stripped of everything, and held to ransom. The Bimbia people ransomed them, and sent them to Calabar.

A Calabar captain, on his homeward voyage the previous year, picked up a Fernando Po boat and crew two hundred miles south of that island. They had left Camaroons for Clarence without a compass, having the island full in view, lost sight of it during the night, in the morning could not see it for mist and rain, and went sailing about looking for it till nearly lost, having drifted out to sea.

One of the times I went to Bonny, a yam boat of Clarence was ordered by its owner to follow in the wake of the mission vessel, expecting a good market there for its cargo. We left the cove as usual at night, but saw nothing of the boat then or since. It followed us, we learned on our return to Clarence, but at what distance no one knew. And what became of it no one knew for six months. Then a Krooman, who had been on board of it, returned from Corisco, and reported that they had lost themselves, and when nearly starved had landed, not knowing where they were;

that some of their party were killed and others enslaved, among whom he was till he managed to make his escape by an English ship touching at the coast. In some of these ways, doubtless, our poor friend Chisholm disappeared.

The birth of twins this year, both at Old Town and Creek Town, enabled the missionaries to commence the reformation which humanity demanded, on behalf both of the mothers and children. A woman in the mission-house at Old Town was like to go distracted when she found what she had brought forth, and wanted to kill the poor infants, but Mrs. Edgerley saved them, and soothed and comforted the mother by assurances of her safety. It was not easy, however, to secure their safety, for the old chief and his people there were furious about the birth, and dreaded the destruction of their town from the vengeance of their god *Ananse*, who lived in the spring at the bottom of the hill. Finding that the missionaries would not throw away the infants, nor expel the mother, Willy Tom "blew Egbo on the house," forbidding any one to go near it or the school, and then retired to his farm up the Qua river, where he remained for a full year with most of the people.

The Egbo prohibition had little effect. Both Camaroons and Young Eyo visited the place to see the poor babes, and the latter brought a present of cloth and other things for their use. He even took them into his arms to the amazement of his followers, who had said that no man in Calabar could be bold enough to do so. His coming was a full proof of King Eyo's good feeling in the case; and the school children of all the towns rejoiced in what had taken place, and went to see the little wonders.

A few weeks afterwards twins were born at Creek Town, and immediately removed to a farm in the neighbourhood, before we heard of it, with orders from King Eyo to the people there to take care of the mother and children. Miss Miller at once, with some of our house people carrying needful things, set out to look for them, and on her return gave a lively account of her proceedings. Finding the poor woman without fire or water, she made the farm people bestir themselves in providing both, though at first they were more inclined to flee from than to help her. They

would not for a long time look near the infants. Indeed, the women ran screaming to hide themselves whenever they were held out towards them, as if they were monsters. The men first acquired confidence, and drew near when they saw our house boys and girls nursing them with safety. Then the women began to peep through holes and round corners, creeping nearer and nearer, till they ventured to look over the men's shoulders, and were at length amazed to find that the prodigies had hands and feet, eyes and ears, mouths and noses, like other babies. They had never looked on twins before. While she was there old Eyo sent out yams, and fresh orders to the farm servants to take the best care of both mother and children.

As much depended on the successful issue of the first case, it was considered best to have them near ourselves. They were brought in, therefore, even publicly and through the market, with a convoy that made a sensation. One of our boys, a gentleman's son, carried the infants sleeping in a basket, and seemed proud of his burden. No ill feeling was shown by any one. Camaroons came in just as they arrived, and saw them lying side by side. Thinking, perhaps, of his own lost ones, he exclaimed, "They look so beautiful; very beautiful indeed." The King and his brother Tom also came to see them, and he told the mother to fear nothing, but take care of the children, and he would take care of her. Nothing delighted us more, however, than to see the joy with which our house and school boys and girls welcomed these little strangers, and indeed acted with us in all measures for social and moral improvement. When we saw how their hearts and consciences seemed to be gained in favour of Christian truth, purity, and mercy, we could not doubt, under God, the ultimate success of our missionary work in that country.

One of the infants was delicate from its birth. The crying of the mother one night told us that something had happened. We feared for the puny babe, and found our fears confirmed. The mother was in real sorrow. Let this fact be noted. Calabar women bewailed their sad fate when they gave birth to twins. We heard of only one who had refused to destroy them.* Here

* A man rich in farms at Guinea Company was a twin born. But he dare never leave his farm, though Eyo told me he would willingly receive him at Creek Town.

nature, uncontrolled by devilish superstition, resumes its sway, and the mother, with only one week to get over her old prejudices, bewails the early death of her sickly babe, whose life might have been one of pain and sorrow. Oh, mothers, what a satanic system of delusion and superstition must that be which can harden women's hearts against the feeble plaint of their new born, and make them destroy their own offspring! What do we Christians not owe to the gospel, the message of mercy?

We noticed formerly how often we had to beg for persons in punishment, even at the risk of being deceived. A few more instances may be noted to complete the picture of that sort of work.

One of Young Eyo's traders, a known defaulter, broke lock and came to me. He was sent back, to remain where he had been chained till I could go to his master. The latter stated the case in the man's presence. During the past three years he had lost goods by him, to the value of twenty-seven puncheons of oil, worth several hundred pounds. Only at the request of friends in *Omon*, who promised to look after him, did he trust him again; and he was again cheated. Three months previously he had sent him with a small supply of goods to sell for brass and copper rods; and at last heard of his misconduct there; and that he spoke of staying there altogether, by giving himself up to the *Omon* juju house as a sanctuary. He had, therefore, sent and brought him home. Of the goods entrusted to him the man could account for only a half, having squandered the rest in company-keeping, feasting, and dancing. The offender being called on for his defence had not a word to say for himself, and was told, therefore, that he must take his punishment, which was neither unjust nor excessive, for missionaries could not encourage knavery.

The cool impudence of another of these troublesome rogues almost amused me. He presented himself one morning with a broken chain on his neck, and told his story in a straightforward honest way, which bespoke its truth. He had been sent by his master to sell yams, but had amused himself, eaten them up, and then run away. At last he was caught and chained; but managed to break loose, and hoped I would beg for him. Know-

ing his master to be rather a mild man I denied his suit, and sent him home, under guard, to take his chain again. On the way he attempted to bribe his guard to let him off, and say I had released him; but the latter was wise enough to hand over both the man and money to the owner.

Another was discovered one night climbing over our yard gate. He proved to be one of the King's blacksmiths, whom I had recently under treatment for sickness, was in punishment, but broke lock, and came to me to beg for him. I said if he would go back and sit down in the old chain till morning I would speak for him. He would be flogged, he said, for the lock he had broken; but on getting another to replace it, which he engaged to pay for by his work, he went away quietly. His submission ensured his release; his sentence of three weeks in chain, which Eyo called light, being remitted. A light punishment! He was not indeed flogged. But three weeks chained by the neck in an open shed, among dust and dirt, and exposed to the chilly night air, which those naked people felt severely, with the scantiest possible supply of food, was not a light punishment. It is customary, however, with all slave owners to regard their punishments as small, and favours as great. The former are reckoned to be less than deserved, because less than might be inflicted; and the latter more than deserved, because more than could be enforced.

On the subject of punishments, an art in which slaveholders are ingenious, the following illustrations, which are not too horrible, occur. A young free man, of good family, waiting on the King, spoke slightingly of Father Tom as a poor man. The former heard of it, called for a certain rough leaf used like *sand-paper* for polishing furniture, and had that applied to the lad's mouth till his lips were quite excoriated. They were not the better of it for months.

A runaway woman was brought back, and ordered to run up and down the main street of the town all day. Her master sat with his table and books at one side, and many people lined the streets to see her perform penance. Business led me thither; and the poor woman rushed to fall at my feet and clasp my knees. Some people came to drive her off, but I took her to the King, and he forgave the rest of her sentence.

One day in the audience-yard two men sat bound in a peculiar fashion. One had his arms tightly laced from fingers to shoulders with small cord, and compressed into half their size. The legs of the other were treated in the same manner, from ankles to thighs, in a way most painful to witness. But the men did not cry, nor seem in acute sufferings. It was more likely to be hurtful than painful to them. That was to make them disclose their hiding-place for stolen goods, and their accomplices. I told the King how unjust it was to torture men on suspicion, and how uncertain as a means of obtaining information; adding that all Christian countries had left off the practice. Eyo replied that he was sorry to have recourse to it, but must use some means with them, and knew no other.

The following Sunday morning a head farm woman brought as prisoner a man accused of theft, with his arms bound in a similar manner. I asked Eyo if all his head people had the same liberty of torturing others in that way? Ashamed, and vexed at the woman, he ordered the man to be instantly loosed; and ere we were aware two men had her in hands binding her arms in the same way with the cords taken off the prisoner. Her tears and sobs indicated her shame and sufferings, till we begged her off. "I make her know," said Eyo, "how she like that thing herself. She no right to do so with my people."

Several notices concerning Young Eyo scattered over this period, have been reserved to the close of it, to present him to our readers as he then appeared to us. From a letter to the mission secretary we present the following extracts:—

"I thank God, our great Father, and I beg him to bring me into the way that you wish, and I thank you for your prayer, and hope our heavenly Father will soon answer your prayer, for we was so long in darkness as the valley which was full of bones; and I hope that he will cause his Holy Spirit to pass by we round about, for we are many in open valley of darkness, and very dry in our sin. And may the question in third verse be to our Saviour, for he is willing to give life, and may he send his Spirit to prophesy on our dead souls to hear the word of the Lord. And I hope that our Saviour will cause breath to enter into us, and that we

shall live and know that he is the Lord our God. Also I find in 2 Cor. vi. 14–18 that the Lord call us to come out from dark and evil way, and he promise I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and he will be our God, and we shall be his people. So I am thankful to our heavenly Father that he open my eyes to see all this his kindness, and his precious promises in many places. I thank God very much fo ook of life, and his teaching, and his beloved Son. my Bible still, and will pray and give thanks to ou viour, the lover of my soul. I keep family prayer le, at home and in country, and on Sabbath teach th ood things in Bible which is good to their soul, how g o us all, and how our Saviour love us, and give his grea , and die to bring us to God. I read the commandments every Sabbath, and after meeting in my father's yard, I call them to tell me all what they hear," &c. &c.

He built his house, and set up his own establishment that year; and consecrated it to God as a Christian householder would do. The occasion was interesting, and was celebrated in a becoming and happy manner, which gave us increased hopes that he and his dwelling would be "holiness to the Lord."

Before the end of that year, however, to our surprise and sorrow, he became entangled in some of the funeral customs of the country; and the spirit with which he entered into them was inconsistent with his professed desire to serve God. Before they were all over, indeed, he recovered himself a little, by resisting some of the worst of them; but came thereby into collision with his father in a way that proved ultimately injurious to his spiritual interests. The funeral was that of his grandmother, and had to be conducted by him and his eldest sister, *Ansa*. He joined in some of the fantastic dances with the other youths of the town, and seemed one of the gayest of them; but kept aloof from the concluding rites, the sacrifices at the grave. He seemed, as I told him, further from the kingdom of heaven than we had supposed; and though, like a hopeful youth in the gospel history, willing to do something for eternal life, seemed like him unwilling to take up his cross and follow Jesus. He replied, that he was seriously thinking of leaving Calabar altogether; for he could

Christ in it. On the contrary, the Lord, I told him, had appointed him his lot and work there. The salvation of his family and country required him to stay and face all difficulties in the Lord's name, who would strengthen him for his duty if he truly desired to perform it, his chief hindrance being in his own heart, which a change of country would not remove. Veneration for antiquity, especially for their own forefathers, and the fear of being laughed or frowned at as singular, for leaving the old customs, combined, with the natural love of pleasure, to draw him and others to these irrational, immoral, and hurtful funeral rites. They were not singular. Reverence for old fashions, for country and for ancestry, rule all nations more than reason and divine authority.

Young Eyo's refusal to take part in the sacrificial ceremonies which closed the funeral customs, produced a rupture between him and his family for a time. On the Sabbath evening his sister brought goat and fowl to offer on the grave of the deceased, which was in his yard; but he forbade her, and shut the gate, saying that his house belonged to God, and the day was the Lord's day, and he could not give them up to her idolatrous practices. Off she went immediately to her father, with cries and tears, to complain of the cruel insult offered her, and he immediately, with unwonted haste, sent a message to his son not to come to his yard again till called.

Ansa was the eldest child of King Eyo, and being nearly blind had been greatly indulged, and grew up proud and headstrong. Habitually uncontradicted she could not bear opposition. She was Young Eyo's only full sister, and in pity and love he had always yielded to her humours, and allowed her a sort of lordship over him. She was also completely addicted to the heathen customs, and could neither understand nor endure the position he at length assumed for God and conscience.

He was noways cast down when he told us what had occurred, but rather happy that his case was at length in a fair way for a settlement. He was tired, as we all were, of the dubious position he had so long held, and desirous of coming to a clear understanding with his father, resolved to halt no longer between two opinions, but to follow the Lord fully.

I spoke to him of formally joining the church, which, by deter-

mining his position, would relieve him from various embarrassments. He said that he had resolved to do so, but wished to be married first, yet he knew not when that might be, nor any one he could marry. A cousin, who had been at school, a clever and a nice girl whom he loved, had been given to Archibong, and he knew no other.* I tried to obviate that difficulty. His marriage was not necessary as a [illegible] to his baptism, and might hinder it, unless he ma[illegible] n woman, whom both he and we knew he could [illegible] he were previously baptized, his wife and her fa[illegible] from the first whom she was getting, and he cou[illegible] s with her and them. All duties were not made [illegible] and practicable at once, and he should not defer [illegible] for another of which he was ignorant. If he we[illegible] e Lord would open his way and show him his duty. He was, however, still undecided, and I could not urge him past his own convictions to make a public profession, lest compliance merely with our wishes should prove to his own spiritual detriment, and dishonour the Lord.

After three weeks his father sent for him, and lectured him, before other young men, about reading and praying too much, to the neglect of his trading affairs; avowing, at the same time, his own attachment to the word and ways of God, and desire to follow them, as far as possible. The son, according to his own account, faithfully maintained his ground, and his resolution to serve God at all hazards; yet we could discern that he was shaken and depressed in mind, and his report of what had passed distressed us all exceedingly, and increased our solicitude for his soul's welfare.

The next day was Sabbath, and the meeting was ill attended. With an eye both to that, and to what had passed with his son, I said to the King that if Creek Town were tired of hearing God's word, and resolved not to do it, we must consider whether we should stay there or go where else we might be more required or desired, as our Lord had commanded. In reply he made a long and earnest address to the meeting, and said a great deal in favour of the missionaries and their labours, adding that he liked God's word himself, and would follow it as far as he could. In this

* At the death of Archibong she was released, and ultimately became his wife.

way he tried to balance and adjust matters, between the missionaries and the country, between his wordly objects, his conscience, and his God. Thus had we often remarked, that when he had done anything wrong on one side he would soon do something better on the other to make amends, so that we could neither believe nor gainsay his professions.

The subject of baptism was not again referred to by young Eyo. Whether he shrank from encountering his father's opposition, decided though unavowed, or was under the dominion of some secret sin; whether he had a conscientious fear of his inability to follow Christ fully while living in Calabar; or an idea that he might gain all that he wanted by temporizing, serving God in private without risking public opposition by public profession; whatever the cause, we heard no more of his joining the church at that time. He did not turn careless, however, but rather more silent and thoughtful, and, as his vacillation and indecision arose from weakness of faith and love, we directed our efforts to lead him out of himself to Christ, as an utterly ruined sinner to an Almighty Saviour.

Beside him were several others, most hopeful youths, who seemed more or less under the teaching of the Holy Spirit, and were regarded as candidates for church-fellowship. But they looked to him as a leader, and his hesitancy kept them back. They were growing in knowledge and experience however, perhaps in grace; and I would not hurry them, lest we should pluck unripe fruit, and set our teeth on edge. The circumstances of the country were so adverse to a Christian profession by natives, whether free or slave, that it seemed unadvisable to hasten the introduction of seeming converts into the church before they had been proved sound in the faith, especially youths not very earnest in the matter themselves, who feared the vows it would impose, or the trials to which it would subject them. A little band well prepared, who could strengthen each other, seemed more desirable to begin with, as the nucleus of the native church, than one now, and another again, who might singly fall, or be crushed. Therefore though I had hoped to see it formed ere going home, I deferred it in the hope of finding our young people more fit for the work on our return. The character of the first converts would form

the standard for subsequent admissions, and, if too low, would not afterwards be easily raised.

A few observations explanatory of my continued use of interpreters may not be out of place here. It arose not from undervaluing the importance of using the native language, nor from neglect of the means of acquiring it; but from the advanced time of life at which I went to the country; the variety of duties unfavourable to study which, for some years, engaged my attention; the language being previously unwritten; my intercourse being long chiefly with those natives who spoke English; and the desire of all, even the school children, rather to learn my language than to teach me theirs. The younger brethren who followed made excellent progress in acquiring it, and the youngest in the mission, my own little daughter, the best of all. In youth, the ear is quick in perceiving the finest modulations of tone, the organs of voice flexible and adapted to express them, and the power of imitation natural and great. As years increase, these powers, necessary for the acquisition of a spoken language, decay. My ears did not readily distinguish, nor my tongue freely utter, the various sounds and accents. Divided attention also led to imperfect observation and recollection of words, and their nice shades of meaning. My progress, therefore, came to be chiefly by means of the pen, and, with the aid of intelligent youths trained in the school and our family, I wrote my translations and expositions of Scripture for Sabbath services, and took part with the other brethren in the preparation of useful books for school and Sunday classes which Mr. Edgerley printed. Up to the date of this chapter, there were prepared among us a vocabulary; a Catechism; Passages of Scripture Arranged; Histories of Joseph, Jonah, and Elijah; Old and New Testament History; John's Gospel; A First Spelling and Reading Book; Arithmetic and Geography; Prayers and Bible Lessons. By these helps those who had not facility in the language were greatly aided, and my freedom in writing it prepared me to do without the king's aid as interpreter from the day the new church should be opened.

In the three years which formed the period of my second sojourn in Calabar, my health had suffered more than during all my

previous missionary life. My wife had also been no small sufferer. Following the advice of medical men in the river, therefore, and of the brethren, which concurred with various circumstances both in our family and in the mission, we prepared to return home before the close of 1852, when our own wishes were to remain out at least one or two years more.

We left Calabar in August, and called in at Clarence. While there I felt bound in duty and in friendship to speak with Mr. Beecroft on the state of his soul, having a kind of fear that we might never meet again. I alluded to the changes which a year or two might make in both of us, and my concern for his spiritual and eternal welfare, and urged the claims which the interests of his never-dying soul had on his chief attention, and which God our Saviour had on his heart and life. The Bible he knew to be the word of God, and he knew that it taught every man to repent and believe the gospel that he might be saved. Our next meeting might be at the judgment-seat of Christ, and my great wish was that we should meet there in peace. He heard with patience till we were interrupted, thanked me and shook hands. When we next met he was a dying man.

Only three incidents of our homeward voyage shall be mentioned, for few people are strangers to the sea, and the ordinary occurrences of a voyage now-a-days. There was a pet goat on board called *Billy*, which skipped merrily about, and played with all the seamen. When going through the Cape Verd Islands he jumped on the rail to look about him, and, frantic with joy at the sight of the hills, began to cut capers, and fell into the sea. We were at table in the cabin when a boy leaped in crying, "Billy is overboard!" and thinking a man was meant we all jumped to our feet in a moment. "It is my Billy!" cried the mate as he rushed on deck. "Down the helm, hard down. Bring the ship round. Lower the boat there quickly, men, and jump into it some of you." Down went the boat in a twinkling with four men and the mate, and off from the ship in search of poor Billy. He was swimming boldly after the ship, holding his head well up, but the distance increased, and he gave one plaintive *baa*, as if about to sink, which went to our hearts. The boat, however, reached him in time, and he was safely lifted in by the mate's strong hands.

The crew cheered when they saw him saved, and fondled him more than ever when once more on board.

After being becalmed and baffled for some days between the trade winds and variables, we rejoiced to see indications of wind in a haze rising in the south-west. Gentle at first as a tropic zephyr it increased steadily night and day, till at length it was blowing a gale, and we were running with all sail before it, ten knots an hour. Then we began to find that the fairest wind might be worse than the foulest. Light spars being carried away the small sails were taken in. The wind continued to increase in violence, and the large sails had to be reefed. Even under reefed topsails and foresail we were running nine knots. The sea was rolling after us at a tremendous rate. The violence of both wind and sea increased while our speed decreased, having still to take in more sail. Then appeared our danger; the sea was like to roll over and engulf the ship. It was breaking close astern: should it strike us it would break over the deck, and sweep the round house and all away. The captain resolved to put the ship about, and lie to, till the weather moderated. But in the face of such a sea the operation was difficult and dangerous, for if the ship were slow of coming round, another sea might strike her on the broadside, and leave her a wreck. While the captain and crew were so engaged we in the cabin besought the Lord, "who holds the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand;" and he heard our cry. "All right, sir," cried the steward joyfully; "the ship has come round with dry decks." We thanked God and sang that grand old psalm,—

> "But yet the Lord, that is on high,
> Is more of might by far,
> Than noise of many waters is,
> Or great sea billows are."

Near the end of our voyage we had another example of God's merciful interposition in answer to prayer. For several days after we entered the channel a dense fog obscured everything. When our skipper reckoned that he had passed the *Tusker* Lighthouse, he still proceeded slowly eastward being uncertain of his position, and hoping to speak a vessel coming down channel, from which to ascertain it. The Tusker is on an outstanding rock off the Wexford coast, and there, ships bound up channel, change their course; but

if not sure of having passed it dare not do so, with a south wind in foggy weather. A sloop from the Welsh side passed within hail, and in answer to a question about the lighthouse, replied, "north-west six miles." The answer was ambiguous like the question, the lighthouse meant not being mentioned; and there was another off the coast of Wales, called the "Smalls," nearly opposite, and but thirty miles distant from the Tusker, we being between the two. Our master and mate concluded that the latter was six miles north-west of us; I believed that we were six miles north-west of the other. The reasons on both sides need not be detailed; but I ventured to express my doubts of the accuracy of their conclusions. It was, of course, presumptuous for a passenger to have any opinion on the subject, different from theirs, and impertinent to express it; but our skipper was very good tempered, we were used to discuss nautical matters, and he took no offence. He shaped his course consequently as from Tusker to Holyhead, which I believed would run us ashore in Cardigan Bay before morning.

After dinner he spread his chart on the cabin table, and allowed me to look at it as usual, with him. With prayer to God for direction I begged the captain to excuse the liberty while I stated reasons for my opinion. He listened patiently, reflected in silence, and after a while altered his course, so as to keep more in mid channel, and avoid danger on either side.

Night began to close in, and the thick mist increased the gloom. The danger of collision, always great in the channel, is greatest in a fog, when vessels may be run into as soon as seen. The captain, who had been pacing the poop anxiously, said, "Would to God it would clear up; for I doubt my position. This uncertainty is dreadful. I wish you would pray to God to take away this fog." "Certainly;" I replied; "if you will do the same yourself; and the ladies will help us with their prayers too." He promised; but just then the steward called to tea. After tea we had our usual evening worship, when we prayed for light, guidance, and protection; and then retired to our several berths to implore God separately to remove the fog and show us our way. When we met on deck again the moon was becoming visible. Suddenly it calmed, and then we were taken aback by a sharp squall from the north-

west which kept all on board busy for a while, after which behold the sea and sky were clear, the fog all gone. Then we saw clearly that we were on the Welsh side, and knew our position to an inch, having Bardsey Lighthouse, on the north point of Cardigan Bay, right astern, with Holyhead light rising into view before us. We had passed close under the former without seeing it; and but for our change of course might have been on the rocks inside. The Lord answered our prayers, and to him be the glory. We went to rest with light and happy hearts, repeating the hymn:—

"How oft from all our griefs, O Lord,
Thy mercy set us free,
Whilst in the confidence of prayer
Our souls took hold on thee.
In midst of dangers, fears and death,
Thy goodness we'll adore;
We'll praise thee for thy mercies past,
And humbly hope for more."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1853,1854.

Letter from the mission carpenter—Letter from Eahen Eyo Honesty—Baptisms at Calabar—Letter from Young Eyo—Return to Calabar; fellow passengers; and places called at on our way—Madeira, Teneriffe, Goree, Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Cape Coast Castle, Acra, Lagos, Clarence—King Peppel of Bonny—Premature baptisms at Creek Town—Letter from a native—School labours—Difficulties between the king and young converts—Death of Jane Macarthy—Sabbath-day labours—Native doctors.

WHILST at home I received the following simple, but tender and touching, letter from our carpenter, Mr. Hamilton, a coloured man, from Jamaica, which deserves a permanent place, in memory of a dear child, a child of grace and heir of glory, only four years old, and of its father since deceased, for twelve years a respected and useful member of the mission.

"When these lines come to hand I hope they will find you and Mrs. Waddell well. But you will be sorry to hear how the time goes with us. From December to February sickness and death have been amongst us; but though we walk in the valley and shadow of death yet will we fear no evil, for the Lord is with us, his rod and his staff they comfort us. We cannot expect any better; for the Lord Jesus has told his people of old that in the world they will have tribulation; but be of good cheer, for we will overcome them all. Our John was very sick in December; for nine days he had fever and was given over; but the Lord in his kindness raised him up, and he is now quite well. In the time of his sickness the Lord had something to do, but we could not see it. John got better and was running about the yard as usual. On the 29th January the Lord began to show us what he was going to do. Your little boy, Henry Hope, was quite well since you left us till that day, when a little fever took him. On the 5th February he was in heaven singing glory, glory, glory. He went through a burning fever safe to the promised land. By and by me to meet him safe in the promised land. The boy asked for

you and Mrs. Waddell, and Jessie, and Miss Miller before he died; for he was very sensible to the last. He had done well with his books. His last lesson was this: 'O Lord of hosts, who is a strong Lord like unto thee, or to thy faithfulness round about thee?' He never left his mother at night without she heard him say his prayers. But the night before he died he told his mother, 'No, she must go to bed;' and when she was in bed about midnight she heard him praying for himself, and all the people of God, and also begging the Lord to bless his brothers. Then he called for John and shook hands with him, then for Thomas the baby, and gave him a kiss. All this time Hope was seeking for a kingdom which cannot be moved. After he saw his brothers he asked his mother for me. She said, 'Your father is in Old Town.' He asked, 'What time will he come.' She said, 'To-morrow.' In the morning a signal was put up for me, and I went up with the doctor. When we came in I saw that the boy was on his way home, and said to him, 'Hope, you live.' He said, 'Yes, take me.' I said, 'No; keep your bed, you will soon get better.' He did get better, for he was in heaven that same night. My house was full of school boys all that evening. Camaroons came in to see the boy when he was in his coffin. He said, 'Ah, death;' and a flood of tears came down his face. He said, 'You missionaries have hearts of iron.' I said, 'No, it be God's grace do all things.' The death of Hope made many hearts sore. He died on Saturday, and next day at four o'clock was taken to the school-house, where Mr. Edgerley gave us a fine sermon to teach us to number our days, and Mr. Goldie spoke to the people in their own tongue. We laid his body down at the feet of Mr. Jameson. Thomas was born on the 6th September. So the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; but blessed be his name. Mrs. Hamilton is keeping well up. We were very glad to hear you had become better. May the Lord our God bless you and all that is dear to you. The people always ask me what time you will come back, and they cry for Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller. We look for you this year if the Lord will."

Of several letters which I had from very promising youths about the same time I quote the following from the King's second son Eshen Eyo Honesty, a lad of gentle spirit and great integrity. It is a translation, the original being in native Efik:—

"We pray God that he may take you safely home, that all men may know that God is with his people wherever they go; and may he bring you come again. Since you go away many people die, but not one turns to follow God. Mr. Goldie speaks the word of God, how God is so good that he gave his only begotten Son to die for the sins of men, yet not one man turns to follow God. Agoo has finished her preparation, and will marry Egbo Basy. My brother will soon marry Ansa Ebok Eyo. And my father still takes more wives and sins against God, he marries Ansa John Eyo. We pray God he may confirm his word wherever it lives. Tell Jessy, say, If God keep you in life when you have finished your education you will come again to see us."

"One soweth and another reapeth; that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together." Before the close of 1853 tidings reached us in Scotland that the natives of Calabar had begun publicly to confess the name of the Lord Jesus Christ by baptism, and many rejoiced thereat. In October Mr. Goldie, who occupied Creek Town in my absence, received *Esien Ukpabio* into the family of the Lord's people. He was considered as half free, being a native of Calabar; but King Eyo was his absolute master. He had been an inmate of our house for two years and more, had attended school regularly and made good progress, and had been a candidate for baptism for a year previous to his admission to the church.

Young Eyo was baptized two weeks afterwards. He had been married to the object of his choice a few months previously; and was moved by the baptism of Esien Ukpabio to delay no longer the confession of his faith in Christ. All the brethren regarded him as a true disciple. "In Young Eyo's yard," wrote Mr. Anderson some time before the baptism, "I was much delighted by an extempore prayer he offered at the commencement of the meeting, and could not help feeling that the spirit of grace and supplication was at work in that young man's heart." Again he wrote: "I have had two very interesting conversations with Young Eyo since his baptism. He met with great opposition in taking the important step, and needed, as he seems to possess, the spirit of a martyr."

The following passages of a letter from him on the subject will not be considered superfluous:—"I am glad to write you these few lines to tell you this my best news, that on the 30th day of October, the Lord by his great goodness, and love to sinners as I, have bring me through all my temptation, to repent, and be as what he been said to Nicodemus in John iii. 5. When I write to tell my father that I want to get myself joined to God's family he make plenty palaver about it. But all he say to stop me God make it very good to me, and I pray to our heavenly Father to keep me, and help me to stand strong in His love. I wish God may send you out soon for his work and our help. Because, that same day when I been to be baptized, my father say, that, if I stop till he know what baptism mean and you come out, he will come to you himself to be baptized. I tell him all I know, and say, Very good father, if you come to be baptized and believe in the name of the Lord, but I cannot wait, for all God's ministers are the same. Then he say, But Mr. Waddell is the first man that come here. I say, Yes, father, but I do not know if I live to see that time, and God's word tells us that when we hear His word we must do it. My friend, Eyo Hogan is in great trouble of mind, for when his father and his father's sister die he have plenty palaver. I tell him to pray, and beg God to help him, and bring him to his family; for we cannot trust ourselves to any friend that we have on earth; but God is willing to be a father and best friend to all his people; and I think that Hogan will soon look for his life. Some of my father's boys want to join, and I speak all time with my wife too, about the same thing. So I think all we want you as soon as you can come."

We were, indeed, as anxious as he about our return to Calabar, and would have left home again in the autumn of 1853, had the Mission Board not referred the question to the medical committee which advised the contrary. Returning health, however, warranted our engaging in renewed labour at home if not abroad; and the extension of our missionary operations at Calabar being both necessary and practicable, the winter months were employed in raising an extra fund for that special purpose. The object was everywhere approved of, and £3300 were raised to promote it.

We regretted the detention the more, when we found that Mr. Goldie had been obliged to return to Scotland, in the close of that year, on account of his health; but were permitted to leave home, accompanied by Miss Edgerley, in the April Mail steamer. Who could have imagined, when our mission began, to see a line of monthly Mail steamers from England to Fernando Po, calling at the various ports on the African coast, receiving and landing goods and passengers? It was an evidence of the progress that had been made in commerce and civilization, and a means of promoting them. I had broached the idea in 1849, in public meetings, that to suppress the slave trade, missionary and commercial settlements should be multiplied on the coast, and a steamer be constantly employed running up and down visiting them, to promote intercourse, to give and receive information, and so make the service of her majesty's cruisers at sea more effective. The plan that was carried into effect was even better; and none had reason to rejoice in it more than those engaged in evangelistic labours. It supplied the place to a great extent of mission vessels, previously necessary, at much less expense and trouble than they could be maintained; and we therefore readily acceded to a proposal, from our mission ship committee in Liverpool, to allow ours to be sold as no longer necessary.

Our fellow passengers, comprising five military gentlemen, were generally agreeable; so much so, indeed, that they concurred in a proposal to have prayers in the saloon every evening, beside the public divine service on Sabbaths; to which the captain also consented. At Madeira we both landed and received passengers. Among the latter was an elderly gentleman, infirm and deformed, for Teneriffe. "He is an old Jew," said some on board, and they treated him accordingly. We offered him some little attentions, such as his infirmities required, and found him in conversation intelligent and piously disposed; though his imperfect English presented a bar to our intercourse. He read our little books, and expressed a wish for a Bible in German or French, which unhappily we had not, and then asked for one in English, wishing to buy it. With evident, and very lively expressions of gratitude he accepted the present of one; and allowed his servant, a Spaniard, to take charge of a few gospels for distribution in *Santa Cruz*,

where they were to land. The man read and approved of them, and smiled when cautioned to keep them from the Padres.

The Peak of Teneriffe, seen from a distance of thirty or forty miles presented a glorious object to the view. Resting grandly, twelve thousand feet high, on its throne of clouds, as they rolled over and shrouded the lower mountain ranges, the summit arose strongly defined against the clear blue sky, in some parts radiant as if streaked with snow, and presented an impressive emblem of serene majesty. One could imagine a deity speaking in thunder peals from the storm clouds which encircled its base, and then looking forth calmly on the subject earth. Was Teneriffe the limit of the old Carthaginian's voyage, which he beheld in flames and named the chariot of the gods? It was, at least, more likely to be so than Fernando Po and the Camaroon mountains. Had he reached the latter places he could never have got back. The wind and current both against him would have prevented his return along the coast, and he could not take the course of modern navigators, who go south with the current to the equator, and then stand boldly westward into mid Atlantic, before turning their prows northwards.

Having called at the French settlement *Goree*, where was a small town and large fortification, we stayed but a few hours to land and receive mails and passengers, and then hasted on to *Bathurst* on the *Gambia*. While yet twenty miles from the mouth of that river, and nearly as far off the coast, we were alarmed by coming suddenly on unknown sand-banks which we had some difficulty in getting over. Bathurst presents a range of good houses facing the river with a row of trees between, and an extensive and populous native town in the rear. The latter consisted of beehive-shaped huts, each surrounded with a small yard and fence. The former were occupied chiefly by white merchants, and some of the mixed race, which was numerous. The state of society might be known from the remark of a government *official* who came on board the steamer, that they were so unused there to the company of *married* ladies, that he hoped to be excused for any undesigned impropriety. Having time to go ashore I called on the Wesleyan missionary, and visited his school, where were present one hundred and eighty children, of whom thirty

read in the Testament class. His church was the only Protestant place of worship in the town. The Romanists have a large chapel; and the garrison has a chaplain all to itself. The town was not reckoned insalubrious, being open to the sea-breeze and free from stagnant waters. The surrounding country is a dead level. The chief native export is the ground nut, from which fine oil is prepared nearly equal to the olive.

"Riches make to themselves wings and fly away as an eagle towards heaven." We had a striking example of their flying away without wings in a different direction. A box containing £2000 of gold was on board for a merchant in Bathurst, who sent his clerk with a negro man in a canoe to receive it. The clerk received it on deck, and put it on the head of his servant, who, descending the ladder, fell with it into the river. He swam, but it sank eleven fathoms down. "Money gone," shouted the clerk, raising his arms in dismay. "It is well the poor man was saved," said one of the passengers. "If he had been lost and the money saved it had been better," replied the *official* from the town already referred to.

Two of our military friends remained at Bathurst, Captain E——, with his wife and child, and Lieutenant D——. The former soon died, and his wife returning to England was lost in the *Forerunner* off Madeira, while the child was saved. The latter was promoted. He seemed a steady young man, and rather well disposed; accepted some little books and promised to read them. Men would need the best principles, and the grace of God, too, to keep them right there, if garrison life were such as we heard from those who spent the night ashore.

At *Sierra Leone* we found Mr. Edgerley waiting to return to Calabar. He had been there a few weeks for his health. At Sierra Leone for health! Yes, it was a change from Calabar, and the voyage thither was beneficial. While waiting there we enjoyed the company of the Wesleyan and Church of England missionaries, and especially a day with Archdeacon Graaff. *Free Town* is large, with wide, clean streets, and many good houses. Population about seventeen thousand. Churches and schools numerous, and well attended, except by the Mandingoes, tall, fine-looking people, but rigid Mohammedans. Many of the freed slaves

there were emigrating to other parts of the coast, whence they had been sold, or where they might find employment. In that way *Abeokuta* had been revived. Some also were going back to Calabar by our mail steamer, as the Rev. Mr. Jones, of the Church Mission in the colony, had visited that place the previous year, and made arrangements for that end. Among them was an old man who had been sold away by Duke Ephraim forty years before. He had a young daughter with him, and was leaving an older one behind, a fine-looking young woman, for want of means to bring her. Mrs. Waddell, however, proposing, to their great joy, to hire her as house-servant, and pay her passage, off she ran ashore, and returned with her chest of clothes, and again with a bushel of rice as provender for the voyage. How happy they looked to be all together again!

Another of our lieutenants landed at *Sierra Leone*, a shrewd and agreeable man, but, poor fellow, of habits unsuited for a tropical climate, or any climate. Brandy and soda water in the morning tell a sad tale of the wear and tear of stomach and nerves. We were sorry to hear afterwards that he early succumbed to country fever. A civil engineer and his lady also landed there, a worthy couple, but he, too, was soon cut off, while she was spared to return home.

It was not without some trouble that we got away from Sierra Leone. Our chief engineer had quarrelled with the captain, and was left behind. Our chief mate was ill with fever, and had also to be left. The deck of the vessel was overloaded with cargo, from the previous month's steamer which had broken down, and with coast passengers. Something also was wrong about the shaft of the screw. The passengers resolved not to go to sea in that condition, and the captain and agents of the company being conferred with, agreed to reduce the deck cargo, and to procure another mate. The screw shaft was overhauled, and the second engineer proved to be competent. So far well. The very night we sailed our second mate was lost overboard. He was a quiet, diligent, and sober man, but had been overworked all day, so as to be unable to eat his dinner. To keep himself up he drank his full allowance of porter and wine, and at night was quite worn out. He fell over the bows where the bulwarks were only a foot

high, and, after the first cry, was not seen or heard again, though all was done that could be done to save him. The passengers were all deeply affected, as well as the captain; the supper stood on the table untasted, and every one attended evening prayers.

It was Sunday when we reached *Monrovia*, and the whole day was employed discharging and receiving cargo. It was no Sabbath. We could neither go ashore to church nor have public worship on board. When I asked our captain about divine service on deck, he regretted that it was impossible, as he had only one day for that port and much to do. In the evening when the turmoil had ceased on deck and alongside, we enjoyed divine service in the saloon.

At Cape Coast Castle we left a chaplain, a good, quiet man, with a teacher and his wife for the Castle school, and our two last military friends. All had been really pleasant companions, and these, P—— and C——, ere leaving asked for a few tracts, promised to read them, and to pray for their own salvation. Lieutenant P—— had a good sister, who had given him, "Come to Jesus," and other good tracts. We grieved to learn afterwards that he was one of the first to die there. The teacher's wife also soon died, and himself returned to England.

Acra was our next stopping-place. The English, Dutch, and Danes, all had, or have, forts or factories there, erected in the days of the slave trade; and behind each was a native town. The two former adjoin each other; the last, called *Christianborg*, is a mile or two off, down the coast, and belongs now to the English. One of the Basle missionaries settled there came on board to get their supplies landed, and with him we went ashore to visit his brethren. The distance was too far to walk under a vertical sun, but our friend procured a light vehicle, which six men drew along with great ease on a smooth, hard road. Such a mode of conveyance shocked us at first, but there was no other, and the men were used to it, and glad of the job, and the pay. Horses do not live there, nor all along the sea border to Cape Coast Castle.

Our landing was not a very easy affair, for the surf was heavy on the beach; but going off threatened to be still more difficult. Indeed, looking from the high bank at the sea raging along the shore, open to the mighty swell of the Southern Atlantic, and

seeing how the heavy black rollers broke in successive ranges of boiling, foaming surge, one could not see how it was possible for boat or canoe to live among them. Yet, with admirable dexterity and boldness, the natives drove their canoes out to sea without any disaster. We took our seats in the bows, which were boxed high up, the canoe being on the dry sand, then a number of men seized it on each side, and with a slow, steady motion and chant, pushed it down the beach till it touched the water, when, just as a wave broke under its bows, with a rush and a roar they drove it into the sea, leaped into their seats, and, seizing their paddles, pulled with might and main over everything, receiving little more than a sprinkling as they breasted the breakers.

At *Lagos*, the next port, the landing is so difficult and dangerous that no one attempts who can avoid it, and it is usual for those going ashore to remain on board some of the ships at anchor a day or two, till a very calm morning offers a favourable opportunity. So numerous and so ravenous are the sharks thereabouts, that escape is impossible for any whose canoe or boat may be swamped in the surf. Lagos seemed especially the feeding ground of those monsters, owing to the continuance of the slave trade there till a later period than elsewhere, and the number of its victims lost in the embarkation. Now deprived of their former supplies they are increasingly ravenous, and ready to tear the bottom out of the canoes. Captain F——, who had been in Calabar, was lost there in sight of his own ship, by his boat capsizing as it entered the river. A small, strong steamer, of light draught, is greatly needed to ply between the town inside the bar, and the shipping outside.

On reaching *Clarence* we were grieved to find our old friend Beecroft very ill. He purposed going home, and when I last saw him was half-dressed to go on board, but unable to make it out. He thanked me for my prayer, squeezed my hand with a sad look, lay down and died.

Peppel of *Bonny*, no longer king, was living in Clarence, with one of his wives, a superior like woman, and a few servants. He had been deposed by his chiefs, and would have been killed but for the protection afforded him by one of the ships. Even there, however, he was not safe, for the triumphant party had stopped

the trade of the river till he should be given up. A Man-of-war at length went and took him to Clarence, where he was placed under the protection of our consul, while a successor, *Dappa* by name, was chosen in his stead.

Though seemingly almost paralyzed, Peppel desired to recover his lost kingdom, and he had friends there who encouraged him to make the attempt. He was certainly not at home in Clarence, and was, perhaps, one of the heroes who would "rather be first in a village than second in Rome." He designed, therefore, going with us in the steamer, and paid a hundred dollars, it was said, for the passage of himself, his wife, and servant. But after being on board, he was ordered ashore again by the acting consul. He came to ask my advice and assistance, but I could help him only to get all his luggage out of the ship before he left it himself. The impatience of the consul's clerk, together with the lateness of the hour, and the steamer being all ready to move, rendered it necessary that some one should interpose to protect him, or he would have been hurried ashore, leaving valuable property behind him to be no more seen.

To bring down the history of that hero to the present day, we may mention that, his rival Dappa having died the following year, his friends made insurrection on his behalf; but were defeated with severe loss. They escaped to the ships; but their followers barricaded their houses, and resisted for some days; till at length, seeing escape impossible, rather than be tortured by their enemies, they blew up their houses and themselves together. About two hundred persons died in the *émeute*. The defeated chiefs fled to Fernando Po for safety; but Peppel, whose restless spirit thus continually disturbed the peace of his native place, was removed to Ascension Island in the first instance, and thence to England, where he lived for some years a pensioner on the British Government. His wife attended a dissenting chapel in London, it is said, and was baptized. He also, the papers reported, was baptized; but no less a personage than the Bishop of London would serve his majesty. He has lately returned to Bonny with a retinue of secretaries and servants, who doubtless thought that even an African king would be a royal master. Little did they know with whom they had engaged, or whither they were going.

The first sight of his dominions and people sufficed. They were glad to get home again on any terms. I don't know if he had not a physician too, as became his royal state. One who was invited to accept the situation sent to me for information; but what conclusion he came to on the subject, his friend did not return to say. It is said that he prosecuted the Government and got damages for forcible detention; and that he has applied to Miss Burdett Coutts for £20,000 to build churches in Bonny.

Once more at Calabar we had the happiness of seeing the work of God prospering. Our household was enlarged by the addition of another twin mother and her children, while the first was still living there. It became necessary, however, as their numbers increased, for soon we had a third family on hand, to request King Eyo to make good his promise, and give them houses in the neighbouring village. He did so, and afterwards, with a little help from us, they supported themselves by farming and marketting, while the former husband of one of them was not unmindful of her and of their children.

Both at Duke Town and Old Town converts had been received, and the first fruits of all the stations offered to the Lord. The baptism of five more young members at Creek Town, shortly before our return, did not, however, afford me unmixed satisfaction. In the absence of the minister of the station, I thought it should have been deferred till we arrived. Though exceedingly well instructed, and well behaved, they were so young, untried, and inexperienced that they would have required a longer period of probation, and been the better of it, and others after them would have been the better of it too. They were very sincere, however, had already stood a public trial without flinching; and we hoped that God, who out of the mouth of babes perfects his praise, would make his strength perfect in their weakness. It was not the individuals, therefore, which occasioned my uneasiness so much as the system of schoolboy baptisms which had been introduced at my station in my absence. The necessity that everywhere exists, of laying the foundations of a mission church with the soundest materials, and of maintaining a high standard of qualification for membership, existed at Calabar with peculiar

force. Slaves and personal attendants of a heathen despot would find extraordinary difficulties in maintaining a consistent Christian life, in withstanding urgent temptations, and holding fast the profession of their faith without wavering; and before committing the honour and success of God's cause to such weak hands as those referred to, we had a right to look for the best grounds of confidence in their steadfastness, that is, the grace of God in their hearts.

Young Eyo alluded to the trial these lads had endured in the following terms of cordial sympathy:—"I am very glad to see and know that day that the Lord have family in our town. Because when my father, and some of his head men and gentlemen that stand with him, make plenty palaver with us and say all they can, I and the six boys all stand on God's side, and Eshen and Hogan with us, and we speak plenty God's words to them, till they have nothing again to say. After this palaver we all thank God, our Father, and our Lord, for his goodness that he have given us grace to stand strong, and speak with my father and all that people."

Our first Sabbath in Creek Town was particularly interesting. I spoke of the freedom of the Holy Spirit in the work of conversion. Ere we left Calabar last, I said, we had observed His movements on the minds of some, and knew that it would come to an open profession of faith in Christ, though I had hardly expected it so soon. God had given testimony to the word of His grace, and none should be displeased because He had called the young first; for the Spirit of God was free and sovereign, and called whom He would, the children often before their parents. His manifestation among them, however, was a great encouragement for all "to seek the Lord while He might be found, and to call on Him while He was near."

Mr. Thomson, who had nobly held his ground during the absence of Mr. Goldie and myself, gave a serious parting exhortation, being about to go home to prosecute his studies for the ministry; and then Eyo Hogan addressed the meeting. He was one we all esteemed; and though but half free was of an age and position to speak for himself, being Young Eyo's most particular

friend, and one of the king's confidential traders. He declared his purpose of being united to the Christian church that day by baptism. Ever since the missionaries came teaching the word of God, he said, he had believed it. But it was not enough to believe in God and pray to him. He had learned from Cornelius that he must believe in Jesus Christ, and be baptized to serve him. He had not chosen that day because the king was absent, for the king knew of his purpose, but because he had himself been long away on the king's business; and being now at home, and finding their minister come back to them, he had resolved to make no more delay.

It must be explained that the king was at his *Isong Iyang* farms that week; and it rejoiced us to learn that, though absent from our public assemblies, he remembered the Sabbath-day and kept it holy. He called his people together there, and desired *Eshen Ukpabio*, the first convert, to bring his books and read and pray with them, as usual, himself being one of the audience. Though his son Eshen was present he called not him but the Lord's professed servant to be his chaplain; and the son was not jealous, for they were as brethren; and he told the circumstance himself with high satisfaction.

It had been expected that Henshaw Eyo, a fine young man of family, would have been Eyo Hogan's companion in baptism; but we were disappointed at that time; and four years elapsed ere he fulfilled our expectations. Others, however, who had been long in the class of candidates, soon came forward and declared themselves, of whom the earliest were Eshen, already referred to, and Okbo, a free lad of good connections, who for seven years had faithfully served in our house while attending school. Ere we left the country last he wished to avow himself on the Lord's side, to be the first baptized; but we advised delay, that he might search his own heart, and well understand the work of God, before he put his hand to the plough. The following portion of a letter from him to a youth in Scotland, written in English, testifies to his Christian knowledge and feeling, as well as to his mind and education:—

"I thank God that our minister is spared to return to us again, and take up his labour of love amongst us; and I hope the Lord will spare him long for his work, for God has a great work to do here.

I have seen the hand of the Lord working amongst us; for many here begin to join the church of God; and I will come forward with King Eyo's son this Sabbath to take on us the vows of the Lord. I thank God much that my prayer been answered to bring me thus far to see my sin, and to seek Jesus the only Saviour of mankind. Dear friend, as you have had Christian mother and father, it is a thing you should thank God much for. Your parents will make their best efforts to set you on the right way of God; but for us it is not so. Our parents try all they can to keep us back, and to take our attention from the word of God. The first time I mention to my family that I was going to join the church of God, all of them began to speak very hard to me, and some of them threaten to do me so and so; but I thank God it does not make me a bit afraid; and I told them that I expected this ill treatment and more for Christ's sake. It is good we know what the world will do to us. I know, says Apostle Paul, in myself I am nothing; but in the strength of the Lord I am able to face anything. Remember us all in your prayers to God. I hope many will be added to the Lord daily, such as shall be saved; for notwithstanding all their hindrances, I believe the work of the Lord will prevail and increase here more and more."

It was interesting to discover, in connection with these admissions to the church, that the Calabar people had a custom in some respects illustrative of baptism both as to meaning and form. A newly introduced slave, old or young, required to undergo the ceremony of naturalization called *uduokmong*, or "throwing water." He stands under the eaves of his new master's house, on which water is thrown so as to run down on his head. This signifies his introduction to a Calabar family, and separation from his old country and customs, and is accompanied by a suitable exhortation to conduct himself accordingly.

Never more happily, perhaps never more usefully, employed than in the school, I gladly resumed charge of it when our excellent teacher left us. Instead of my former assistants, however, Haddison, who had gone to the Duke Town school, and Duncan, who chose rather to return to Jamaica, I had the better aid of Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller. The most advanced scholars had indeed left it, and the attendance of the rest was sadly irregular;

but still it was a good school with a hundred and fifty enrolled, and sometimes more than a hundred in attendance. Though their progress was greatly retarded by their irregularity, still it was such as to raise our best hopes of their future career, both in the Church and in civil society.

Without referring to the disputed subject of merely literary schools, and heathen teachers, it must be admitted, I think, that *Christian* schools are of unquestionable importance in missionary labours, that they should be connected with every missionary station, and, in the absence of other competent teachers, are worthy the personal care of the missionary himself. They afford the best opportunities of communicating divine truths to those whose minds are freest from hostile prejudices, and most likely to receive them with docility, in faith and love. The young are not only less contaminated with vice and error than the old, but are more capable of understanding and appreciating the gospel than those who have become blinded and hardened in systems of gross depravity and superstition. Their consciences are more easily awakened to a sense of sin, and of responsibility to God, than those of adults, and their hearts more easily touched with good affections. How important for a Christian teacher to win a place for God's word in the young hearts of the children around him, who in a few years more will be the men and women, the fathers and mothers of the country! How important that their first words of prayer should be to God, their Father in Heaven; and that their earliest and best feelings and thoughts should be associated with the teachings and revelations of His word. They behold in Jesus the perfect pattern of wisdom and goodness, combined with more than human love and sorrow; and they learn to view His unspotted purity and benevolence, in contrast with the horrid defilements and cruelties of their native idolatries. They see in Him their sins and their Saviour. In minds so prepared by sound religious instruction the Holy Spirit usually effects the great and saving change of regeneration. The good seed sown in childhood and youth will spring up sooner or later to the glory of God. It cannot be quite lost. Could we only separate the young from the ungodly and infidel old in all countries, and so break the connection of the present generation with the

generations past, and preserve it from the contamination of the accumulated errors and crimes, which have become consolidated into national and family laws and customs, how much more rapidly might the work of evangelization proceed, and how soon comparatively would the one great and precious name of Jesus be adored from the rising to the setting sun.

Difficulties not unforeseen soon arose between the young members and their masters; and we heard one Saturday night that one of them had been put into chain for refusing to go in the canoe to the oil market. Next morning, when we met in the King's yard I alluded to the subject, observing that while he kept God's day in town, he broke it in the country, by sending his people to market on that day.

He said that he always sent them on Saturday.

Yes, on Saturday night, I replied; but they cannot reach there before Sunday; and the people are kept pulling paddle all the holy Sabbath. He should rather make them start on Saturday morning, spend the Sabbath at *Isong Iyang*, and go forward early on Monday.

So he wished himself, he assured me; but the people wasted their time on Saturday, instead of loading their canoes; and then were late of starting.

In that case, I asked, what were good boys to do, who worked hard to load the canoe, but were hindered by the idleness of others? Must they pull paddle all Sabbath, and break God's commandment; or refuse to go at all when the right time was passed, and so displease their masters and be put in chains? It was important, I added, that he should relieve them from that difficulty, when they were not to blame.

The people were assembled and service began; Eyo whispered to an attendant, who went out; and soon the lad we had been speaking about appeared in the meeting with a clean shirt on, and his hymn-book and Bible in hand. Similar cases formed subjects of repeated conversation before the evil was corrected; for some of the canoe captains were thoughtless, and others harsh and tyrannical over their boys.

The following was a more painful case, and little creditable to

the King's good feeling and good sense. Two of his female domestics quarrelled; and one reproached the other with having lost an ear. The latter complaining to him he ordered the ear of the other to be burned with a hot iron. His steward and house-boys would not inflict the barbarous punishment, deeming it a sin, which greatly enraged their master. Their disobedience was bad, their reason for it worse. Would they judge him? Were they wiser than he, to know right and wrong? Soon, said he, from refusing to obey they would begin to give him orders. Flatterers disposed to aggravate the evil exclaimed in his hearing, "What! your slaves, your coppers, pretend to serve God more than you." On such grounds they were driven from his house, lest in his wrath he should kill them, and sent next day with their paddles to pull canoes. Reports were current of his threatenings against them.

The other members, including both Young Eyo and Eshen Eyo, sympathized with their suffering brethren, and deplored what they feared was a secret enmity to the gospel in the King's mind. Indeed they said that the chiefs were planning resistance to our proceedings in order to stifle the infant church. Though grieved we were not surprised at the information. The belief of the gospel causes divisions in a community. The church makes distinctions, and these produce jealousies and enmities; households become opposed, and instead of peace behold a sword. As of old so it is still; he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit. The evidence, however, which these things afforded, of the word of God having taken effect in the country, was in itself a ground of comfort. The disturbing influence of the new principle of life, on the stagnant, corrupt waters of nature, was felt, and a universal commotion presaged a new creation.

This affair could not be overlooked, in justice either to the king or to his young servants; but how to treat it was a difficulty. To go to him direct on the subject would enable him to deny his cruel order, and throw the blame on the young men, for something else of which they were not guilty, and which we could neither deny nor disprove without calling them up to witness against him. That was not to be thought of, for their lives were at his mercy, and we had neither the right nor the power so to try him. An indirect mode of treatment seemed best.

On the following Sabbath I read a chapter in the gospels which spoke of the enmity of the Jews to the Lord Jesus, notwithstanding his undeniable miracles and excellent teaching, and remarked that the same enmity still prevailed among all people wherever the gospel came. Eyo denied its existence in Calabar. Why then, I asked, was there such alarm because a few began to believe in Him and be baptized in His name? Why should the gentlemen say that our new fashions would spoil their country; and that *makara* would come and take it from them; as the Jews had feared the Romans would do with theirs? He answered that the work we proposed was great and would take long time; they could not come into it all at once. How long, I asked, did they mean to delay? Were not eight years enough for them to learn to do the will of God. New slaves were not allowed so many years to come into Calabar ways. They should think also how short life was; and how soon God might call them to death and judgment, even before they had secured their salvation. He used to put this work from him, and say that it belonged to his children. Now God was taking him at his word; and had called his sons and young servants to be His people, and do His will; and he was surprised that they regarded God's commandments more than his. Instead of opposing he should lead them, and set them the example of doing the will of God. The King, turning the subject a little, said that he did not oppose their being baptized, though he thought that some of them did not know their own minds yet, but they should have asked him first, and that the missionaries should consult him, as we did not know black people's ways. I replied that God's work could not wait man's permission; we could inquire of him only about the *conduct* of his servants, being ourselves the best judges of their fitness in other respects; and that after being twenty-five years among black people I could not be altogether ignorant of their ways. In conclusion I entreated him to shape his orders according to God's word, and then he would find the Christians his best people.

Ere long, most of those who had been expelled were restored to their places, though they waited till he sent for them. They would not beg him. "My dear son, Ene," began a kind letter that he wrote one of them, in which he gave them to understand

that they need not fear any hindrance to their serving God while they were faithful to him; for he himself loved God's word, he said, and wanted all his people to follow it.

One of our young members, hearing one of the king's head men speak of throwing a sick man into the river, remonstrated with him, saying, "If you cannot mind him, because you are going to market, leave him to me, I will mind him; and if you have no doctor for him, the missionary will give me doctor." He did so, and we did our best for the poor man; but he was too far gone ere he came under our care. When the unfeeling master was reproved for his horrid purpose of drowning the poor wasted sufferer, he replied, with hardened indifference and a careless smile, "Well, what could I do with him? King send me to market, and no one left for mind him; he must die." That was an example of the evils arising from slaves having slaves whom they could not support or employ.

Only three months after our return to Calabar, we were greatly distressed by the illness and death of the fine young woman, *Jane Macarthy*, who had come with us from Sierra Leone. Even in that short time, she had endeared herself to us all by her pleasant temper, and willing assiduity in her household duties. She had, indeed, come into two faults, deemed too often by such persons minor offences, which alarmed us, both for herself and others about us, as they were, happily, rare in our household, and we feared lest worse should follow. But by the divine blessing on our faithful dealings with her, she evidenced deep repentance and a real Christian spirit, so that we could believe her when she said, that she had confessed her sins to the Lord, and found his pardoning mercy. She was acquiring the Calabar language with wonderful facility, having, probably, been used to hear her father speak it with his countrymen at Sierra Leone, and promised to be a valuable helper to Mrs. Waddell in her visits among the women in town. Her last Sabbath on earth she was engaged in that way; and her mouth was so opened, and her heart so enlarged in speaking of the salvation of God, that the women wondered.

She took ill on the following day; but her complaint was one that frequently occurred, and was treated as usual, and with seem-

ingly good effect. On Tuesday, she was worse, and we got up a surgeon from one of the ships to see her. He came again on Wednesday, and found her so much worse that he expressed serious fears on her account. Her complaint seemed to be inflamation of the bowels. Her father came on Tuesday from Duke Town to see her, and take her to his house there. But she replied that she had come with us to Calabar, and would not leave us; she was in a mission-house, among God's servants, and would remain; if she lived, she would live with us, and if she died, she would die with us.

Her pain became very acute, and she suffered much all Wednesday and Thursday, but unmurmuringly, seeming to feel only the trouble that she thought she gave us, while our greatest trouble was to behold her sufferings and be unable to alleviate them. Our spiritual intercourse with her was highly satisfactory, for she had a good hope through grace; and her mind being well stored with hymns and texts of Scripture, she seemed to comfort herself continually in repeating them. One of them, I remember, began thus:—

"A charge to keep I have,
A God to glorify;
A never-dying soul to save,
And fit it for the sky."

When we made known to her the doctor's opinion of her state, she received the solemn tidings with composure, as not unprepared for them. When asked what her views and hopes were in the prospect of death, she replied, "I am resting on Christ." "Are you not afraid to die?" "No, it is sweet to die." "How so?" "Because Christ has taken away the sting of death." "Are you not sorry to leave your father and sister?" "Yes; but there is nothing in this world worth living for." When told to place her whole trust in the Lord Jesus, as he was mighty to save, she touched her breast, and stretched her hand right up, pointing to heaven, two or three times, saying with energy, "Yes, yes, yes; glory, glory." Then, as if exhausted, she repeated in a whisper the following verse herself, and the rest of the hymn after me:—

"This life's a dream, an empty show:
But the bright world to which I go,
Hath joys substantial and divine;
When shall I wake and find them mine?"

Her father returned on Thursday evening, and was greatly moved to see her hastening to be away. She seemed asleep; but hearing his voice, opened her eyes, and with a sweet smile saluted him, "Daddy, you come?" "Yes, my child, how are you?" "O I have not much pain now, daddy," and then she spoke gratefully of the attentions of all about her. For a little she seemed revived, and said tha[illegible] nost gone, but it had come back again. She a[illegible] pray with her, and joined audibly in the pray[illegible] to hope that the means we had never ceased t[illegible] begun to produce a good effect. Ah, it was [illegible]er of a dying lamp! Her limbs became cold [illegible] her head was burning hot, and all our endeavo[illegible]e either. After lying quiet a little she began to [illegible] I raised her in my arms, and gave her a little wine and water. It gurgled in her throat; her limbs were convulsed; her head fell back on my breast, and she ceased to breathe. When I laid her on her pillow, and kissed her cold forehead, I felt as if she had been my daughter.

The old man, her father, sat silent as one utterly overcome. At length he said, "This is now six children of mine have died, and no one in my own hands or house, but every one in some mission-house." Her little Testament lay beside her, in which she had written the following passage, so appropriate, eventually, to her own case:—"Watch and pray, for ye know not when the time is; for the kingdom of heaven is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch. Watch, therefore, for ye know not when the Master of the house cometh, lest he find you sleeping: and what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch." The wailings of the younger daughter the next morning, as she neared our house, were heart-rending. "O my sister, my sister; where is my sister? You go dead, and leave me and daddy, and now daddy will break his heart for you, and what I go do?" She was interred as a Christian sister in the little inclosure already sacred by precious dust.

Our public Sabbath meetings, till the close of 1854, were conducted as previously, both in English and in Efik; but with more

of the latter, and less of the King's aid as interpreter. The attendance in his yard varied from one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons, for the church, though progressing towards completion, was still unfinished. The children were still publicly catechized. In the afternoon, many separate meetings were held, both in the town and the farm villages around it. In these the mission family was helped by the native members, whose services were called into requisition, according to their abilities, for the instruction of others. The evening meeting and reading classes held in the school-house occupied two or three hours more, and were of all the day's work the most exhausting part—the house being inconveniently crowded and intolerably hot, from the rays of the declining sun streaming through the open windows. Our blessed day's work was not done then, for our young people loved to gather around us, and we loved to see them fill up our house. Our concluding family prayers were attended by many, who read with us regularly through the "Pilgrim's Progress," and accompanied Christian, Faithful, and Hopeful through all their labours to the Celestial City, and wished that they too might enter there. The members and catechumens met in class one evening weekly for higher instruction in the principles of Christianity, when the Assembly's Shorter Catechism formed our textbook. Their committing it to memory, which they did, one question and answer weekly, was of less importance than their understanding it; and to gain this end, some pains were necessary in reducing, analyzing, and simplifying every question and answer for the evening's exposition and examination. They had a weekly evening prayer meeting, also among themselves, in Young Eyo's house, and on Sabbath morning in the school-house, and made a collection monthly to aid any of their number who might be sick or in prison, one of themselves being treasurer, and two others distributors. Thus the infant church gradually acquired consistency, and came into working order.

The following singular circumstance may be noted here ere closing the chapter, though unconnected with anything that has gone before. One of our house boys visited a sick relative, and found an *abia-idiong* and *abia-ibok* in attendance. The latter, as

"doctor," put a certain leaf in the sick man's hand, in the hope that it would cure him by making him vomit, but it produced no effect, and he gave up his patient as a gone man. The former undertook to determine if it were possible he could recover, and found the contrary. The following was his plan:—He placed a basin of water in the open yard, and made every one retire a space, while he watched the playing of the sun's rays, the lights and shadows on its surface. He watched, he said, the shadow of the sick man, but could not charm it to him. It flitted around the basin, but would not enter; and finally flew away to the sun. He concluded, therefore, that the patient must die, for his soul was already gone.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1855.

Old Town affairs—Willy Tom Robins and his doings—His death, and sacrifices thereon—An escaped victim—The funeral rites interdicted—Missionary troubles—The town doomed on board ship—Consul and man-of-war arrive—Public meeting on board—The town destroyed—Remarks thereon—A right marriage—Slave owners, church members—African and American slavery—Decision—Rules—Young Eyo falls, and is recovered—Death of Nsa Ene—A rare judicial decision—Creek Town church completed and opened—Dealings with King Eyo—Commotion in town—Young Eyo arrested on board ship, escapes, and is pursued—New station at *Ikunitu*—Meeting with people there—Duke Town objects—Misconduct of old scholars—Fable of a grindstone—Sad fate of an old scholar and of his two slaves—Marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland—Native trade rules—Mbiam oath refused—Converts fall into sin.

THE affairs of Old Town claim our first attention this year, for they reached a crisis, and ended in its destruction. Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley taught the school there, and kept meetings on the Lord's day in the town, and at other times in their own house, besides visiting several villages of the Qua people—the aborigines of that part of the country. He was also much engaged in printing, and produced some of the best specimens of typography to be seen on the coast, whereby he greatly aided the cultivation of the native tongue by his brethren, and the progress of the schools.

The chief of the town, *Willy Tom Robins*, was deeply sunk in the gross vices, and imbued with the superstitions of his country; and, in both respects, his people, for whose improvement he had no care, were like himself. At the foot of the hill on which stands the mission-house is the spring-head, whence flows the stream where the mission family, and some of the ships, procured their best water. In the thicket around the spring-head was the sacred place of *Ananse*, the god of Old Town, and there also the old chief said he kept his shadow, or soul—the word for *shadow* being the only one in Efik for the invisible, immortal part of man. The proceedings of the missionary, in clearing that part of the ground, gave high offence to the ruler of the town, who ex-

claimed, "You always tell me that man must mind his soul. Why do you send your men to cut bush that place my soul live, and trouble my soul? Make them go away, and no trouble my soul no more."

Having left the town, because of the *twins*, he did not return from the plantation for a year. While there, under the influence of his abia-idiong, he had a nephew and two nieces put to death, in a horrible manner, as the supposed causes of an illness from which he suffered. The women clasped his knees in their agony, and implored him, by his regard for their mother, his own sister, to save them, but implored in vain. Ah, how many did we see like him—"without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful." When he returned to town, at King Eyo's desire, he took the Egbo ban off the mission and school houses, requiring merely that the twins and their mother should not enter the town; and for a time everything went on quietly.

In the end of 1853, he became again very ill, and had a number of his wives, sons, and free people of the town, put in chain, as hostages for his life. Most of these were put to death in the beginning of the following year, when he breathed his last, and many of the slaves also became victims to the ancient superstitions. Some of the doomed ones escaped to the mission-house; and the family there did all that could be done to save others—else the number of sacrifices would have been greatly increased. Mr. Edgerley records his astonishment at the indifference with which the relations of the sufferers witnessed the proceedings against them, without making an effort to save their nearest friends; as if, their fate being inevitable, they were glad, by acquiescence, to escape a similar doom.

A week afterwards, being on the river, Mr. Edgerley was hailed from the bush; and, steering for the spot, beheld an emaciated woman rush out and scramble into his boat, where she claimed his protection by clasping his knees. She had been in the far plantation, where, hearing the firing of guns, and screams of persons shot, and seeing her own husband knocked down and beheaded, she guessed the cause, and fled into the thick woods. For several days she eluded her pursuers, hiding and wandering through the forest, destitute of food and shelter, till she reached

the banks of the Qua River, when she plunged in and swam with the stream, till she found herself at a Qua village. Thence she made her way through by-paths, seeking refuge, where she had found it once before in a time of need, in the mission-house. In her flight from the farm she had passed eighteen headless trunks, and was sure there must have been many more.

The gross violation of the law against human sacrifices committed at Old Town required to be promptly and severely dealt with. When, therefore, it was formally made known by the missionaries to the native authorities, an Egbo interdict was laid on the guilty place, forbidding the funeral rites for the deceased till the breach of law was atoned for. In the native estimation that was decisive. The obsequies could not be indefinitely postponed, as a successor required to be chosen after they were concluded, and other important matters, both of business and pleasure, depended on their regular performance. Sooner or later, therefore, the heads of the town would be obliged to succumb, and pay the penalty. Such was the state of matters on my return to Calabar. The white people desired a more vigorous mode of procedure. King Eyo said that everything was in a fair train for finding and punishing the guilty.

While things were in that state of suspense, the town's people brought a great complaint to King Eyo against the missionary, for having, they said, desecrated the sacred place of their tutelary deity, *Ananse*. King Eyo prudently left the matter in my hands, and it was soon amicably settled. A few days afterwards, however, misled by a false report of his having again violated the shrine, they gathered a crowd, and followed our brother from the beach to his house, "brandishing sticks and cutlasses," as he immediately wrote to me, "and using most threatening language." When this outrage was made known to King Eyo, and his protection for the mission premises and family claimed, he quickly sent an Egbo messenger to enjoin on the people there to keep to their own houses, and to appear at Creek Town in two days to account for the disturbance. Their appearance ended in a friendly conference between the heads of the town and the missionaries, when everything was satisfactorily arranged.

A few months more passed; and, in January 1855, the "gentlemen of the *shipping*" called a meeting to determine the fate of Old Town. From that meeting the missionaries were excluded; and, in their absence, and contrary to the wishes of the rulers of Duke Town and Creek Town, it was resolved that the town should be destroyed, and some of its chief men banished. A boat was then despatched to Fernando Po for the consul and man-of-war; and, in a week more, H.M.S.S. *Antelope*, Commander Young, arrived with the *Acting-consul*, Mr. L——, on board. This gentleman, a merchant of Clarence, who had been temporarily appointed by the late consul, Captain Beecroft, when expecting, in his last sickness, to leave the island, immediately on his arrival summoned a general meeting on board the Queen's ship, and desired all complaints to be brought before him.

The first business taken up was the violation of the law against human sacrifices at Old Town. The "river gentlemen" had prepared a full statement of the case, which they read, and then called on Mr. Edgerley as a witness, whose relation, from his own knowledge, of the terrible atrocities that had been committed, strengthened their demand for judgment against the place and people. To the question what should be done with them, three answers were given. The "river gentlemen" cried out, Destroy the town. The native rulers strongly objected to such a measure, and proposed to fine it, according to Egbo law. The missionaries considered that the first was more than the consul had a right to do, and would punish the innocent with the guilty; and that the second would be inadequate to the offence, and cruel to the slaves, who would constitute the fine, and be shared among the Egbo chiefs of the other towns, besides being objectionable, as giving the latter an interest in the crime. They proposed, therefore, instead of the first, that the native rulers should be required to execute their own law; and, instead of the second, that they should "blow Egbo" on the seven men known to be chiefly guilty, thereby outlawing or banishing them from Calabar, and making them liable to seizure and flogging, or death, with confiscation of goods, whenever found within its borders. King Eyo and his chiefs agreed to this proposal; but the shipping party insisted, and the consul con-

curred, in the face of repeated protests by the missionaries, that the town should be destroyed, unless the seven criminals were delivered up to him in twenty-four hours, to be carried away as prisoners. The alternative was an impossibility. "Where are we to find them?" said Eyo. They were scattered in their distant plantations, bordering other tribes, and high woods, with all advantages for escape, and among sympathizers who would aid them. Had a month been allowed, it might have been done.

When the allotted hours had passed, the work of destruction began. Our brother there was first persuaded and aided to remove his family and effects to Duke Town, which had to be done in a morning. Then fifty or sixty shot and shell were thrown into the town; and, finally, a company of marines and Kroomen were landed to burn and break down every house to the ground. Happily, no lives were lost on the occasion, nor even much valuable property destroyed; for the people had previously removed their goods, and then fled into the bush as soon as the firing began. Strange to say, a poor lame boy was found sitting alone in the midst of the town. He could not escape, and no one had cared for his safety; yet there he sat uninjured, though shot and shell were flying and bursting around him. The Kroomen carried him to the boat, and the commander handed him over to the missionaries. The gentleman who had by so much "thunder" distinguished his "little brief authority," forbade the rebuilding of the town, and made Duke Town answerable for any attempt of the kind.

All that shot, and shell, and display of consular and naval power were worse than thrown away. The proceedings were quite illegal. The people of Old Town were not amenable to the British consul in any way. It was said that they had violated the treaty for the abolition of human sacrifices; but, in fact, they were under no treaty engagements, on that subject, with our country. The law they had broken was a native law, made, indeed, at the instigation of, and in concert with, British subjects, but by Egbo authority, and to be enforced by Egbo penalties.

For all the permanent interests of justice and humanity in Calabar, it would have been far better to have left the execution of that law to the native rulers. They needed only to be stimulated and sustained in upholding it. The style in which they reduced

the Guinea Company villages to submission showed that, in their own way, they could maintain their authority, and the honour of their enactment. Had that course been pursued, the law would have become naturalized and confirmed in the country. By the one adopted it was viewed with disfavour, as a foreign custom forced on them by foreign power. The punishment inflicted by strangers could never secure the approbation of the natives for the law itself, nor be repeated by their own rulers if another case should arise. Any good it might effect, therefore, would be but temporary, and counterbalanced by most injurious consequences.

There was more designed, however, than avowed, by what was done. Besides punishing one town, it could be held up in *terrorem* as a warning to others, to promote the payment of debts, and loading of ships, and other exigencies of commerce. The Russian war had so stimulated the palm oil trade that the rage of competition in all the rivers became very great. Debts multiplied in Calabar, where the "trust" system of trade favoured fraud on both sides, and our cruisers had never been allowed to enforce payment of debts so incurred. Not so those of other nations; and our supercargoes felt that they were in a worse position than some of their rivals, and required to show that their threat of a Man-of-war would not always be in vain. The poor, decayed Old Town, which had no trade to be sacrificed, yet much crime to be punished, would serve for an example. Therefore the missionaries were excluded from the first meeting, when its destruction was resolved on, and would have been excluded from the second, but for Commander Young, who insisted on our being invited.

It is not improbable that personal spleen may have had something to do in the business, as one of the leaders was known to have threatened the place with his vengeance for some insult offered him. And it is not without reason I add that hostility to our mission, and a design to cripple it, weighed with some of them. We had proofs of their enmity before that time, and still more subsequently, as shall be told by and by; and just then "the feeling against the mission was so strong in the river," that a surgeon of one of the ships gave that as his only reason for refusing to visit a sick person in my family. One of them said

to Young Eyo that he "would flog any missionary, master or man, who should set foot on the deck" of his vessel. Another of them was encouraged by his fellows to withhold mission-house supplies on board his ship, long after the bill of lading was presented, and when they were actually lying on his deck. The arrival of the *Antelope* and Acting-consul put a speedy end to that annoyance.

Strange to say, as if ashamed of their work, or afraid of the consequences, the instigators of the mischief tried to shift the responsibility. The missionaries, they said, were at the bottom of it; and there were not wanting persons in the country, inimical to our work, to adopt and repeat the slander, so that to this day the brother who resided there gets no small share of the blame among the natives. Yea, similar misrepresentations were made to Her Majesty's Government, repeated in Parliament, and published in some of the newspapers.

The imputation of such a crime to us was ridiculous, as well as injurious and untrue. We were servants of the Prince of Peace, bound and disposed to promote peace between man and man, as well as between man and God; and we neither threatened the natives with "Men-of-war," nor, without proper and public cause, went to them when they came up our river. The Creek Town people, at least, knew well that we never sought such aid in our Lord's work, and were deeply afflicted by the punishment of Old Town. It is possible enough that our brother there may have too strongly warned the people of the fatal consequences that might ensue from their criminal conduct; for the engagement entered into by the native rulers for the suppression of human sacrifices provided, that if any person or place in Calabar should prove too strong for them, they would send for the Consul and a "Man-of-war" to enforce law. King Eyo referred to that alternative in dealing with the Guinea Company people, and possibly Mr. Edgerley may have done the same at his station. But we were all of one mind, that our gospel work could never be carried on in league with the embodiment of foreign power, and, in fact, would be ruined, if the natives should suspect that our endeavours at reformation were a snare to entangle them in promises, to be enforced by the thunder of war guns. In this case the "Man-of-war" and Consul were not sent for by King Eyo, who

alone had the right to seek their aid, but against his will by another party to whom the power was never conceded.

We had a respectable native marriage about that time, the commencement, it was hoped, of a reformation in that most important relation. As the first of a series, it must be mentioned with some little detail. The youth was *Eyo Onsa*, second son of Father Tom, "one great, grand gentleman of Creek Town," often referred to. He wished to join the baptism class, but could not be admitted while keeping a "friend," as his unmarried companion was called. She was fit to be his wife, however, being free, and of good family, and both a good-looking and a sensible young woman. He should marry her, I told him, and then join the class. An obstacle existed, however, as his elder brother was not yet married, and the younger could not go first. That was "Calabar fashion." But he might be married in "God man's fashion," and not wait for his brother. To this they both agreed, provided the consent of their families could be gained. That also was obtained after some demur and delay, and so without banns or license, more than was implied in these private negotiations, the day was fixed.

They came neatly and simply dressed, accompanied by a few young people attached to the Christian cause. When the usual services were concluded, and their signatures made to the marriage register, he addressing her, *impromptu*, said,—He had now married her "true, true," and whatever she might do, he would never leave her, nor take another. Their marriage was a proper marriage before God and man, not like Calabar marriage, which every one broke as they liked. To this gallant speech the lady nodded her smiling response.

When they were ready to leave a difficulty occurred. He had come alone, and wanted to return alone, "for fear of being laughed at in the town." That, however, was inadmissible. He must not be ashamed of his lawful wife. He must give her his company to his father's house where they had their abode. But not his arm, at least, he pleaded with earnestness, the idea of which put him into fits of terror, and her into fits of laughter. That point was conceded as not absolutely necessary, and some of

our household joined their party home to protect them from mockery.

No sooner had the native church been constituted at Calabar than the question arose, should we receive slaveholders to communion? Our church in the mother country had withdrawn from the fellowship of American slaveholding churches. Was it consistent in us to receive similar persons into the communion of our missionary congregations? The question was proper in a slaveholding country, but not easily answered in such a country as Calabar. Having formerly described the system of slavery prevailing there, we need only say further now, that we found it so different, in some important respects, from that of the West Indies and United States, that we believed our church could consistently maintain her protest against the acquiescence of the American churches in it, without embarrassing our missionary labours by applying it to us. That protest did not deny their Christianity, nor pretend to excommunicate them from the church universal; but it would have that effect if applied to our converts, a wrong effect, while they professed their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and proved their desire to serve him.

The cases are altogether different. Christianity preceded slavery in America, existing in connection with a system of free institutions; and the church there was to blame for recognising the foreign and hostile system when introduced, and allowing it to extend and strengthen itself under her shadow. Both the church and general society could have existed and flourished, though slavery on that continent had been stifled in its birth, or extirpated at any subsequent period. How contrary is the case in Calabar where slavery has existed from ancient times, as an original institution, and our holy religion is but of yesterday. Slavery is not of native growth in America. It is an exotic, and a poisonous one; a parasite, sucking the life out of the free institutions which preceded it. In Africa it is the normal state of society; and no other could be at once substituted. Were it suddenly abolished anarchy would reign. It must be gradually changed; and indeed it contains native elements of improvement, which, cherished and developed by the influence of the gospel, will result at no distant date in per-

sonal and social freedom; and perhaps as much political freedom as the genius of the negro race can as yet appreciate and improve.

The difference in the systems of the two countries is seen in the different ways that slaves may regain their freedom. In the one country their legal emancipation is rendered possible by a simple and direct process. Their price being paid they come at once under the general laws of the country, and the magistrate who administers them, whereby their freedom is secured, and they are restrained from abusing it. In the other there are no laws on the subject, nor magistrates for the whole community; and therefore no recognised means of emancipation securing the above named objects. Slaves released from their owners, in the present state of Calabar, would be under the guidance of no law, and the protection of no authority. They would revert to their old condition, re-established among themselves for their mutual benefit. Such, in fact, has been the course things have taken in the Qua river plantations. The headmen, owning no longer their former subjection to Duke Town masters, have usurped their place by the aid of their dependants, while the latter are as much slaves as before.

Some of the brethren in Calabar having sought direction in the case from the Board of Missions, the latter mastered the subject, and issued an excellent statement of the whole question for the information of the church. It decided that, as legal emancipation was at present impracticable there, and as the missionaries would not be justified in excluding from the fellowship of the church any, who gave satisfactory evidences of conversion, and were willing to obey the laws of the Lord Jesus Christ, they might properly admit such persons, on the distinct recognition of their duty to their bond servants, both as to present good treatment, and ultimate emancipation.

Instead of quoting the obligations which our "Board" required Christian masters to come under on that subject, prior to their recognition in the church, I shall give the rules we had ourselves previously drawn up for their guidance, and always inculcated, namely,—

Christians must take no part in reducing any man to slavery, nor trade in slaves. Those who have slaves must treat them with justice and mercy, in the fear of God, seeking their welfare;

must give them Christian instruction, and their children school education. They must allow them to be married, and regard their marriage as sacred, beyond any rights of ownership. They must not sell them, except as punishment for crime, and to save their lives; must admit their right to acquire, hold, and bequeath property; and favour the making of general laws for promoting freedom in the country. If all slave owners acted on these principles, which pertain essentially to Christianity and to justice, slavery would everywhere soon die out, extinguished more safely, beneficially, and perfectly than could be effected by any ecclesiastical or parliamentary enactment for enforcing immediate emancipation. The tree of slavery is nourished not by its roots but its branches. It is strong, not in its principles, but its profits, pleasures, and honours. In vain we contend about abstract and debateable doctrines of the natural equality of all mankind, the essential wrongfulness of certain degrees of power, and whether some form of slavery is or is not in the Bible. Its bad fruits condemn it; and if the branches that bear them were lopped off unsparingly the roots and trunk would die.

It grieves us to have to record unfavourable things of our son in the gospel, Young Eyo; but fidelity to truth requires, after all the good things we have reported of him, that we hide not his faults; which became this year very great. His first apparent error was in connection with the funeral ceremonies observed for some person of distinction in the town. A public dress masquerade, called the "*Bunko* dance," formerly described, was a display of which he was particularly fond. He could see no harm in it, no inconsistency with his Christian profession, no danger to his spiritual interests, no injurious example to others; yet he yielded to our remonstrances, acquiesced in our views, and promised to abstain from it. He did abstain on that occasion, our alarm subsided, and we rejoiced in his stability. But after some time he went to the oil market, returned unexpectedly the following week, when his father was making a great funeral for his head blacksmith, always a great person in a primitive state of society, and allowed himself to be entangled in a promise to take part in the ceremonial to honour his old friend.

In our sacrament class that week he seemed affected with a conviction that he had erred, and felt the force of the Scriptures we read on the subject. We spoke of self-denial and cross bearing by separation from the pleasures and enticements of the world, of the hurtful effect on the Christian mind of public plays and dissipation, their tendency to "quench the Spirit," their connection with other things, not even apparently innocent, and of the injurious influence such an example in him would have on the unconverted natives. The following day I had further dealings with him on the subject, in his own house; for he seemed to have arrived at a crisis in his spiritual history; and it was uncertain whether he meant really to maintain the profession of his faith, or to turn back and walk no more with us, as a disciple of our Lord Jesus. Being extremely concerned for his steadfastness, we were at first disappointed that his sentiments, though humbly and ingenuously expressed, went no further seemingly than sorrow for having disregarded our advice, which he owned he should have felt bound to follow. This came far short of the conviction of his sin that we wished to see produced in his mind. We urged him therefore to consider, if he should not live daily to that Saviour who had loved him and died to save him, and to compare himself, flaunting through the town in silks and ribbons and fanciful disguises, among a company of vain followers of the world, with the pattern our Lord had set him. Could either the church or the world recognise him as a Christian disciple amidst such a scene of dissipation? Had he honoured God, and advanced the cause of Christ? Had he got good to his own soul, done good to the souls of his brethren, or helped to bring his companions from sin and death to holiness and salvation?

Our poor friend seemed much ashamed of himself, and owned that pride had filled his heart, because he could show ten pieces of silk while others had only two, and that he had greatly sinned in drawing his companions away from Christ instead of to him. He knew, he said, that he had better lose his house, and goods, and life itself, than the love of God, and the salvation of his soul. He remembered what he had read in, "Come to Jesus," that God was angry with the sinner every day; by night and by day; and how he could not sleep one night for thinking of God's anger against

him; and he did not wish God to be angry with him any more. These improved views and feelings were well and sincerely expressed, at our next class meeting, where he owned his fault and sorrow for it, with such sensible and scriptural reasons for his better convictions, and such genuine humility, that we no longer entertained the idea of separating him from the Lord's table at our next communion. It was indeed an edifying example of sincere humility to see him confessing his faults before brethren who were mostly his father's slaves, and all of them his juniors and inferiors. We rejoiced over his recovery, and believed that the angels in heaven rejoiced too; but alas, no very long time elapsed till he confessed greater sins than these, the breach of a positive commandment, arising probably from the dissipation of that masquerade. Other occurrences, however, require to be first noticed, and some of the customs of the country which came under our observation about that time.

One of the minor gentry of Creek Town, *Ensa Ene*, a bold blaspheming fellow, died suddenly, and under peculiar circumstances, in Egbo Shary country. It was said that he had quarrelled with the people there, and when they wanted him to settle the palaver by swearing *mbiam*, he threw away the jar of "bitter water," and immediately fell dead. This they deemed a judgment on him for his profanity, and it strengthened their faith in the power of *mbiam;* but his friends concluded that they had somehow or other contrived to kill him, by *ifod* or *ibok*, that is witchcraft or "medicine." It was remarkable that he, who had often reviled the God of heaven with impunity, was stricken down when he spurned a native superstition. So has many a daring character cursed his king with safety, and been afterwards arrested for insolence to a special constable.

In a few days a number of people from that place were brought in as prisoners, and distributed to the "town gentlemen," to be held as hostages, till the affair could be investigated. Two of them were in the hands of a cousin of the deceased who treated them barbarously. Not content with chains on their necks he had their hands and feet in irons, and half starved them besides. Our remonstrances against such cruelty were unheeded by him, and we had to go to the chiefs of the town to procure an ameliora-

tion of their treatment. We did succeed in part, reminding these gentlemen that the prisoners were not criminals, not even accused of being the guilty parties; but merely hostages till it should be ascertained if any one were guilty at all or not. The improvement was but temporary; for the jailer removed them to his farm, after quarrelling with us for interference, and we saw no more of them. Some of the "gentlemen" indeed expressed surprise at our taking any interest in the strangers, saying that we, who were friends of Calabar, should not take part with their enemies. The affair, we believe, was ultimately settled in an amicable way under King Eyo's prudent management.

The following, nearly similar, and somewhat remarkable, case affords both an example of our Solomon's sagacious decisions, and a scriptural illustration.

A free man of *Ekrikok* was shot, accidentally as all allowed, by a slave in the *Iniong* country, and his town claimed the life of a free man instead. Iniong offered to give up the unfortunate fellow who had fired the gun; but the other refused him as insufficient, and insisted on a free man. The matter remained long unsettled, and the deceased unburied. His own countrymen would not take the body without the compensation, and the others dare not bury it, lest all Calabar should hold them answerable for his death. In this dilemma they smoke-dried it, as they would a fish or deer, and so preserved it till it should be called for.

At length the case came to Creek Town for adjudication; and the court there decreed that it would be more than justice required to deliver up an Iniong man *purposely* to be killed for one whose death had been *accidental;* and that the affair must still be in abeyance, till a similar case might occur on the other side. It was admitted that a life was due by Iniong, but the debt could be paid only when an Ekrikok man undesignedly killed one from the rival country. Meantime the friends of the deceased were required to take home the body and inter it in the usual way. The refusal of the people, where the affair took place, to bury the body, lest they should be held guilty of its death, furnishes some illustration of a difficult verse in the gospel of Luke. "Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers; for they killed the prophets, and ye build their sepulchres."

A great work long in hand was at length completed; and our desires were accomplished in seeing a proper and becoming Church erected in Calabar, and publicly consecrated to the service of the living and true God. It was opened on the 9th September 1855.

CHURCH, MISSION-HOUSE, AND SCHOOL-HOUSE.

What had delayed the completion of it before we went home in 1852 was mentioned at the time; and we found on our return that more work was required to finish it than when we left. A great part of the foundation frame, having suffered from exposure to sun and rain, was decayed and needed to be renewed. The ground posts, also supplied at first by the town, proved generally of a poor quality and were far gone. Flooring and stairs and seats were wanted, with other carpenter work, a wall to close up the lower part, and an outer roof of native matting to cover all from the sun. At length it was all done, and well done, and the foundation was made as secure as sixty or seventy large and ripe red mangrove trees, the best that could be procured within seven miles, could make it. When complete, standing on a gentle elevation at the

head of the main street, in the centre of the town, it looked really well, and gave as much satisfaction to the king and people generally as to the carpenter and me.

The last Sabbath that we met in the King's courtyard I took the opportunity to have a little private serious dealing with him about the state of his soul and his family. It was proper to acknowledge, first of all, the aid he had ever given us in calling the people together, and being always ready to speak for us to them the word of God. He received these thanks with evident satisfaction. It was also proper to ask him seriously what good he and his family had derived from the word of God, preached in his house so many years. His two eldest sons, with a few of his house servants, seemed to be the only ones who had received the gospel in faith and love. His wives and daughters, and nearly all his people, were still insensible to it. He had, indeed, himself gained much knowledge, and made some outward reforms; but he did not lay the truth of God to heart, did not believe in and obey the Son of God for salvation. I was burdened in mind therefore about his spiritual state, still dead in his sins; and the people of God prayed for his conversion; but we did not as yet see the answer of our prayers. Why did our prayers not avail on his behalf? Because, as the prophet said, he set up his idols in his heart, and the stumbling-block of his iniquity before his face; he was hardening himself in known sin, by multiplying wives and concubines. Other subjects were also alluded to in the course of our conversation; as, the social condition of his slaves, few of whom were married; the difficulty which the young men, growing up with some education and Christian knowledge, had in finding suitable wives, from the girls not being sent to school, or being shared among the "gentlemen;" and also the hardships some of our members were subjected to in being kept away at the far markets, several months at a time.

He listened attentively and without irritation to much very plain speaking, and made little reply, offering only some old excuses and palliations, which he was assured could not stand in the judgment of God, or of man either. When death, judgment, and eternity, were spoken of, like Felix in his emotions and evasions, he put the great concern off to a more convenient season. A crowd of women

gathering about the door of the room where we sat, rendered it vain to urge him further.

On the following Sabbath the church was crowded both in the inner part and in the surrounding veranda. The pulpit was simply a small table on a low platform, the seats were mere benches with back rails, and the royal seat, on the right hand side of the desk facing the congregation, was no better than the others, except in being covered with red baft, and having a small table in front for the King's Bible. All the congregation looked happy, especially the church members and school children, who seemed to think that they had a particular interest in the house and day. When the benediction was about to be pronounced the King stood up, and, as if resigning his office of interpreter, addressed the audience, exhorting them to attend the church regularly, as he purposed himself to do, and to keep the day of God free from work and play.

That day we counted the best day we had seen in Calabar, one we had not expected to see when we entered the country nearly ten years before. We refer not to the mere building and opening of a temple for the public worship of God, but to the more important fact that there was a regular congregation ready to fill it, and an organized church of native converts. So adverse at first did everything, in the condition and customs of the people of the country, appear to our sacred object, that we ventured not to expect so great a change in our day. That it would come we believed, though probably not till others had entered into our labours, and we rejoiced in the prospect. How much more might we rejoice when permitted to see it attained! To God was the glory due and given, for that happy result of our previous labours. He, who had done so much already beyond our expectations, would, we believed, do all else needful to advance His kingdom of peace, truth and righteousness in that land of utter darkness and death where we laboured. There were no difficulties with Him.

One of the evils arising from the system of "trust," on which Calabar trade was conducted, was the accumulation of debts, and the irregular, sometimes outrageous means employed for getting payment. When the party indebted could not be found, a super-

cargo would seize some one else, the greater he might be the better, and hold him as a hostage till his friends, to rescue him, became responsible for the debt. When we objected to the injustice of the practice, the usage of the trade and customs of the country were pleaded in extenuation; as if the barbarous practices of a rude people could excuse arbitrary violence by others more civilized and better informed. The following case offers an example:—

One evening we were a sudden tumult in Creek Town, where people were r ries to the beach and manning the canoes. Soon eight pu l of armed men, the king in one without his usual stat her Tom in another, everything betokening some sud ; and while some sped the regular way to t ed through a shorter but difficult passage c All that we could learn for several hours was that something had happened to Young Eyo on board one of the ships, and his father had hastened to his aid.

It was night ere they returned, and then Father Tom and Young Eyo came to tell us what had occurred. He had gone to one of the ships on business, and having settled all accounts, was about to leave, when he found himself made prisoner for the debts of others, people of Duke Town, with whom he had no connection. Locked up in the cabin he threw himself out of the stern windows into the river, swam to his canoe, and was escaping, when the ship's boats went in pursuit. Hard pressed he took to the bush pursued by the Kroomen, but succeeded in eluding them, till his father, speedily informed of what had taken place, hastened to his rescue. He was back in the morass when he heard himself called, by a peculiar beat of the native bell in his father's canoe,* but contrived to reach the river side, and found refuge among his own people.

They were all returning peaceably to Creek Town when the ship's people pursued again, and coming up with the King's great canoe grappled and attempted to board it, expecting to find their prey there, and determined to have him at all hazards. The canoe men resisted the boarders, returning blow for blow and shot for

* The native-made bell is double; not circular, but flattish; of hammered iron; as if it were two bells joined by a handle, each of a different tone, when beaten.

shot, till Captain T——, who had arrested him and led the chase, received a wound and ordered a retreat. None of the wounds on either side happily proved to be dangerous. It was well, however, that the King and Young Eyo had gone ahead in a smaller canoe, which carried them from the fray and safe home.

The detachment which went by Monkey Creek also met trouble. No sooner had they emerged from it than they were assailed by a boat's crew, and knocked into the river, while Hogan, a most peaceable young man, had his arm slit by the stroke of a cutlass.

This affair was a counterpart of the bombardment of Old Town, and would have an equally good effect in promoting civilization and commerce. Such proceedings were in the supposed interests of trade, but the real interests of those who had a permanent stake in the commerce of the country were seriously compromised thereby. If they helped to load a ship this year they hindered the loading of others the next; for though the natives might put up with these outrages at a time, when unable to resist them, they would remember and repay them in the long run, some way or other.

Ikunitu, a small town about twenty-five miles up the great river from Creek Town, was fixed on for the first of the new stations, to be commenced by Mr. Goldie. We had visited it on several occasions, and the head men of the place, who sometimes visited Creek Town, having been found not averse to the proposal, Mr. Goldie, Mr. Hewan, our medical brother recently arrived, and myself, went to see all the townsmen about it. Assembled in the chief's yard they expressed themselves favourably disposed to our design, they would like to hear God's word, and send their children "to learn book;" but they could not speak for others who were at their farms; and as for the drunken people of the town they would care nothing about such things. Some of them hoped that we would bring coppers and make trade; but did not insist on that point when they understood our rules; and they wisely concluded to leave the whole business to King Eyo, saying that they had put themselves under him, and if he were to send a ship to take them all away they must go. They rejoiced in the prospect of the white doctor visiting their town sometimes, and

anticipated great things from his skill. To make one live always, and raise the dead to life, seemed not altogether beyond their ideas of his abilities.

Our visit required to be soon repeated, to counteract some opposition that had arisen from the adherents of Duke Ephraim in that place, and we took Young Eyo with us as his father's representative. The objectors, after all, were not so very hard to please as we had feared; and they temperately stated the difficulties they had as to the changes we might introduce among them. They could never agree, they said, to twin mothers and children living in their town, though they would no longer kill them; nor could they abandon their *idems*, that is, their Egbo and other supernatural things. Runaway slaves, they insisted, should not be harboured in the mission-house, while they agreed to the new law which prohibited human sacrifices, and gave us credit for good intentions and disinterestedness, in reforms which benefitted not us but themselves. Some of them were disposed to go further into detail, and prescribe the conduct of the missionary in various minute particulars. But we answered generally that in nothing would there be compulsion, that they would learn new and good things from the word of God, and would then judge what was best, and in the meantime had better not determine what they would or would not do. We were not to be treated like new slaves, whom they had to teach the fashions of the country, this they must do and that not; nor like strangers, whom they must bind to good behaviour, before letting them live in their town. We ourselves knew what was right better than they; and Mr. Goldie would come to teach, and must be free to teach them all the good word of God.

Some of them began to speak of our giving them "dash," or presents. We replied that their missionary would give them the best dash ever man gave them, he would give them himself, and show them the greatest gift of God, his own Son to save their life. As they laughed dubiously thereat, we told them how ill the *Itu* people who clamoured for "dash," behaved and fared, where the only man who did not ask for it got it. It was mean also for "gentlemen" to begin by begging "dash," a thing King Eyo never did. They took all we said in good humour, and we parted

with mutual good will, giving and receiving presents on both sides, as the custom of the land was.

The opposition did not cease. Duke Ephraim, speaking the sentiments of his own chiefs, sent to King Eyo to protest strongly against our occupying Ikunitu, lest we proceed to other Ekrikok towns, and open the way for all white men into the country. If the towns up the river had schools and missionaries, they would soon be able to rival Duke Town and Creek Town, which it had always been the wisdom of their fathers to prevent. And as to doing good in the country, Old Town was a sample of the good the missionaries were doing. He also reflected on Eyo for allowing his son, who would have to keep the country after him, to follow the white men's fashions so much, and to go with us to Ekrikok to advise the people in our favour. Such a message the duke was not the man to send to King Eyo, had he not been instigated and supported, not only by his own town, but by some in Creek Town also. We proceeded cautiously, however, and the opposition gradually died away.

Our school at Creek Town was nearly getting into bad odour about this time by the misconduct of a boy and girl who had once been at it. The latter who had turned out very differently from what had been expected, and had caused her teachers great sorrow, became a saleswoman for the King. Finding her proceeds deficient, she took her trade-book to the lad, her acquaintance, and got him to alter the amount of what she had received from the King's store. When her account was called for, the King's eye and book discovered the cheat, and the store-keeper confirmed his suspicions, by positively declaring that the figures in the girl's book were not his "finger." She fled, but her lover was known, and when called owned his fault, pleading only that he was ignorant of the girl's design, and innocent of any ill intention. The affair was a town-talk for a week, and the school was scandalized among its enemies, who expected nothing less than that every one who handled a pen, would become a forger and a cheat, and a falsifier of trade papers. I took up the subject on the following Sabbath, and answered our opponents by a fable:—

The people of a certain country had nothing wherewith to

sharpen their tools, which were so blunt as to be nearly useless. At length a sagacious chief saw a *grindstone* on board a ship, that had come from a far country, perceived its value, and secured it for his own use. A few others were persuaded to do the same, the benefit derived from the new implements was great, and great for a time were the rejoicings of their possessors. Some people, however, opposed the grindstones as a new fashion, unknown to their country and their fathers; while others objected to poor people and slaves using them to make their macheats and axes as sharp as gentlemen's swords. Some also were too indolent to turn the stone for their own use, and when they saw other people's tools sharper than theirs they became angry and cursed it. So much opposition frightened some who had got the stone, and they left off using it.

It came to pass that two men quarrelled, and one of them, whose cutlass was sharp, wounded the other severely. Thereupon the advocates of the old fashion declared that the new fashion would be the death of them; for people now would whet their macheats and kill each other; therefore, they said, the grindstones must be destroyed. The chief, however, who had introduced, could not be so easily led to abandon, them. He said that good things were often put to a bad use by bad people, and yet were good things still. Grindstones were designed not to kill men, but to prepare their tools for their work; and if any one used them for worse purposes he should bear his punishment; but others should not be punished for his fault. Grindstones did no harm in other countries, but much good; and those who had them far surpassed those who wanted them, both in work and in war. If they put theirs away what would they do, when their enemies came against them with swords and cutlasses well sharpened? He therefore advised that, instead of breaking their grindstones, they should teach every man the right use of them; for why should they be left behind in ignorance and weakness by all other countries? To this good advice the wise people agreed, and there were no more complaints against the new fashion.

This parable was easily understood, and afforded amusement as well as instruction. In conclusion, I said that the improper intimacy, which had subsisted between the culprits, was the cause

of their fault; and that the school, which condemned and counteracted the evil customs of the country, could not be blamed for their bad consequences.

The girl referred to was not heard of for a week. Some people said that she would hang herself for shame and fear, rather than come in to be punished. They used to do so, in similar circumstances, and say, "Now palaver set." "No," replied others, "she cannot do so; she knows, suppose she die, palaver not set." They alluded to the judgment of God still to come. She did come in, and was punished by King Eyo with the *sand-paper leaf*, which took the skin off her lips, to teach her not to falsify her trade account again, or tell lies to her master.

The following is another sad account of one of our early scholars. He went to school in 1847, and for a year was indefatigable in application to his book; but, at the same time, was so self-willed and unmanageable that he left it the following year, rather than submit to order. He was seldom seen in town after that, and still seldomer at the worship of God in the King's yard or school-house. His farm where he chiefly lived was far from town. There he took a wife, the daughter of an Ikunitu gentleman; and there also became so addicted to intemperance that his wife could no longer live with him, and went home to her father. Thither he followed to recover her, but finding neither her nor him, abused the farm-servants, and did other mischief. In the absence of law retaliation is esteemed justice; so his father-in-law followed him home, beat him, and killed his goats. Unable to requite this insult he turned and abused his own head man for not calling out his people to defend him; and began to shoot their goats, saying that after his were dead none others should live on his farm. This brought him and his foreman into conflict, and the latter being joined by his own slave, the former was left on the ground desperately wounded. He was brought into town for medical treatment, and Dr. Hewan was not without hopes of his recovery; but his intemperate habits got the mastery of him again, high fever was induced, and he ended his life, while yet young, in a dreadful fit of *delirium tremens*. It need hardly be added that my endeavours to arouse his conscience, and direct him to the Saviour were

utterly useless. He owned but felt not the truth of all that was told him.

If the fate of the unhappy youth shocked, that of his antagonists horrified us. They fled of course into the bush, and sought to make their escape into some far country; but they were found, brought back in irons, carried, it was said, into the wood, and bound to trees, where, their hands and feet being cut off, they were left to perish in slow agonies. This infernal execution was all over before we heard of it; yet we felt bound to go to all the chiefs of the town, and condemn in the strongest terms such fiendish barbarity. Old Antika Ambo, the head of the family to which the parties belonged, declared that he had merely ordered the criminals to be put to death, without specifying the mode; and all the others denied all knowledge of the transaction. Some of them said that the slaves, who were the executioners, must have mutilated the men in that horrid way, of their own accord, which was incredible. John Eyo alone condemned the execution as "too bad," and said that of their own accord no slaves would have treated their fellow slaves so cruelly. It was, in fact, a part of their slave system, which condemns to the greatest imaginable tortures those who dare lift their hands against their masters. In that respect the system is the same, under white masters in America as under black in Africa, as witness the dreadful punishments of rebellious slaves in the West Indies and United States. Human passion unrestrained, under whatever coloured covering it works, becomes utterly diabolical. No man, that has any regard for the moral improvement of his human nature, and dreads the risk of becoming brutalized or devilish, should wish to be a slave-owner.

We had a notable affair in the matrimonial way towards the close of that year. Mrs. Waddell's valuable assistant, heretofore known as Miss Miller, must henceforth be known as Mrs. Sutherland. She was married to the teacher of Duke Town school in November, and went with him to Old Town to reoccupy and revive that station. Their bridal day was a great day in Creek Town. The marriage ceremony was in the church before many witnesses; after which we had a grand feast, when fifty or sixty, "gentle and semple," old and young, enjoyed themselves; and then the bride

was sent away in our barge, with festooned awning, and colours flying, and everybody's blessing, to her new home.

About that time all the principal men of Duke Town and Creek Town met at the latter place to make new trade regulations, and to bind all by oath to observe them. The oath to be taken was the *mbiam*. This our native Christians could not take, and the occasion seemed likely to prove a severe trial to them. King Eyo, indeed, we hoped, would not exact it from them; but the Duke Town gentry were inflexible in their adherence to old customs; and we feared lest he should concede something to please them. Young Eyo also seemed to vacillate when he asked if he might take it as the representative of his father, though resolved to refuse it for himself. We showed him, in reply, the folly and sin of the course he proposed, and required him by his firmness to help his young brother Eshen and others to withstand the imposition. The novel plan of swearing by proxy was explained by the natural affection a father would have for his son, whose life would be as precious to him as his own, and equally oblige him to keep his oath. Our members all determined to refuse the *mbiam*, as idolatrous, and to swear only by the Lord's great name (Deut. x. 20), as He alone had all knowledge of the true and the false, and all power to punish and reward.

When the meeting was held Young Eyo stood his ground, and maintained his consistency, speaking for all his brethren. *Mbiam*, he said, was not God to know all they did or said, and to punish them with sickness and death; and for them to swear by it was no use, for it could not bind them to keep their word. It was well that King Eyo expressed himself satisfied with their promise in the name of God, to observe the rules, for no one else could object; but the young Christians from Duke Town found no favour from Duke Ephraim; for when they claimed exemption in the same way, the tyrannical old fool insisted on their taking it, and some of his myrmidons put it into their mouths against their will.

Some of our Creek Town gentry were not so liberal-minded as King Eyo, and I took the opportunity the following Sabbath to explain the matter more fully to them, after the congregation dismissed. Did they wish any one, I asked, to make play with

mbiam? They answered with one voice "No, no." "Well, suppose a person, who counts it only as dirty water, and knows it cannot hurt him, swears by it as you bid him, and says it must kill him if he speak falsely, he laughs at it as a fool thing, and prays to it as a god; does he not take it make play?" They all replied "For true." I continued, "Whoever swears must swear by something great as God, which can judge him if he do bad; but you all know that *mbiam* is not God, and can do nothing. If God's people swear by *mbiam*, they make you fool, for they don't believe it. Better you let them swear by God's word, and then they will fear to tell lie." The King replied that they knew *mbiam* was nothing, but they had to use it as the form of oath the people feared; but if any one feared God, and wished to swear in the name of God, he would take that oath soon as the other. Some of the gentlemen demurred, and said, that if all were truly God's people who called themselves so, they could believe them; but now they did not know who were God's people and who not. I replied that the baptized members of the church were to be accounted God's people, and none others.

The year of which we are about to close the review was painfully remarkable for the falls of church members into shameful sins. Young Eyo was the first, and he was followed in rapid succession by four others; and then, after confession, and a period of seeming repentance, and gentle dealing, his sin was repeated. Words cannot describe the poignancy of our anguish. We felt bound to exclude him, not only from church communion, but from our house and table, where he had previously been a frequent and welcome guest. The apostolic rule (1 Cor. v. 11) was applicable to his case, and he felt it very keenly. He hung his head and wept. He had always got good, he said, by coming to us, had been instructed and strengthened; and now where could he go? Truly we felt for him, for he needed Christian society, and had none other than that of the Mission-house; but we were to be pitied too, for it was like shutting our door against our son, and leaving him out to perish in greater temptations and sins. We believed, however, that God who had established the order of His own house, would take care of its interests, and overrule the pain-

ful discipline for the benefit of the erring brother, who had rendered himself unworthy of its society.

Letters, which three of these poor youths wrote to me on the painful subject, expressed, in evidently truthful language, the deepest humility and compunction, the liveliest affections, and an extensive knowledge of divine truth. These letters were sent home as evidences to our Mission Board that the writers had not been lightly received into church fellowship, and would probably have been received to the fellowship of any home church. Such was the state of society in Calabar, where the people "had given themselves over to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness," that it was less surprising these should fall than that any should stand. The young disciple who could resist inclination, invitation, opportunity, example, and all other seductive influences, subject to no other restraint than what was inward and spiritual, showed the power of a divine life, was a Christian indeed, had the faith that overcomes the world, and was prepared for martyrdom, being already dead.

These lamentable events were not concealed from the mother church; for we wished the help of God's people everywhere, by their prayers, for the recovery of our young converts. And they were recovered. Even from the first it was a good sign that they voluntarily confessed their sins, when we could not otherwise have known of them; and before another year elapsed three out of the five were restored, having given good proofs of their godly repentance.

CH[illegible]XX.

Consul and Man-of-war [illegible] [illegible]nder—New Consul arrives—Old Town to be rebuilt—Host[illegible] [illegible] mission—King Eyo's palace—Sierra Leone emigrants—I[illegible] [illegible] mission-house—Arrival of Consul and Commodore—Satisf[illegible] [illegible] M.S. *Scourge*—Ugly affair of Captain —— and Lame J[illegible] [illegible] Schemes of our opponents—King Eyo begins to trouble [illegible] [illegible], and is rebuked—The boy vindicated —Female convert[illegible] [illegible] and steadfastness—Their baptism—Death of King's [illegible] [illegible] Creek Town—King's child *Amayas* and her maid—Our orphans Jane and Ja[illegible] [illegible]—Losses and gains to the mission—*Ikunitu* opened—Review of year's work.

We resume the story of Old Town, which, with the beginning of this year, saw a favourable change in the state of its affairs. The people had not forsaken the place. They built huts in the adjacent bush to retain their hold on the ground, and made Mr. Sutherland welcome, when he went to restore the Mission-house, which had become greatly dilapidated. The presence of his wife soon altered the aspect of things, and the duties of the station were all resumed. The squatters were, indeed, still few, but the neighbouring Qua villages offered scope for missionary labour.

Our Board of missions had memorialized Her Majesty's Government on the subject of Old Town, complaining of the line of conduct pursued by the Acting-consul in reference to it, and claiming that the prohibition against its being rebuilt be withdrawn. This was at once conceded, and we only awaited the arrival of a new Consul to have things there put on a proper footing.

Before the new appointment had taken place, the Acting-consul paid another visit to our river, to obtain evidence which might justify his too vigorous proceedings on the former occasion; for they had rather dimmed his prospect of permanency in office. He wished to get the testimony of King Eyo and Duke Ephraim to the value of his measures in the interests of civilization and commerce. But the former would not sign the paper to that

effect, and the latter would attend no meeting. Then he brought H.M.S., the *Minx*, up to Creek Town, and all the river gentry on board of her, as a demonstration; but all in vain. King Eyo had learned the real state of matters, and conceded nothing. So our hero returned with all his friends the same day, without firing even blank cartridge in our quiet waters.

Hearing that the Commander of the *Minx* was a good Christian man, we availed ourselves of the opportunity, that his removal to one of the merchant ships in the river afforded us, to wait on him, and present the following address, which all the brethren had signed:—

"The Scottish missionaries, resident in Calabar, beg to express, to Lieutenant Commander Roe, their sincere regret, that certain circumstances, to which they will not more particularly allude, have prevented them going on board H.M.S.S. *Minx*, to offer him their respects on occasion of his visit to this river. They trust that he will not attribute this seeming neglect to any intentional disrespect towards himself or her majesty's service, which is far from their minds. They are sorry to hear of his being unwell, and would gladly afford him any accommodation their houses possess if he would please to accept it. They hope and pray that he may soon be perfectly restored."

Commander Roe was gratified by our visit, thanked us for our letter, apologized for not having called on the missionaries, owing solely to his ill health, and seemed to understand, and to feel as well as we, the peculiar circumstances to which we had alluded.

At length a new Consul was appointed. It was not easy, perhaps, to find many, from whom to choose, willing to brave the ill-famed coast; but this high official, to the surprise of all, missionaries, skippers, and supercargoes, was one who had formerly been a surgeon in the river, and had not inspired all who knew him with a conviction of his super-eminent abilities for such a sphere of duty. As he had attended professionally some of the mission families, and had even sought a permanent connection with the mission, we were prepared to receive him as an old acquaintance, without expecting too much from him.

Our new magistrate made his first formal visit to Calabar for the express purpose of arranging for the restoration of Old Town.

For this purpose he invited the chiefs of the three towns, and the missionaries, to meet there with him, and Commander Williams of H.M.S.S. *Bloodhound;* and when we met a treaty was made with the headmen of the place. They agreed to the abolition of human sacrifices, the preservation of twin-born children, the disuse of the poison ordeal in ordinary, and the safety of the missionaries living among them. This last particular was not at our desire, nor was it necessary. We knew that, if our brother could not live there without a treaty stipulation for his safety, he could do little good with it. Some other things were, however, proposed by us, such as that infants, whose mothers had died, should not be buried or thrown into the bush with them, but given to the missionaries to be brought up. The Old Town people insisted, however, that the twins, though allowed to live, should not enter their town, and that the "chop nut," should still be available in extreme cases as their protection against "free-mason;" consenting only in every case to obtain the two Kings' leave. The treaty having been duly signed and witnessed, the principal parties present were invited by Mrs. Sutherland to dinner. Every one seemed happy at the good work done, and hoped that Old Town would yet see better days.

They who had conspired to destroy that place could not be pleased to see it rebuilt; and the enmity to missionaries which had been combined with the former act was not abated by the latter. It becomes necessary here to mention that the ill feeling which had been manifested towards us continued to display itself on various occasions. We regret the necessity. The wishes and endeavours of all in the mission were to live on good terms with our commercial countrymen; and with alacrity we availed ourselves of opportunities of showing them kind attentions, and rendering them any services in our power. Under God it was owing to the care they received in the Mission-houses, in times of sickness, that some of them lived to go home; and for months at a time the house at Duke Town was often like an hospital with sick captains and seamen. A full view of the affairs of the mission cannot, however, be given without some notice of the virulent hostility manifested toward it by several of them, in

which they were countenanced by the tame acquiescence of others who assured us they "had no ill design." It has been so long the way of fortune hunters, in all parts of the world, to throw the blame of all mischief, even when caused by themselves, on the missionaries, who sometimes stand in their way, and such items of "foreign intelligence" have found such ready admittance to some public prints, that we can hardly expect to be heard by certain classes in self-defence. Still, without going out of our way, either to accuse others or vindicate ourselves, we must be allowed to mention such things as forced themselves, from time to time, on our attention.

King Eyo had imported a large and elegant house with excellent furniture from Liverpool; but when it was erected demurred to the price, having learned that it should not cost so much. Without inquiry or information, the supercargo informed his merchant that I was undermining his interest; and of course excited a bad feeling against me, as friends in Liverpool soon heard and reported. When I inquired of the agent in our river if he had made any statement to that effect, he refused to answer the question, and thought it "presumptuous and impertinent" on my part to ask him anything on the subject. He was not ignorant of the system of undermining and supplanting pursued by many traders in the oil rivers towards each other, and could easily have imagined a more probable source of information for the King than the missionary; but it served his purpose to create a prejudice against the latter in the mind of his employer, which it might take a long time to remove. It was ultimately removed, however, when I was able to write home on the best authority, that an old Calabar trader in Liverpool, in a different employ, had written to Eyo about his palace while it was being constructed there.

The circumstance of a few emancipadoes from Sierra Leone having settled on the Mission-ground at Duke Town was made the occasion of fresh enmities. They had come, in accordance with the arrangements made by the Rev. Mr. Jones of that colony in 1853, and though originally sold from Calabar, were regarded by Duke Ephraim as under British protection, and sent to live on the Mission-hill. One of that class, Peter Nichols, an excellent

and a prosperous man, well known and respected in Sierra Leone, was shipping oil by the mail steamers from our river to England, when some of the old supercargoes raised the cry that the missionaries had introduced competitors and interfered in the trade of the country. Treating these strangers as poachers on their preserve, they seized casks of their oil on the beach, and took them to their own ships. Nichols, who knew business, recovered his property after complaining first to the Consul, and then appealing to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, and suffering great expense, trouble, and delay. But others too weak to maintain the fight lost theirs. These and other similar villanies were made public in the Sierra Leone newspapers of that period.

About the same time Duke Ephraim became greatly irritated at the Mission-house, because of persons from Henshaw Town, who, to escape the poison ordeal, had taken refuge there. Mr. Anderson would not deliver them at the Duke's demand to be put to death on a charge of witchcraft, and appealed to the Consul; the Duke, in retaliation, "blew Egbo" on the Mission-house, thereby cutting it off from all connection with the country. Not only so, but instigated and encouraged by others, he denied the right of the missionaries to live there at all longer than he pleased, and threatened to break up the establishment altogether. That would kill three birds with one stone, disperse the Sierra Leone settlers, the Henshaw Town refugees, and the missionaries.

In due time the Consul arrived with the Commodore, in H.M.S. *Scourge* to "settle river palavers." The complaints against the Mission-house were first heard, and were decided in our favour. Mr. Anderson was justified in protecting the refugees, and his right of residence in peace and safety confirmed. It belonged to me to defend the latter point, and it was proved from the letters of Eyo and Eyamba to Commander Raymond desiring missionaries (see Appendix) from the express invitation of Eyamba and seven chiefs, Duke Ephraim among them, to ourselves; and the arrangements made with them on our behalf by Captain Beecroft (see chap. x.), and from the formal manner in which Eyamba sent an Egbo officer to make over the ground for our mission use, as the Duke Town gentlemen there present well knew. We complained, therefore, of the Egbo interdict as a vio-

lation of the terms on which we had gone to reside there, and desired that it should be immediately removed, and never again imposed. Duke Ephraim and his chiefs said not a word in reply, and took off the bann before night.

The next day another meeting was held on general affairs, to which we were invited, when there was a rare scene, between the irritable old Commodore and the stubborn and half-drunken old Duke. The latter having refused to attend, the former had sent a threatening message, and also fired a signal from his stern-chaser, a 68-pounder, which almost frightened the town out of its propriety. King Eyo also, alarmed for the consequences, had sent one of his brothers to expedite the Duke's movements. When at length he did appear, the Commodore gave him such a hearing as he would not soon forget. It went no further than words, though it was amusing to hear him speak of sending a company of marines to "bring him by the cuff of the coat," when the man never had a coat on his back. On that occasion the missionaries were requested to witness a formal arrangement, that, in disputed cases, neither the native nor the British traders should take the law into their own hands, but refer the matter simply to the Consul.

Only two months after that settlement was made it was violated, by one of our countrymen assaulting a well-behaved and well-connected young man, commonly called Lame Henshaw, in his own house, who had merely reflected on a more than ordinarily discreditable connection, which the former had made in the town with a relative of his. Three different times was the assault repeated, and the infirm youth never resented it, when he might have called in his people from the outer yard for his protection. His brothers, however, hearing of it, came from the farm, and found an opportunity, in the open street, of reminding the captain of his schoolboy days, by an application of the rod, in which the insult exceeded the injury.

Instantly there was a dreadful uproar among the captains, as if a plot had been discovered to destroy all the white people. They came in a body to Creek Town to demand of King Eyo that the young men be delivered up to them to be hung, or they should

send for the Consul and a Man-of-war to come and take vengeance. Eyo, on the contrary, proposed a general court of all gentlemen, white and black, including the missionaries, to consider the matter; for Consul Beecroft, in 1852, had made a regulation to that effect, to which all parties had agreed. The others scouted this proposal, however, especially our being called in, and gave the King one day to accede to their demand or stand the consequences.

When they were gone, Tom Eyo, the King, and Cameroons came to consult what was best to be done. The missionaries, they said, were their brothers and protectors from the captains, who wanted to make them their slaves, and they wished advice. I advised them not to give up Henshaw's brothers, but rather to send for the Consul, who, as a Queen's officer, would be bound to hear both parties, and might be expected to act justly. Certainly he could never sanction the threatened execution of the youths, considering that they only resented repeated assaults on their lame brother.

In two days a number of the shipping gentry went to Fernando Po to bring the important official. The brethren at Duke Town succeeded, however, in sending him at the same time, by a trusty hand, the young man's complaint of the treatment he had received; so that the judge had both sides of the case before him ere he heard it in court. When he did arrive they also obtained a safe conduct for Lame Henshaw to go on board, and secured him a full and fair hearing.

As if they wished to pervert judgment, the assailant and his friends complained, that the missionaries made themselves too busy in the palavers between the shipping and the natives, and had no right to be present in the court. The brethren maintained their rights and duty in both respects. King Eyo asserted his to consult his missionary teachers in such cases, since we knew the laws of England as well as the captains. I was not at that meeting, but hearing that the Consul was inclined to exclude the brethren, I said to him afterwards that my absence arose not from disagreement with them, that I believed British courts of justice should be open, and would assert my right to be present if any one denied it. He replied, that he did not deny it, but merely thought that, in prudence, it might be sometimes waived.

The decision in that case was an extraordinary one. The captain's conduct was stigmatized as "that of a coward and a brute," and he was fined four puncheons of oil, or £100. His innocent victim was, however, fined five times as much, unless he delivered up his brothers to be carried off the country; and, notwithstanding his safe conduct, he was held on board a night and day, and threatened with expatriation, to induce him to abandon his brothers to their fate. *That* he would not do, however, and the town was at last held bound for payment of the fine.

The hostile designs of some of our river gentry, as we have seen, had frequently failed, yet their resources were not exhausted. They established an Association of their own to "protect the interests of commerce," resolved to cease all intercourse with the missionaries, and drew up a letter to the "West African Association" of Liverpool, complaining of our interfering in their affairs.

"I am very glad to see you, Mr. M——," I said to one of them, who called afterwards on me on some business. "I hope I may take this visit as a sign of peace?"

"Why, what do you mean?" he replied, in apparent surprise.

"Oh, it has been told us, that all the river gentlemen met on board your ship, last month, and vowed perpetual war with the missionaries."

"Every one," he replied, "judges for himself in such matters. Some may forswear the Mission-houses, and others may prefer to visit them."

Some months more elapsed, and the same gentleman, whom we met in the King's house, inquired if we had received any letter from the West African Association by the mail just arrived, or from our Mission Board concerning it? We had not, and I asked the reason for his question.

"Oh, there has been a correspondence between them concerning you missionaries."

"Indeed. And what was it all about?"

"Why, the supercargoes complained to their merchants of your interference in their affairs, and the latter addressed your Society on the subject, which promised to instruct you afresh to mind your own business."

"Yes; we heard that the merchants had resolved, in consequence of complaints from this quarter, to exclude our supplies from their ships; and whenever our secretary writes to us on the subject, we shall know what to say. In the meantime, may I ask you, for myself, what of my own business have I neglected, or of yours have I meddled with?"

"Oh, I have nothing to say to it; I did not sign the letter," he replied, with a shrug.

"I would like to see the reply from the West African Association. Who has got it?"

"I believe it is in the hands of Captain S—— at present."

The gentleman referred to came in soon after, and speaking to him about that letter, I asked how it came to be in his hands, as he was not connected with any Liverpool house.

He replied, "that it was merely in consequence of his being for the time chairman of their Association."

"So you are all joined to oppose us. May I ask, then, if you signed the letter to which that is a reply?"

"Well, I did, with others."

"Did the letter of complaint specify any person, or refer to us all in general?"

"I forget exactly, but rather think it was general."

"It included me, then, of course. Now, please to tell me when I ever interfered with you, or any one else, in your trade affairs?"

"Well, I must say that I had nothing to complain of personally, and was, indeed, averse to have anything to do with it, till assured by others that they could prove all they had asserted. I had their assurances to that effect even in writing."

"Captain S——, that is, I must say, rather extraordinary conduct. You sign a letter of accusations against parties of whom you have nothing personally to complain; and without knowing anything of the truth of the charges that others brought against them. Yet you know that those you are associated with therein are our enemies, while you have always seemed, and been received, as a friend."

I was turning away when he stopped me, saying, "Mr. Waddell, to tell you the truth, I am sorry for what I did; and if I had known

as much then as I do now of that matter, I would not have put my hand to that paper."

Some months afterwards I met those two gentlemen again, and four others, at King Eyo's dinner table. The half of them were notoriously antagonistic to ourselves and our work; the others we believed were drawn unwillingly along by them. The conversation among the former soon became *designedly* of an improper and disagreeable character. It was about a certain trader, who had kept ten wives on the coast; but at home "wore a black coat, and paid his guinea subscription, which," they said, "covered a multitude of sins;" and in short had set up for a saint. The subject was piquant, and afforded much scope for sneering and laughter; till, fearing that my silence was lending them encouragement, I requested they would change it.

"Why," replied M——, "what is wrong with it?"

"It is becoming rather offensive."

"We have a right," said H——, "to have what conversation we please."

"If there be any more of this kind I shall not sit to hear it."

"Oh, we can make our own company then without you," retorted C——.

"You should have respect to others whom King Eyo invites to his table."

H—— made some flippant remark about the character of the King's guests, to which I did not reply.

"I don't see," said M——, "what right any man has to call me to order for anything I say."

"Wherever I may be," I replied, "if the conversation becomes improper I shall call it to order, or leave the company."

After a short pause another topic was introduced in which all could join. It may be here observed that the King's levee was not so well attended that year as it used to be. Some of the gentlemen of the shipping told him that if he continued to ask the missionaries to his table they would cease to attend; and he replied that while he asked any he would ask us. He kept his word, and some of them theirs; but he allowed more frequent interruptions than formerly to his dinner; so that two and three weeks some-

times elapsed without any invitation being issued. To some of us these occasional intermissions were no cause of regret; for very often I attended when I should have had far more pleasure in staying away.

We were troubled with King Eyo himself that year. Among other things he ill-used some of the church members. He seemed jealous of them, and while he could not do without them, resolved, right or wrong, to keep them down. They were his most intelligent and faithful servants, and taking Joseph the son of Jacob, whose history I had given them in their own language, for a pattern, merited the trust he found it necessary to repose in them. They carried his keys, delivered goods from his stores, and furnished him with the lists of articles paid out. One of the humblest and sincerest of these lads was *Eshen Oku* recently baptized. He had been several years in the candidate's class, his admission to the church having been long delayed by sickness and absence, but all who knew him regarded him with favour. How great then was our astonishment, when we heard that he had been severely flogged by the king's orders, and charged with a serious offence against good morals, which, if true, would have grieved us more than his punishment.

Finding, after careful inquiry, that the poor youth was unjustly accused, and had been barbarously treated, I went to pay him a visit of condolence, accompanied by our Dr. Hewan, and thence to the King to expostulate with him on the subject. When we told him where we had been, and how sorry we were for what had occurred, he said that he had found the boy "talking with one of his women," and he would flog any one who did so. I replied, that if he had been really guilty of the fault we should say nothing on his behalf; but believing that he was perfectly innocent, we felt bound to say that his punishment was an abuse of power; and it behoved the King not to punish his people wrongfully; "for he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." He said a great deal in reply, more than ordinary, and less to the purpose, than at other times; but all on one text, that his house boys must not offend in that way. We agreed on that point, but insisted that his women should keep their own side of the

house, and not ramble about, and trouble his boys when at their business; for the latter had often complained to us of their impudence.

This conversation was not in private, and could not be; for the King was lying on a sofa in the open yard, with a lame foot, surrounded by his people. At that moment *Ene*, one of his *keybearers*, appeared with a slate, on which he had written an account of goods delivered from the store. He knew all that had passed, and I asked him publicly a few questions, such as, "Were you there at the time?" "Yes." "Did you see what passed?" "Yes." "Did Eshen talk with the girl?" "No." "What was he doing then?" "Combing his hair." "What was the girl doing?" "She wanted to get the comb." "Did he give it to her?" "No." "What did he do?" "He told her go away." "Was there anything more?" "No, no more."

The lad's clear and simple evidence on behalf of his brother rejoiced me, and still more when the King examined him and could not shake it. Then the latter adroitly tried to put the matter on a different footing, namely that he had found the boy sitting on the sofa, which he would not allow, for he had not bought his good furniture for his servants, but his friends. In that case, I replied, let it be known that he was flogged for sitting on the sofa; and let not a greater offence be laid unjustly to his charge. His boys were wrong to make so free with his sofas; but they learned that fashion in his house, not in mine; and for the future would be likely to know better.

Dr. Hewan said that he had gone to see the boy "professionally," having had him some time in his house, under medical care, and been much pleased with him. Without referring to his guilt or innocence he thought it proper to say that the flogging had been too severe for one like him, who had been long in ill health and was still delicate.

The King's occasional severity towards his Christian servants, of which we had other examples, was designed, of course, to "keep them in their place." They might be God's people, and have the missionaries their friends, but must remember he was their master, had bought them with his money, and could kill them if he pleased. He told them so that same day when we were gone.

He could be winning, however, as well as stern; and he soon restored that youth to his favour and confidence. The real ground of offence probably was that he had not asked leave to be baptized.

Two women of the king's yard were among the converts, and met with difficulties more than others. One of them, *Aqua*, a strong-minded and high-spirited young woman, had been a royal concubine, and was still a domestic, in personal attendance both night and day. She had long heard the word of God with attention, both in the King's yard and in Mrs. Waddell's meetings with his women; but had been first impressed by the remarks of a school boy, which had twice touched her conscience. Once, when she had been cursing another woman with whom she had quarrelled, he told her that the Son of God never did so, and had taught us to forgive our enemies. Again, when sick he told her that he was dying, but was not afraid, for he believed the word of God; and he advised her to continue learning to read it, as he had taught her; for it was surely all true. Another, called *Ibok*, was a kind of head woman among the King's ordinary yard people, and had charge of a farm. She had been gradually impressed with the truth of God's word, that she heard in the public and private meetings every Sunday, and associated with Aqua. There was a third Eyo Nwan, who at first promised to run well; but she stumbled at the outset, and for years did not recover her lost ground.

So soon as their consciences were awakened and enlightened, these women came into collision with their master, about fearful questions of right and wrong. His word had formerly been paramount to determine them; but a new authority had been introduced which judged even him. The first point was the *mbiam* oath. Leaving home one time he called his female domestics to swear fidelity in his absence. The three named refused the oath. He asked them, why? Aqua and Ibok avowed themselves "God women," the other hesitated and denied. The two first were confined to their yard, the last was put in chain, till his return. That was the first instance in which that country oath was proposed to converts, and the refusal of it, or of anything he proposed, by women, was more than he had expected.

On the King's return, Mrs. Waddell and Miss Johnstone (Mrs. Goldie's sister) went to see him, and plead on behalf of those

women. At first he seemed disposed to be impatient, and to resent their interference; and then talked so much against the women, and in his own vindication, denying, explaining, and excusing, one thing and another, that they could accomplish but little. Their earnest remonstrances, however, were not without effect; for their clients soon got leave to attend church and class meetings as before time.

The liberty conceded was not of long continuance. Their master was always finding some pretext or other to annoy them and us, by confining them to his yard; and other things occurred which rendered our intercourse with him for a great part of that year most painful. Passing over minor causes of displeasure, and annoyances, arising probably, though not avowedly, from the changed relations of the younger woman towards him, since she began to seek the Lord, we cannot forbear adverting to a gross outrage that he committed on the other, which produced a serious estrangement between him and us. We avoided him, and if we met saluted in the coldest manner. For several months my wife would hardly speak to him, and did not shake hands. The case was of a kind that could as little be dealt with directly then as particularized now. Yet we were bound to let him know that we felt deeply aggrieved by his misconduct; for he seemed as if he meant to execute a threat he had once used, and do things that would oblige us to leave his town. Among other means I wrote him a letter of serious remonstrance, on his continued violation of a certain commandment. He felt the force of it, and complained to his son about it (who, though under discipline, justified us, and assured his father that every word of it was in the Bible); yet his reply was free from irritation, smooth and plausible, though most evasive and unsatisfactory.

These poor women being again confined to their houses, for no good cause, and the younger being put on short allowance, became objects of commiseration, and required to be aided occasionally with food. This coming to the King's knowledge he sent back our housemaid one evening, with an intemperate note to my wife, saying, that she must keep her rice and beef, or else give them to good women, and not bad ones, to help them to disobey their master. The food thus returned, however, soon reached its

destination by another channel; and his note being replied to by me, in my wife's stead, was partly apologized for by another in a milder tone.

By that time Eyo understood what had offended and estranged us; and as it was undesirable to get into an embittered recriminatory correspondence, or publicly to quarrel, I sought a private interview, to come to a better understanding with him about those women, and others who might wish to serve God. Mr. Goldie accompanied me, and we endeavoured to make our views of his duty towards them well understood. Admitting his right to their services we insisted on the necessary limitation of it, by the commands of God, which he and they were bound to obey. He let us say all we thought necessary, giving respectful attention, and wisely said little in reply, either in defence of the past, or in promise of the future; but we had proof in due time that our remonstrances produced a salutary effect.

After eight months of various trials with their master, the time came for these women to be baptized; and I went to inform him to that effect, and to remind him of the obligations and restraints under which it would lay him and them in their relation to each other. He replied, in a subdued tone, that he had not forgotten what we said to him on the former occasion, on the same subject. We said also that we wished them to earn their support by their labour for the future, so as to be less dependent on others than heretofore; and that he would give them some remunerative employment, and not shut them up in their houses for every little palaver, obliging us to feed them, and then quarrelling with us for doing so. He gave us satisfactory assurances on that subject also. Even to themselves he spoke in a kind and fatherly manner, which quite raised their hearts after all they had gone through. He commended their wish to be God's people, saying that he knew then he could trust them; and he hoped they would be steadfast, and never go back to make others laugh at them.

While we gave thanks to God, who had the King's heart in his hand, for this favourable change in his sentiments, we were aware of several circumstances which contributed their influence to deepen the effect of our private admonitions. One of these was the death of three of his best traders in rapid succession, which, with

other losses, he regarded as indications of God's displeasure. One of the deceased was his head man at the Ikpa oil market, where he had a large establishment, besides one in Creek Town which the King had recently built for him. He was like a noble of the land, and took precedence before some gentlemen of the town. Another was like an overseer of the King's business in town, who, by activity, fidelity to his master's interests, and great obsequiousness, had gained the title of "My very best man."

This "very best man" had never paid the least attention to the word of God, and in his sickness would have none of it. He would not even take the medicine which Dr. Hewan prescribed for his complaint, trusting himself, both body and soul, to the native practitioners. Six or eight women crowding around him confirmed his resolution to take no "makara doctor," and to hear no God's word; and one of his friends urged me to go away and let him alone, saying that it was no use to speak to a man so sick as he about God, that they did not want to hear of another life, but to keep the present.

Another of these circumstances was the Egbo murder of a young woman, for peeping through a fence at an Egbo procession. He and all "Calabar gentlemen" sunk low in the estimation of all the white people, both missionaries and traders, by that bloody piece of business; and, according to his system of balancing, he probably thought it necessary to show a set off by doing something to please us.

The case of that poor girl interested us all greatly, though she never belonged to either church or school, her offence being so very trifling, and yet to be visited with so dreadful a penalty. When we heard of her danger we went to the King and all the chiefs to see what could be done to save her; but found no way of gaining that end. We spoke of the barbarous iniquity of killing a person for such a cause; but he answered that every country must maintain its own laws else it would be spoiled. We said that their laws should agree with the laws of God, else he would spoil them and their country; and proposed banishment instead of death. He replied, that since the slave trade ceased they could not get rid of their bad people in that way. When I offered to relieve him of that difficulty, by sending her away to Fernando

Po, or Cape Coast, or Sierra Leone, where she would be as one dead to Calabar, he smiled, and said that it would be no punishment to her, but a benefit. Had she been his own slave, he added, he would have flogged her and stifled the complaint, rather than kill her; but now, were she his own daughter, he could not save her, unless by paying the price of twenty men; and he doubted if her owner, a Duke Town man, would give so much for her life. We urged him to press the claims of humanity and justice in the Egbo council, in opposition to custom and law; giving him credit for both; for we heard that he had once saved a little child in a nearly similar case, saying that it was only a child and knew nothing, when others were for killing it; and we hoped that he might devise a way to save the unhappy young woman in the present instance. He could promise nothing, however, saying that she belonged to Duke Town and must be judged there.

A letter from the missionaries, addressed to the rulers of both towns, was read to them every one the next Sabbath, remonstrating, in the most forcible terms, against the death of that young creature, and offering to send her away where they would never see or hear of her again. Two captains, one surgeon, and one clerk joined in our appeal. The rest of the "river gentlemen" refused to co-operate with us, designing to send a letter of their own; which they did, but not till it was too late, when in fact she was dead. In Creek Town only three "gentlemen" agreed with us, while the rest vehemently opposed or remained silent and sullen. When we warned them of the guilt and danger of shedding innocent blood, one of them, Egbo Eyo, boldly said that they would bear it, and being angered at our having prevailed with the King to postpone the execution for a week, to allow of further dealing with all parties, they sent an urgent message to Duke Town to send up Egbo at once and take away her head. It came, therefore, in great force the next day, disguised as usual, some brandishing whips, and others Calabar swords, and after rampaging through the town, with clangour of bells and drums, they drove their victim before them to the place of execution. "O God pity me; Jesus save me;" was all she said, or, perhaps, knew; for, though visited while in chain, it was little she could learn, having known nothing before. Christians try to reduce

the agonies and terrors of executions, barbarians to increase them. Making her sit on the ground they danced around her, leaped and capered hither and thither, ringing their bells the while, beating their drums, and flourishing the swords over her head, or occasionally, as they passed, touching the back of her neck with the cold edge, to make her shriek and shudder. At length, at a signal, the fatal stroke was given by one, and followed by another, and the bloody head rolled on the sand. Carried triumphantly through the town, it was then exhibited in every yard as a warning to all women, and finally sent down the river for similar exhibition in the other towns. Some of our good young men, though in Egbo, refused to sanction the execution by their presence, and were fined for their contumacy. King Eyo, as already hinted, did not convince us of his sincerity in professing to accede to our views; but he had the body buried, without waiting to be importuned.

Other topics claim our attention, and it will be a relief to get off those which have too long engaged it. The King had a pretty lively little daughter named *Amayau*. She was about four years of age, when I first saw her in his house bringing her plate, with others her playmates, to get her dinner from his own hand. Ere long we succeeded in having her sent to school, and taught to wear clothes, and ultimately got his permission to keep her at our house altogether, as my wife had set her heart on trying to bring up the dear little child in a good way. With her, however, came her attendant, a girl of twice her age, whom we would much rather have wanted; for she had not only a most forbidding countenance, but was of a perverse sullen temper, and proved to be an incorrigible thief and liar. Amayau soon became very happy with us, and had so docile, sweet, and engaging a disposition, that we grew quite fond of her; while the misconduct of her attendant was the source of continual annoyance, and required daily admonitions, till at length we had to threaten to turn her out of the house. The child seemed quite affected at her girl's misbehaviour, and looking into her face with the most affectionate concern, and in the most innocent way imaginable, said to her that she "must not do any more bad."

Things continued to go astray, and still the girl denied all

knowledge of them, till they were found on her, or hidden by her, or sent away to town by the hands of other children. At length we had to order her home; but to our surprise she would not go, and said that she could not leave her charge. Mrs. Waddell went and requested the King to recall the girl, but he would not, and said that we must flog her when she misbehaved, but not separate her from her little mistress. After some days he yielded to our importunity and recalled her; but the very next day she came slyly, and found an opportunity of carrying off Amayau. This annoyed us excessively, and when my wife complained to the child's father of what the girl had done, he sent back both, and renewed his desire that we should flog the girl whenever she deserved it, but not send her out of our house. Added to the worry we had with the servant was the mother's interference, who was always recalling the child, and keeping her for days, on account of pretended ailments, so that we had to relinquish our design. We grieved over the dear and amiable little creature, as likely to be ruined between mother and maid; for her slave was her governess, and would probably acquire a pernicious and fatal influence over her.

The relation of that child and her servant formed part of a regular system. Every free child had a slave child attached to it from birth, which grew up with it and became most intimate, and though dependent obtained a sort of authority from age and office. They went and came, played and ate, and slept together. In after life that slave became head man and counsellor for his young master, that maid for her mistress, attaining a position of great influence, authority, and respect. Reflecting on this subject I thought of *Deborah*, Rebecca's nurse, *Eliezar* of Damascus, the *fidus Achates*, and other attached and eminent personal attendants of ancient renown, and conjectured that the same system might have prevailed in their days and countries.

During the same year we had taken two other little children into our house, whose cases may be mentioned as illustrative of the social system there. We called them Jane and James. The former seemed about two years old when her mother, a slave of the King's head slave, died, and her father was unknown. The child had never walked nor even crept, having no power of its

legs. It lay sick and dirty, a pitiable and repulsive little creature, crying for its mother. It was like to die of neglect, for every one turned from it, till Mrs. Waddell had it brought to our house, and nursed it as it had been her own. She had it all to do herself for a time, our two house girls refusing to mind the poor child, and leaving us in consequence. By God's mercy, however, the care bestowed was not in vain. The child recovered health, and even got the use of its limbs, learned to creep and finally to walk, to the astonishment of all who had known it before, and ultimately became as strong as any child of its age.

The story of the boy was short and sad. Eshen Eyo brought it to us one morning, saying that its mother was dead, and her master had gone to the oil market, and there was no one to mind it. It was a very fine, healthy-looking, little fellow, a few months old, and one could not help liking as well as pitying it. Its mother, a handsome young woman, had been recently bought, but went deranged, and hung herself. No one knew what grief preyed on her mind. The child took to its new mother, however, and throve well for a time, and every one loved it, till it met an accident in the hands of a careless girl, languished for two weeks, and died. There was not a dry eye in the house the day it lay a corpse on our bed. The freedom of both these children had been secured, and both had been baptized as our own. We laid the remains of our little James, therefore, in the sacred enclosure, beside those of little Hamilton.

We lost two of our fellow-labourers early that year. Mr. Sutherland of Old Town died in peace and hope only five months after his marriage, and was interred in our burying-place at Creek Town. Mr. Wylie also, who had charge of our school since January 1855, was obliged to return home at the close of 1856, after a long and wasting sickness. We were very sorry for the loss of them, but were cheered by the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Baillie, appointed to occupy a new station far up the river; and by young Mr. Edgerley, who soon relieved me of the Creek Town school for a time, and then took his father's place in the printing department.

Ikunitu was opened and occupied in July that year by Mr.

Goldie. The sight of the new Mission-house on the brow of the hill, overlooking both the town and river, strengthened our anticipations of the extension of the mission far and wide in the future. We had at length broken through the old bounds, notwithstanding the restrictions sought to be imposed on us, and were spreading the curtains of our habitation, lengthening our cords and strengthening our stakes. And though the jealous fears of the natives might still impose on us caution and delay, they would, we hoped, subside when the dreaded evils did not follow the new settlements.

IRUKITU MISSION-HOUSE, WITH ROOF OF NATIVE HOUSE AND YARD IN FOREGROUND.

Our first visit thither, after the station was opened, was with Mr. Baillie and Mr. Edgerley, to hold our monthly meeting of committee. It was the flood season, when the current swept along strong and rapid, and our progress was so slow that night closed around us long before we reached our destination. It was heavy work forcing our way up the dark and swollen river, bordered by the gloomy solitudes of mangrove forest, the only sounds

being the rush of water, plashing of oars, croaking of toads, and screaming of the vampire *emiang*.* At length we turned a point that brought the Mission-house lights into view, though still two miles off, and oh, how beautiful and cheering they looked in the darkness, and how glad we were to see them! Soon, the stroke of our oars being heard afar, more lights appeared, and when we reached the beach there was an illumination, a bright and joyful welcome.

In reviewing the operations of the year we must note the comfort and benefit of a quiet Sabbath, undisturbed by market, work, or play. Notwithstanding the difficulties we had with the Eyos, father and son, for half the time, they never failed in their attention to the day and house of God. "The contrast," wrote Mr. Anderson, "between a Creek Town and a Duke Town Sabbath is very great. In the one 'a Sabbath stillness reigns around.' In the other, except in one portion of the town, and among those connected with the church there is very little difference between that and other days."

Our public Sabbath services this year began at seven morning, when above thirty, chiefly members and catechumens, assembled in the school-house for prayer, praise, and reading the Scriptures. One or two of the members were usually called on to pray. It was a pleasant sight, and a good sign, to see them wending their way up from town, so early, to begin the day of God by united worship, and gave ground to hope for a divine blessing on all its services.

The Sabbath school was well attended, both forenoon and afternoon, divided into as many classes as we had competent teachers, the number of pupils being generally above a hundred. The young men's Bible class, which reckoned about forty, though nearly a half always absent from town, I taught myself, and with them carefully examined all our new translations of Scripture as they were the most advanced scholars, and very intelligent. English tracts were distributed to them, also prized and read; and the King, who usually came in ere the class closed, took his like the others.

* The *emiang* is a giant bat, with a body like a rat, a head like a horse, great canine teeth, and wings each a foot long.

Mr. Goldie being with us the first half of the year, and sharing the Sabbath duties, permitted me to visit the farm villages around between services. Our young members had been keeping meetings in such places during the preceding year, but supervision and some changes were found to be necessary. These visits were necessarily made in the heat of the day, and on foot, and were, of course, fatiguing; but the distances were not great, seldom more than two miles, and the welcome generally encouraging.

CREEK TOWN SCHOOL-HOUSE, CEMETERY, AND CHURCH, FROM THE MISSION-HOUSE DOOR.

In the forenoon the church was always quite full, and in the afternoon nearly so; but one of the most interesting meetings of the day was the last in our own house at family worship. A large class of readers and hearers assembled from seven till nine, and generally a number were examined, and answered well on what they had heard during the day. Some of them wrote out and read their notes at considerable length, evidencing their attention, understanding, and memory. And one of themselves closed

with prayer, such prayer as any humble Christian might make his own by a hearty Amen.

Of the five members who had fallen the previous year, three had been restored, but Young Eyo, I am sorry to say, was not one of them. Not that he was impenitent, or indifferent about restoration; quite the reverse. But his greater sins required greater correction than those of others, and I feared to heal his wound, and the church's wound by him, slightly. Indeed, I doubted if we yet knew the worst of his case, and told him that he had concealed some sins so long that I feared he had not confessed them all yet. The result justified my fears and caution. He no longer attempted to stifle conscience, but made new and grievous disclosures; and was greatly cast down. I never saw a man seemingly so self-abased. He was torn to pieces, he said, by satanic temptations. His heart told him that he could not follow Christ, yet he wished to do so. His family and friends all urged him to give up God's word and work, yet he could not, dare not. If we would only restore him once more, he thought it would help him to stand his ground against the enemies of his soul. Duty, however, was ours, consequences belonged to God. He had been restored before, and fallen again too soon, now we must have more evidence of a change of heart than we had then. Great evils were to be apprehended in the church by re-instating him prematurely. Frequent relapses would damage his own conscience fatally, and his misconduct in the church would do it more harm than his enmity out of it. He needed to be thoroughly emptied of himself, taken off from every thing merely instrumental and human, and brought to depend alone on Christ's all-sufficiency for all things. It was satisfactory to see that he did not rebel. He humbly submitted, and promised to stand his trial by God's strength, and to give us the proofs of real faith and repentance we required.

Among the new members baptized were the king's principal house-steward and one of his young attendants, with whom he could find no fault, while they gave us very great satisfaction. On the whole, the year's work proved that the church was in a sound and healthy condition. It had stood some trials unshaken, and prospered.

CHAPTER XXXI

1857.

School labours—Eleventh anniversary of mission—Death of Mr. Edgerley—Visits to *Ikorofiong*—Visit to *Uwet*—Egbo intruders and their fate—King Eyo's duplicity—His brother's opinion of us—Mistakes as to our connection with traders—Causes of hostility to the mission—Curious views as to missionaries in the country—Troubles arising from protecting a poor persecuted woman—Encouraging state of the mission in 1857—Fate of Young Antica Cobham—An albino sacrificed at Parrot island—A man who sold his freedom—Birds caught in a spider's web—Electric fish.

FOR several months in the beginning of this year, after our teacher's departure, the school again devolved on me, and I was at home in it; but its labours being shared by my wife in the forenoon, and Miss Edgerley in the afternoon, were not too severe an addition to other duties. A new school-house, that we had some time previously completed the erection of, proved a great relief, being large and airy, though it would hardly see a larger or more prosperous school than the old one had done. That was the sixth school-house I had erected, as part of my missionary labours, beside three churches, and three dwelling-houses, in Jamaica and Calabar; and, I must say that, even though necessary, such labours are not what missionaries expect or are prepared for, and prove both uncongenial and secularizing.

The new school-house was erected just on the border of the mission ground, and at the head of the street which led up from the town, so that the children in school could see down the road. One day an Egbo official entered the school with a drawn sword, and ordered the children to shut the windows, as Egbo, he said, was coming from bush. He had no regard to Mr. Edgerley, and the latter resented his intrusion, and forbade the windows to be closed, saying that he could not teach school in the dark. When the messenger had reported his visit to his superiors, he was sent with a drum round the town to forbid children coming to school on Egbo days. This was a curtailment of our privileges; for it

had been conceded to us formerly that children should have liberty to come to school even on Egbo days, showing their books as their passports. When I complained to the King of these things, his smooth, but unsatisfactory and unyielding, replies proved that his interest in the school had declined.

On the 10th of April we celebrated, at Creek Town, the eleventh anniversary of the commencement of the mission. The previous year having seen it through its first decade, its tenth anniversary had been observed publicly at Duke Town, and we resolved to keep it with some degree of ceremony ever after. It was a great and joyful occasion with us. Public divine service was held in the church, when our brother, Mr. Anderson, of Duke Town, preached an excellent anniversary sermon, and the other brethren took different parts of the services. The place was filled with a respectable audience of all colours, comprising King Eyo and many of his townspeople, all the mission families, the church members from all the stations, a number of the Sierra Leone settlers, and part of the crew of a brig lying in our creek, two of whom, coopers, we had received as church members. A very large company afterwards honoured our dinner tables, and the Sierra Leone people were so happy as to assure us that "the colony itself could not have done better."

It happened that the day of our celebration was "Good Friday;" and that on the following Sabbath, "Easter Sunday," we had the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Though not ourselves addicted to the observance of these days, we enjoyed our meeting and Christian fellowship thereon, the more that we knew how many thousands of the Lord's people in other lands were "regarding them to the Lord," with whom we held "the communion of saints" on Evangelical Alliance principles.

Only a few weeks elapsed after that happy meeting, when one of the brethren, who had taken the liveliest interest in it, was brought back in his shroud, to find his last long home in our Creek Town cemetery. In the end of April Mr. Edgerley began to complain of his head, and after seeming almost recovered relapsed, and died in the end of May. The inevitable summons found him

ready. He was in peace with God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and had a bright believing prospect of eternal life. With the last whispers of his failing breath, he repeated,—

> "Just as I am, without one plea,
> But that thy blood was shed for me,
> And that thou bidst me come to thee,
> O Lamb of God, I come."

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." It impressed me solemnly and sorrowfully that the three brethren who had gone with me to Calabar, all younger than myself, and naturally more robust, two of them natives of Jamaica, and the third longer there than I, had all been cut off before me. Truly, "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." Mr. Edgerley, a native of England, had gone young to Jamaica, as a printer, and afterwards entered the "planting line," in which he advanced through the various stages of book-keeper to be an overseer. The mercy of God having arrested and converted him, he became a teacher in the Mico charity, Montego Bay; and afterwards in connection with myself, taught Mount Zion School first, and then got charge of Mount Horeb Station. While there he was appointed by his own desire to be my assistant in Africa. Having known him, and been associated with him so long, and knowing so well his many valuable qualities, I could not but deeply feel his unexpected and premature demise

We made two visits that year to *Ikorofiong* or *Ekrikok*, fifteen or twenty miles above *Ikunitu*, to prepare the way for its being occupied as a missionary station. Along the river side between these towns were numerous farms, and as our first visit was in March, the planting season, great numbers of people were at work as we went along. One of our house boys, *Osuqua*, from that part of the country, pointed out his father's plantation; immediately the people there, who had run to the river's side to see us pass, recognised him, called his name, and cheered and laughed at a great rate.

We found comparatively few people at home on our reaching the town, merely a "class" or town guard. They all approved

heartily of the proposal, not then, indeed, made for the first time, of having a missionary to live among them. Osuqua's father, who kept the town that week, called the people together, to whom we spoke the word of the Lord, and before whom the boy read a lesson, to let them see his progress, and stimulate their desire to have all their children educated.

On our way back, taking a new channel, I had nearly rued my curiosity, finding the stream too shallow, when too far on to return. Only by every one wading and hauling the boat a long way over the flats did we reach deep water, and rejoin our companions. One thing of importance we learned, since no man knows when life may depend on speed, never to take that way again when in a hurry.

Our next visit to Ikorofiong was at the close of the rain season, when its inhabitants were in town. Mrs. Waddell, Miss Johnstone, Mr. Baillie, and Dr. Hewan were of the party. The great river, brimful, was rolling a vast body of water, half a mile in width, with the smooth and silent impetuosity of depth and strength, and presented a noble appearance. It was the weekly market; the beach was crowded with canoes, and soon the bank was covered with people, many of them strangers from the inner country, attracted by the unwonted sight of the white people. Our ladies were the wonder, and when Miss Johnstone, light of foot, leaped out on the sand, the women and children ran off screaming, as if she were in pursuit. One of our good schoolboys, who had been some time away, met us on the beach, with a bright and happy face, clean shirt, and a cap of his own knitting. His mother, whom we knew, was there also, to welcome "Mammy" to their town. Wherever we went the white ladies carried the day, and had the homage of the crowd all to themselves. The young women especially were frantic with delight, yet not designedly rude or obtrusive.

The chief's yard was soon filled with *at least* two hundred and fifty people, to whom we fully and freely preached the gospel. The ladies met his women apart, and were surprised to find one of King Eyo's wives among them, and to learn that she was the daughter of our host. We found the people as before, quite ready to receive a missionary, and ground already allotted for

his use. When Mr. Baillie told them that he was their man they rejoiced, and insisted that now he had come he must stay, and they would give him a house, and find his "chop," and do everything for him "quite proper." They were scarcely willing to wait till Mr. Anderson's return from England would free Mr. Baillie from the charge of Duke Town station. We visited all the head men of the town, and were well received, gave each a present of a coloured cotton shirt, with which they hastened to adorn themselves, made the women happy with needles and thread, and the boys with fish hooks, received the "gentlemen's" present of yams and a goat in return, and departed highly gratified with our visit. That station promised to be one of the most salubrious and important in the mission. From its advanced position it is within easy reach of Iniong country and Omon up the river, and interiorly through the Ibibio and Ibo countries it can hold communication with Bonny and even with the Niger, the intervening regions being fertile and populous, and cultivated.

We took care not to leave our new friends there in error as to the great object of our mission, both by making known the truths of life and godliness, and by plainly telling them what things a missionary could and could not do among them, and what they should and should not expect from him, or do to him, to all which they agreed. In one of the gentlemen's houses we observed a mass of clay, peculiarly adorned with feathers and paint, designed for the protection of person and property. If it were an idol it was like nothing in the world, above or beneath. When we spoke of the folly and sin of trusting in such things, and not in the living God, the owner laughed, and said that when the missionary come all such things would be thrown into the river.

In the end of the year Mr. Baillie and I visited *Uwet*. We required to see King Eyo, who was at the time at his extensive plantations recently established far up the river in that direction. He had gone thither, we suspected, to be out of the way of our importunity, when a bloody Egbo tragedy was to be enacted in Creek Town, and we followed him with our pleadings, though they proved to be in vain.

We anchored the first night amid unbroken forest perhaps forty-

five miles above our own place. The tracks of elephants were frequently seen coming through the wood to the water, and forming in some places regular crossings. Wishing to avoid these we selected for our halting place, a deep pool in a bend of the river, with a high and thickly wooded bank on one hand. Going ashore on the opposite side, we found ourselves close to a rendezvous of theirs, where they had left unmistakeable marks of their having been there only the night before. From the boat the place seemed securely fenced by an impenetrable cane brake, where the reeds grew ten feet high, thick as a man's finger, and close as spikes of grass; yet we discovered a road trampled down through it, six or eight feet wide, the canes standing like walls on each side, and the impressions of the animals' feet deep in the ground. Having no desire to meet them in that defile we did not follow their track far; and by keeping our lamp burning, and a fire in the bows of our boat all night, we deterred them from coming near us; though the surging of the water was frequently heard as they plunged and washed themselves at no great distance from us.

King Eyo was rather surprised to see us early next morning. He sat on a chair on the river bank wrapped in a flannel gown, and wearing a white cotton night-cap. Around were his farm houses, and beyond, for a mile on every side, the woods had been cut away, and the ground planted with yams, konkies, and plantains. He was just then engaged in giving his orders for the day, and canoes were departing crowded with people for their different places of labour. We had many friendly greetings from them, and some looked glad to see that we had found our way thither. The King did not detain us long with argument. He seemed to acquiesce in our views respecting the men under Egbo sentence of death, and promised to agree to their being banished, if other gentlemen would concur; he agreed also to send word to that effect, and to delay the execution till his return.

We had some difficulty in making our way past those clearings, so greatly was the river obstructed with fallen trees, which had grounded in shallow water, and would lie there till next year's flood swept them away. As we advanced the woodland scenery became more diversified than usual. The river being rather nar-

row there, perhaps less than a hundred yards across, and the banks clothed with forest, without one mangrove among them, a greater variety of plants and trees were observable than on the endless mudbanks lower down the river. We noticed also the rare beauty of different seasons on the same tree, the various tints of fading autumn on one branch, and of bright budding spring on another.

Our visit to *Uwet* at that time does not require very particular mention. *Abadip* was still king, or *Oborabora*, and received us with the greatest cordiality as old friends. Only one other chief was in town, the rest and their people being at their farms gathering and saving their yams. We spoke the word of the Lord in both their houses to numerous audiences; but though pressed to remain over night, when more people would be in town, we could not. In fact I was unwell, and was laid down with fever as soon as we reached home the following evening; and ere able to move about again all was over with the Egbo prisoners.

To explain the matter referred to I must go back a month or two. One day the grandees of Creek Town were thrown into consternation by some awful discovery, which they tried to keep secret. To mislead us two of them came to the mission-house in a state of great excitement, to inform us that a madman was in the bush, and that we must not let out our house people, nor receive strangers into our yard; for those wild men, when they took to the bush, liked to distinguish themselves by killing white people before they died. Of course we thanked them for their great care of us, and questioned not our peculiar danger from such bad people as they spoke of, having often heard such things before. From other sources of information, however, we soon learned the real facts of the case.

A young man from Bakersey had intruded on the Egbo mysteries at Creek Town, pretending that he had duly purchased the honours in his own country; and he could do so the more easily as his father was known to be a great Egbo gentleman. Ere long it was discovered that he had never been initiated; his father disowned him as a bad son, and left him to his fate. He had lived with Cuffy Cobham up till the day his father came to Creek Town, and then disappeared, having incurred the penalty

of death. For two days the chiefs of Egbo were out, with select followers armed with guns and cutlasses, beating the bush and hunting for him, as if for a tiger; while two men kept watch outside our gate to seize him should he attempt to escape to the Mission-house.

He could not be found, nor could it be known what had become of him, till after ten days Cuffy found a body, which he asserted was his, hanging dead in the bush. The face of the corpse was so disfigured, indeed, by some means or other, that it could hardly be recognised; but Cuffy swore to its identity; and an Egbo procession went in form to the bush and brought away its head. Then Cuffy was a happy man; for he had made a narrow escape from the fate due to the interloper, who had been his guest, and whom he had introduced to the Egbo ceremonies. He dressed himself in his gayest attire, visited his friends, and paraded the town, as a man rejoicing in being rescued from destruction.

A month more had not passed when the veritable offender was found alive in the Duke Town plantations, on the Qua river, trying to find his way home to Bakersey. He was brought bound to Creek Town, and made so fast in the yard of his former friend, now his jailer, that he would never escape again. He had a chain on his neck, fastened to a beam over head, and irons on his wrists, while his elbows were tied behind his back; his legs also were clasped round a post which supported the roof, and his feet were in fetters on the other side. There the wretched victim lay on a mat, with a pillow under his head, in silence, and from that spot he was not allowed to move, for any purpose whatever, till the Egbo executioners should come to carry him to the fatal market-place. When I visited him, he was apathetic, and asked only for food, as his jailer kept him hungry. When I spoke of his sins, he thought only of his Egbo offence, and knew of no sins he had ever done against God; and when of Jesus the Saviour, he wished he would save him from the Egbo sword. Cuffy himself seemed as ignorant as he, but with less excuse; for he had often heard the word of God in and out of church. Perhaps the rum, that he seemed more than usually addicted to at that time, stupified him; for he forbade me speaking to the wretched youth of a Saviour, saying that no one could save him now. Several times

he thus interrupted me, till one of his slave boys, who had been at school, and knew something more than his master, went and whispered to him that he entirely misunderstood me, after which he went aside and let us alone. In vain some relaxation of the poor fellow's horrible chaining was sought. Cuffy would concede nothing to me or any one else. Yet Cuffy was not a cruel man. He was more frank and reasonable than some others.

But who, it may be asked, was the person found dead in the bush? No one seemed to know, though it was whispered that Cuffy was likely to know better than any one else. One thing was certain, that he drank harder, and was oftener and longer absent from town after that event, than before; and it is grievous to say that rum was the death of him at last, as of many others.

Such was the state of matters when King Eyo took himself off suddenly from town, without the notice that he usually sent me when designing to be any considerable time away. We learned afterwards that he merely deceived us when he promised at the farm to delay execution, and try to bring round the other gentlemen to humane views. Before he left home he had given instructions to his son to pay the Egbo men their customary gratuity of rum and copper rods, when they brought the head to his yard; which, however, it must be added, his son refused to do, leaving the odious service to be performed by another. And after we had seen him, his message to the Egbo chiefs was not to delay, but hasten the execution. His son felt aggrieved by his duplicity as well as we.

There were two others, minor gentlemen, under sentence of death at the same time, one from Creek Town, and the other from Duke Town, for intruding into Egbo affairs, beyond the degrees they had purchased. The latter was executed, the former respited. Speaking to Tom Eyo, in whose yard the former was confined, though lightly chained, I said to him, "What will you do with that man?" "Don't know till all Egbo meet." "Suppose his friends buy up all Egbo for him?" "Yes; that will do?" "Suppose they no will?" "He must die." "You kill him because he walk with big gentlemen in Egbo pass what he buy?" "Yes, that thing he do be very big thing for we. He eat Egbo

chop! he drink Egbo rum! he walk with Egbo go for bush! he look everything!" Saying so, Tom put his two forefingers to his two eyes, expressively, as much as to say, His profane eyes did look at all our mysteries. That man being distantly related to the King found friends enough to pay the fine, and have him fully initiated, whereby his life was spared.

It was stated by an excellent authority that Eyo, while he professed to have no more weight in the Egbo council than any other, held in fact a commanding position; for he had bought the Egbo honours in advance, so many times over that he could initiate whom he pleased, and even without bestowing or selling to another these coveted privileges, of which he held, as it were, the title deeds or patent, he could control the council, having a vote for every patent of nobility he had purchased. In that way he invested part of his wealth, and sought to bring the government of the country into his own hands.

Doctor Eyo, one of the king's brothers, and father-in-law to Young Eyo, was an adherent of all the old superstitions and bloody customs of the country. He took ill our attempts at reformation, and said savagely, that we wanted to spoil the country and had better leave it. "What way you talk about your God," he said. "He no kill Mr. Jameson, and Mr. Edgerley; and what worse can he do to Calabar man?"

The enmity to the missionaries displayed by some of the old European traders, during the past two years, was continued in this. Two young men, agents of a Glasgow house, arrived in Calabar by the mail steamer, to take part in the trade of the country, and brought letters of introduction to us from valued friends in Scotland. Surprised as we were at their unexpected appearance, and off-hand way of going to work, they were equally so to find their expectations disappointed of hiring lodgings in the town, and that they had no place to live. Humanity and Christian friendship required that we should offer them temporary accommodation in our houses; but we did so with the understanding that they should engage in no trading operations while sojourning on mission premises. Their arrival, however, produced such a violent irritation against the mission generally, among the old

supercargoes, and such misrepresentations to their merchants at home, to the effect that we were bringing rivals from Scotland to supplant them, that in self-defence we published the following minute in the *Missionary Record* of our church :—

"The Calabar missionaries regret to find that misconception still prevails in some places respecting their entire disconnection, and that of their agents and dwellings, from all trading operations. They feel bound to abstain from everything of the kind, directly or indirectly; and, therefore, while their houses are ever open to their countrymen in seasons of need, of which not a few have found the benefit, they cannot afford them accommodation for carrying on their mercantile transactions. They feel the more called to make this statement public as board and lodgings cannot be got in the native towns suitable for Europeans; and persons coming to this country, unaware of these things, may bring themselves and us into great difficulties. The mission premises are sacred to the work of the gospel."

Ere long a letter from the Consul arrived, enclosing one to him of complaint and of threats, from certain supercargoes in the river, relative to the young men referred to, and inquiring if we did not hold the mission grounds on condition of abstaining entirely from the trade of the country. Directed by the brethren to reply, I informed Mr. Hutchinson, *from my own knowledge*, that we did *not* hold the mission grounds on the terms he mentioned. We had a rule, indeed, against any member of our mission trading, but were answerable for its observance solely to our Board of Missions. The letter from the supercargoes, we said further, expressed opinions and resolutions which he, as a magistrate, could not be supposed to sanction. It concerned us, however, only to inform him, that the strangers in question had received no more than temporary accommodation in one of our houses in a time of need, which the complainants themselves and others had received, and for which the missionaries did not deem themselves accountable to any person.

Mr. E——, one of these complaining gentlemen, with whom we had once been very good friends, meeting me in the King's house, some time afterwards, held out his hand as if nothing had happened. I took it; but told him, that the hand held out in

friendship should never have signed a paper charging the missionaries with "aiding and abetting the natives and others in *swindling* the old supercargoes." He denied having done so, till informed that we had received a copy of the letter that had been sent the merchants of the African Association, to which we were surprised to see his name attached.

Other causes beside our supposed connection with rivals in their business, operated to estrange some of these gentlemen and the missionaries, to some of which allusion has already been made. Only recently a leader among them had so disgraced himself by vile connections on shore, that King Eyo advised him to bring out his white wife from home, rather than get into rows with the towns-people about a black one, to whom he had sworn before the idol and priests of Qua. Could we speak to him again? Another had so misbehaved even after friendly advice, that, seeing him swaggering up the road towards our house, Mrs. Waddell retired; and I had to meet and stop him, and tell him plainly she could not speak to him, though previously on visiting terms. Beside things of that sort, more than can be detailed, the education which the youths of the country were receiving proved injurious to the supposed interests of our opponents. They said that it made them only more acute and knavish than formerly; while the young men themselves said that it enabled them to keep their own accounts, and to detect the fraudulent tricks by which they used to be imposed on. There was also seen the natural antipathy of the godless worldling to earnest Christianity; and the alternate cunning and bitterness of a hostile creed, which has, by every art, in every place, and at all times, opposed evangelical missions. May we not suppose that similar cases, in other countries also, might be attributed more truly to similar causes, than to missionaries going out of their way to meddle with other people's business, and make enemies of their countrymen, whom naturally and certainly they would rather have for friends.

The two gentlemen from Glasgow were innocently the cause of bringing up palavers against the missionaries among the natives also. Having no ship in the river they got leave, greatly to the annoyance of rivals, to build a house for themselves ashore at

Duke Town, and this time they took care to be far enough from the mission ground to keep us clear. But all would not do. At a great meeting of the native traders, to consult about their own interests, the case of white men living ashore, and trading without a ship, was discussed; and the following peculiar views were expressed by our opponents.

"All the mischief," they said, "arose from the missionaries living on shore. They lived too long, and showed others how to live long also; and soon they would see all the white people living on shore, and more would come, till they would be too many. Before time white people lived all on shipboard; and while they lived in their ships the country was safe. They used to get sick and die soon, and were afraid to stay one year in the river. Now they won't die; the missionaries teach them to live long; so they stop in Calabar two or three years, and fill two or three ships before they go back to England. Before time also, if a captain planted anything ashore, when he went away, the women boiled water and threw on it to kill it; lest he return, and see it growing, and call it his. Now the missionaries plant trees at all their houses, orange, and mango, and bread fruit, and other kinds, and live to see the trees grow big, and eat the fruit, and call them theirs, and call all the place theirs. Before time, white men never went to market; they gave their coppers to some gentleman, who supplied them with yams, and fowl, and goats, and all they wanted; but now the missionaries go to market and buy for themselves, and find the price of everything." For these reasons they advised that white men be no longer allowed to live in the country; that the missionaries go home, and the captains keep to their ships.

The meeting, however, did not enter fully into the views of these objectors. The missionaries, it was thought, might be trusted to live among them without injury, and even with benefit to them and their children; but it was agreed that traders must bring their ships and live on board. There was a point and force in some of the foregoing remarks, about the longevity of the captains of late, which does not immediately strike one. Formerly, when they died in the river, the payment of debts owing to them was easily evaded; indeed they were generally held as cancelled. When a

ship was "cleaned out," no unusual case, there was no one competent to look after the owner's interests. The cessation of so easy a way of clearing off old scores was naturally a matter of regret to some who had once been benefitted thereby.

We came into collision with the King that year, and suffered not a little annoyance for some months, on account of a poor, timid creature, who had sought his protection first and then ours, from her brutal master and husband. The man was one of Eyo's chief traders, and though forbidden to make her "chop nut" for reputed witchcraft, he was able to abuse her so much in other ways, that, finding no refuge in the King's yard, she fled to us for safety.

The very day after the woman came to the mission premises Mrs. Waddell went to the King to inquire about her, and thence, by his desire, to her master, using her best endeavours to produce reconciliation. The man was, however, obstinately unyielding. *Ata*, he said, must return to his house; for she was his slave and his wife; though indeed he had formally expelled her from his wives'-yard; and he would give no promise to allay her fears of being punished for her absence. She trembled and cried at the idea of returning to him, and said she would rather go to the bush and hang herself. Hearing that he was talking wildly about our "keeping her," I tried to convince him, that, if he would only be quiet, and let his own heart cool and her fears subside, we would induce her to return to him by the time he came back from the oil country, whither he was then going on his master's business; and as it was the rain season I gave him a new woollen shirt, which soothed and comforted him, and so all seemed amicably settled.

During his absence, however, two of his wives came and coaxed her to go home with them, under assurances of peace and safety, and we advised her to comply. She went, but was soon back again, having got a hint that she was to be chained till he came home. A month elapsed ere he returned, and then he was very sick; and, blaming her for his sickness, he sent armed men to demand and bring her home, with a letter from the King to the same effect. That was a new feature in the case, and I locked my yard-

gate, and went to Eyo to complain of such an intrusion. He apologized, and assured me that he had not sent the guard. A second time the man would have outraged our house had not his master forbidden him. Then he sent men to lie in wait in the paths leading to the spring and the market, where they thought to catch her; but she got word of the design, and escaped their hands.

He died, and his death complicated the business; for *Ata* now belonged to the King, and he, already provoked, was as hard to deal with, though not so violent as her former master. I wanted to intercede for her as an absconded servant; he insisted on her being treated as a rebellious wife. This required her not only to "cry" for the deceased the full time, and submit to all the indignities due to a widow who had let her husband die; but to receive an Egbo flogging, the discipline proper for unruly spouses, to teach them, as Eyo said, "to look out for their husbands." In vain I pleaded that she had not been solely to blame in the domestic broil, that she had been repudiated by the man, and certainly should not be worse treated than the other wives. He was unyielding, and not only made reflections on the growing insubordination of the slaves, but insinuated its being attributable to our interference, if not encouragement—a line of remark which I felt bound to reprove promptly—and we parted with very cold civility.

The King's wives took up the cause, and would not learn a lesson from the ladies of the mission-house, because we "kept Ata," and would not "let her go cry for her father." Missionaries, according to them, would spoil the country; for the people died faster than before; and soon "their father," would not have a man to follow him. It were better we took our God, and went away to our own country, for black man's god would do for them. Then all the women of the town made the affair their own, and cursed Ata, and proposed to come in a body, and take her by force, and "make her go cry for her father." The poor woman, indeed, did little else than cry every day, and all day long, and could hardly swallow her food for her tears. Rumours prevailed also, that the King had threatened to break up the mission, and send us all away. "And then it will be bad for us," said one of

the members; "for if you go away, you must shake the dust off your feet against this town."

A friendly supercargo was employed to remonstrate with me against harbouring the woman any longer, as the King was embarrassed by her obstinacy, and could not make the man's funeral in due form, till she and the other wives had wailed the allotted time for him. I asked him what assurance he could give that she would not be worse treated than the other wives; for without some security of the kind, she would not voluntarily leave our protection, and I would not compel her. He could give none, and she remained.

At last, Young Eyo came, and indirectly promised what we required, if we "would only bring the woman down, and trust his father;" for no gentleman, he said, could honourably ill use a person for whom another gentleman, his equal, had interceded. He said also that it was high time the affair was settled; for all the country was talking about the quarrel between his father and me, and taking advantage of it; and for his own part, when his two fathers contended, he was like one torn in pieces. We called up the poor woman, and let her hear what Young Eyo said. She was satisfied, and next day accompanied Mrs. Waddell to the King, who spoke peaceably to her; and so the "palaver was set," to our great relief, after three months' agitation.

The women *Aqua* and *Ibok*, formerly mentioned, were involved in *Ata's* affair, so far as to suffer for it. So long as she was with us, the former was ordered not to visit the Mission-house or Church; and the latter was severely flogged for having directed her to take refuge in our yard, though ostensibly for some other cause. We very deeply felt for the sufferings of Ibok, for she was capriciously and tyranically used; but it showed what the other would have got had she been caught unprotected. When Mrs. Waddell visited her the next day, she was consoled to find her in a good state of mind, and, though in chain, with her books beside her, and Aqua sitting with her giving her comfort. Unhappily, she had laid herself open to the blow, having done what I advised her not to do, believing that it was a snare to catch her. So she was caught, and I had to be silent. At my wife's intercession, the other ere long obtained enlargement; but she was soon confined

again, and more closely than before, for having refused obedience where disobedience was a virtue; but from that also we procured her release on a fitting opportunity.

At that time, indeed, our King seemed to be growing perfectly overbearing. Having outstripped all rivals among his countrymen, and risen far above them, and having freed himself from dependence on the old supercargoes, by getting out a ship consigned to himself, the clerk of which lived in his yard and transacted his business, he seemed determined to subject us also to his will, and then he would be supreme. Poor man, his greatness was but as the flower of the field, which soon withered away.

In reviewing the more spiritual part of our work during this year, we could observe various grounds of comfort and encouragement to prosecute it with unabated resolution. The House of God had been always open, and the word of God preached every Sabbath to large and attentive congregations, both forenoon and afternoon. Young Eyo was restored, ere its close, to the fellowship of the Church, having afforded abundant evidence of deep contrition. He seemed to have attained a better insight into his lost condition as a sinner, and a livelier sense of his need of the divine Saviour than before, though still deficient, we feared, in a just sense of his own nothingness, and appreciation of the all-sufficiency of the Lord Jesus. In his restoration, due attention was paid to the apostolic injunction, "Them that sin, rebuke before all, that others may fear." No new exclusions had been found necessary; four new members had been baptized, two of them had been regularly married, and thirteen additions had been made to the class of catechumens, making in all twenty-four. Thus we had peace and prosperity within our borders, more than a counterbalance for our outward troubles. Our work of translation had also gone forward steadily. Beside the labours of the brethren in that way, I had completed several books, both in the Old and New Testaments, for my own use in the Church on God's day, and had written also a series of lectures on Matthew's Gospel, and on the Ten Commandments—these last being subsequently printed for the use of our advanced classes.

A few incidents that I find recorded this year may be noticed, though not part of our work. *Young Antica Cobham* of Duke Town, mentioned several times already as a ruthless murderer, whom the Egbo laws could not reach, whom, indeed, they strengthened in his crimes, met a fate this year worthy of his bloody deeds. It is an eternal truth that "they who sin without law shall perish without law." Old Antica being dead, the son was master, and in a fit of passion killed one of his wives at a blow. The great men of the town regarded the affair with indifference. "It be only his woman," said Heny Cobham, his uncle, "no palaver live for that." Palaver did live for it, however, to the miscreant's cost, and vengeance came from an unexpected quarter. The poor woman had relatives among the farm people, called "blood men," and they demanded that Antica be delivered up to them. Their demand was, of course, refused, and they instantly put the Cobham farms under ban, and forbade all intercourse with the family in town. The tables were turned; the slaves now "blew Egbo," in their own way, on their masters; and the latter had to submit, and give up the offender to trial, before a mixed court of his own family, and a deputation of head slaves. They made him "chop nut;" but mistrusting its effect, or hastening to complete their work, they hung him by the neck to the ridge-pole of the Palaver House, and left him there. Whether through a sense of justice, or of fear, in neither of the towns was a word spoken in the villain's defence, or in reprobation of the "wild justice" of the farm slaves.

One of the old acts of barbarous superstition that we had thought abolished, was repeated that year by the Duke Town people. The chiefs carried an albino negress to Parrot Island, and sacrificed her there to the *Indem Efik*. What object they had in view could not be learned; but great was the consternation of those engaged in the business, when the following day one of the prime actors therein, *Edem Oku*, suddenly died.

The condition of persons who sold their freedom to better their circumstances was illustrated by the following case:—A would-be gentleman of the *Ibibio* country, ambitious of the honours of Egbo, had impoverished himself to buy them, selling his slaves

first, and then himself, to King Eyo. Though desired to live at Creek Town, he went back to his old place; and, when recalled, delayed or refused to return, and sent rather a saucy answer. Eyo brooked no disobedience, and soon had him arrested, and brought before him. What he said to him was not reported, and probably it was not much—for he seldom wasted words; but what he did was this. He had him made fast to a post, and flogged by two Egbo runners, four score lashes each. The poor fellow was not killed, but his life was not worth much for a good while afterwards. This love for Egbo privileges, which led small gentlemen often to sell their servants to procure them, furnished an illustration of an obscure proverb—"He that is despised, and hath a servant, is better than he that honoureth himself and lacketh bread."*

One morning, on opening our house doors, I perceived a little bird caught by the threads of a spider's web. It was, indeed, a very small bird, and the spider was of the largest size, its threads being as strong as sewing silk, and glutinous as bird-lime. The hunter had not expected such prey, and knew not what to do with the captive, which, entangled by the wings and feet, could not even flutter to release itself.

Our carpenter's dog was killed by a stroke of lightning, as it lay on the floor of its master's house, near his feet. The vital spark was quenched so instantaneously, that the creature never moved nor cried; and it was supposed to be still sleeping for an hour afterwards, till one tried to rouse and put it out. When dissected the next day, its blood was found still in a liquid state; which confirmed what others had observed, that the electric fluid prevents coagulation. It seemed strange, also, that while the course of the lightning, from the roof to the dog, could be easily traced by its obvious effects, no appearance of its escape thence could be found—as if it had been absorbed in the body of the animal.

A small electric fish abounds in the Calabar rivers, which grows to a length of five inches, and gives a smart shock. I used to keep a few of them in a basin for observation or amusement; for they gave no trouble, requiring only to have their water occasion-

* Prov. xii. 9.

ally changed. They killed other little fish, half their own size, when put in with them; and very small ones they swallowed. The effect of the electric stroke on those killed was such, that their colour changed from a dark brown to an ashy hue, their mouth gaped, and they became bent and rigid. Some were only benumbed with the first shock, and when transferred to another basin, recovered; and received several shocks in that way, still recovering, before they finally succumbed to their adversaries. The electrics could not be seen to operate. When watched, they remained quiet and paid no attention to the little fish swimming about them, though they sharply resented the intrusion of human fingers, and the least touch was followed by a stroke that shook the whole arm. They eyed those who looked at them, exchanging glances without fear, as if they should say, We dare you to touch us. After withdrawing and returning, we found their little neighbours benumbed or dead. They could not, of course, electrify each other, being all surcharged; but they often fought together, seizing each other by the side, heedless of our observation. Some brought to this country alive have been regarded with great curiosity—express messengers coming from London and Edinburgh to receive them in Liverpool, and some of them have gone as far as Berlin, where they "had the honour of performing" before his late royal highness the Prince Consort.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1868.

School labours—Sad example of superstitious fear and cruelty in King Eyo—Case of a Sierra Leone man and a supercargo—Troubles arising therefrom—Twelfth anniversary of the mission—Consul and Man-of-war—False charges; trial; my defence; the decision—Note on conclusion of these affairs—We leave Calabar—Other passengers on board—Spaniards in Clarence—Bonny—Lagos—Prosperity of that port—Good passengers there—Evening prayers on board—A Spaniard and the Gospels—Various passengers at Sierra Leone and Bathurst—Difficulty of keeping up evening prayer—A fellow-passenger taking advice—Reached England—Calabar customs and plays.

WE have come to the last year of our labours in Calabar. The school, which had been taught for eight months by young Mr. Edgerley, again devolved on me, when he returned to Duke Town to conduct the printing, in room of his deceased father. An incident of that department of our duty may be mentioned to exemplify the impartiality with which it was conducted. The King's youngest son, *Ekpenyong*, was a careless little fellow, averse to the school, and full of excuses for avoiding it. One day he was later than ordinary, and his excuses, though various and ingenious, all proved to be false. His guardian attendant, *Ekpriwong*, a steady, good boy, it was ascertained, had been endeavouring for an hour to get him along, with continual resistance or evasion from his little master. The one was punished, therefore, and the other rewarded; and when the King heard thereof, he sent me back a message to say that he was very much obliged to me.

The following case painfully exhibits the degree in which even King Eyo's mind was under the dread of the old superstition. Yet why should we wonder at it, when, so late as two centuries ago, in this Christian and enlightened land of Britain, the belief in witches, and dealings with the devil, was almost universal, and intellectual and religious giants, like Richard Baxter, were strongly convinced of the truth of such things?

A head woman, in charge of a farm, committed a serious fault, and lost her master's favour, and the farm too. She went to an abia-idiong, to learn what she must do to recover her former position; but, her visit to him becoming known, the arts she had been directed to employ for that purpose were construed into attempts on the King's life. Her explanation was not received; he would allow none of his people to carry his name to an abia-idiong for any purpose. Her ears were, therefore, cut off; the other women were allowed and encouraged to prove their loyalty by beating her; and then she was chained, it was said, never to be released till she died.

It was soon reported that this woman, though chained, had practised to set "poison" for the king—something, according to the Obea system, to afflict or destroy him—and that she had imprecated judgments on him, and invoked the names of the great men of former generations, his forefathers, to come and take him away from all his riches and honours, and make him as themselves. She was not a church-going woman, nor known as having attended meetings to hear the word of God anywhere, else, it might have been supposed, that she had perverted solemn reflections on the instability of human greatness into imprecations. The King was so moved, when he heard this account of her sayings and doings, which was probably an exaggeration, that he ordered her to be chained by the neck, to a post in the middle of the street, before his gate, and her feet made fast to another, and to be there left, exposed to sun and rain, day and night, without meat or drink, till she died.

We shuddered to hear of such a sentence, pronounced by Eyo, and to be inflicted before our eyes. But every one said that the woman had attempted his life, and deserved to die the worst death. The first night the wretched victim of passion and superstition was thus staked to the ground, our members' class met, and I had a proper opportunity to instruct them on the subject. In conclusion, I said to Young Eyo, knowing that he would tell his father, that none of the mission family would walk that street while the wretched woman lay there; for how could we look on her miseries, unable to relieve them; and that I was astonished a man of his sense would let such fool stories frighten or provoke him to commit such an atrocity.

Next morning our glass showed us the poor creature lying in the middle of the street, and our hearts sunk. Soon, however, a man came and relaxed the chain off her neck, and she sat up. He returned and released her feet, and removed her to a shed at one side of the street, where were other offenders. We thanked God that Eyo's better sense had prevailed, and more when we learned that her sentence had been commuted, though it was still too severe—perpetual confinement and short allowances of food and water. She was not to die; and we could wait and watch for a favourable opportunity, when the King's wrath had subsided, to intercede on her behalf, as also to teach her something better of her relation and duties, to both God and man, than she yet knew.

When the occasion offered for alluding to the subject, I said to him, that I spoke not on her behalf so much as his own; for his character would be ruined by such treatment of the woman, and his peace and safety endangered. If he showed faith in such arts as she was said to have practised, he would be always exposed to them—having enemies enough in the country envious of his prosperity. His safety, like ours, lay in despising them; and he should let it be known that, in that respect, as well as some others, he was a white man. We did not, while presenting such low considerations, neglect suitable appeals to his conscience in the name of God, nor fail to urge the claims of humanity; but the foregoing views had probably, for the time, the greatest effect, and he promised to mitigate her punishment. He was in no hurry, indeed, to fulfil his promise; and interviews and remonstrances were repeated, both by Mrs. Waddell and myself, during nearly three months, ere he further reduced her sentence to banishment to his *Uwet* farms, where she might live and work, out of the way of doing any person any harm.

We were not permitted to finish our work in Calabar in peace. The affairs of a Sierra Leone man embroiled us afresh with the supercargoes. He came to Calabar seeking employment at his trade, as carpenter, and having certificates of Christian character from the Wesleyan missionaries, and others of station in that colony, he got work at Creek Town, and a residence in one of the gentlemen's yards.

Hazeley was a man of energy and spirit, and he came into collision with a headstrong, bullying young trader, who had recently appeared in our river. The latter, M. H——, previously well known at Bonny, was sent to collect the debts of a captain who had died the year before. In the pursuit of this object he called at many gentlemen's houses, and if the servants did not find their masters for him, he let them feel the weight of his stick. In this way he struck a man in Camaroon's yard, who proved to be Hazeley's servant; and when the latter afterwards meeting him and his surgeon in the street, inquired why he had done so, he cursed and passed him. From words they came to blows; and though the black man was unarmed, and the others fought him with their sticks, he might have proved enough for them both, had not their Kroomen knocked him down, and held him while they beat him. The King, hearing the tumult, ran out and rescued Hazeley from their hands. Even then they presumed to desire Eyo to chain him, and send him to their ship to be flogged, for daring to fight white men; but he more wisely sent the poor fellow to me to have his head dressed, as it bled profusely. Meeting Young Eyo on their way down the river, they told him that they would return in a day or two and take Hazeley by force to their ship, to have him flogged and chained.

The "river gentlemen," alarmed by the terrible story M. H—— and his surgeon related, of a violent assault committed on them to the endangering of their lives, assembled, and forming themselves into, what they called, a "naval court," took the "depositions" of these men, and resolved to demand Hazeley of King Eyo, and transport him to Fernando Po to be tried by the Consul. Next morning, accordingly, they came in a body, and so many boats made a fine show rushing up the creek with their ensigns streaming, and the Kroomen, as usual, shouting and contending to take or keep the lead. Captain B—— had, however, for whatever cause, hastened up before the rest, and advised Eyo not to give up the fellow, lest it become "a Man-of-war palaver," if anything should happen to him, but to send him to our house for safety. And this he did, though he had concurred in all the proceedings of the so-called "naval court," and joined with his friends, to appearance heartily, when they reached the King's

house, in requiring that the Sierra Leone man be delivered to them. It is not easy to fathom some people's scheming.

Mr. and Mrs. Robb had recently arrived in the country, Mr. Goldie had come down from Ikunitu to see them, and we were all preparing to go down the river to Duke Town to hold our monthly meeting, when Young Eyo entered the hall. His father had sent him earnestly entreating us to join the meeting then being held in his house, and give him our advice, as he did not know English law, and was like to be overborne by the captains. We were most reluctant to have anything to do with them in the matter, beyond an expression of opinion, which the son could convey; but he was so urgent, that we agreed at length to call in just for a moment, on our way to the beach, consenting, at the same time, to the man in question being sent to our house for safety.

To enforce his plea Young Eyo added, that he "would not count Hazeley's life safe in their hands, after what had befallen Cuffy, the Acra cooper." This was a man engaged in Fernando Po to work at his trade on board H——'s ship in Calabar. He was a member of the church at Clarence, and wished, but was not allowed, to attend the Church at Duke Town. Persisting, however, in doing no work on the Lord's day, and in reading his Bible when ordered to put it away, he was tied up and flogged. Report said that he was flogged a second time the same day. That night he disappeared, and was never seen or heard of afterwards. What became of him no one knew, or seemed to know. H—— gave out that he was lurking about the Mission-house. Others supposed that he was drowned attempting to escape ashore. The affair was hushed up, and all inquiry stifled. His poor wife, after waiting, and watching, and complaining, long enough, finding she could do nothing, took his wages from H——, and returned to Fernando Po. The Consul came to our river soon after the affair happened, and heard of it, but encouraged no complaints, associated with H——, and made, so far as I heard, no investigation.

In the King's house we found a large and disorderly assemblage of white gentlemen, and in answer to his statement of the case, and inquiry what he should do, we told him that he could not lawfully deliver Hazeley to any person but the Consul, as he was

a free British subject, and that the "ship gentlemen" had no right to him, their "naval court" being without authority. If the man had gone to the Mission-house, he must remain there in peace and safety; and if any person ventured to take him thence by violence, we would know where to find redress and protection.

That was the substance of what passed in the way of questions and replies, incriminations and rejoinders, which it is needless to detail. The meeting was not very calm and dignified, and some of the opponents, irritated at being so easily foiled, thought to strengthen their cause by railing on us. "Do you think yourself the Pope?" "Are you king of this town?" "Why, you are nobody." "You harbour assassins." "You are in a conspiracy." Yea, Captain C—— afterwards said to my face, that, had he been H——, he would not have minded the "black fellow," but have seized and chained me. With such complimentary language we were dismissed, when we rose to retire. But the game was up for the day, and they suddenly dispersed, and rushed past us down the creek, their six-oared boats easily outstripping our four. The meeting was calm, we were assured, after our party entered, (probably the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Robb, as yet strangers to them all, had some good effect in calming it), compared to what it had been previously. Clamorously and vehemently they had protested against our having anything to say in the case, and seemed resolved to run King Eyo down, and compel him to surrender their victim. The very next day they sent express for the Consul, and also wrote a joint letter to inform Eyo, that, as they could not visit his town safely, they would charge him with all the losses they incurred. One of them, however, already alluded to, played his fellows false again, and visited the town as before, though secretly, and, doubtless, laughed in his sleeve at their folly. It must be added, that all "the river gentlemen" did not concur with that band of malignants, who thus outraged law and justice. Some stood quietly aloof, while others in inferior stations, were reluctantly dragged along by them.

Before the arrival of the Consul, the twelfth anniversary of our mission was held at Creek Town, and was a successful and happy celebration. All the mission families, of course, were with us,

of our commercial countrymen, one of whom, Mr. lady with him, a most welcome addition to our Instead of a sermon this year, we had a number of sses, like a public meeting at home, with prayers and es intermingled. Our King was one of the speakers, and ng other things, he alluded to the commencement of our sion, when Eyamba opposed our settling at Creek Town, and d all boys to go to Duke Town school. All his gentlemen, ired, however, to have a school their own as good as the ner, and got it, but they had drawn off from it again, and t it all to him. As for himself he wished the school to sper, and that the word of God might live in his town for er.

His son asked leave to speak, and made a suitable and solemn lress. After a touching reference to our being soon to leave m, after so long a residence among them, he addressed the gentlemen, and especially the young men, on their past darkness, their present light, the truth of God's word, and the eternal importance of the gospel of salvation. He quoted the Scriptures aptly and accurately, giving chapter and verse, proving himself to be well acquainted with his Bible. He quoted in conclusion, and forcibly applied, the words of the apostle, "The times past of this ignorance God winked at, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent." The church was quite full, and all present seemed to be cordially interested in the services. The proceedings of the day were concluded as formerly, by a general entertainment at the Mission-house.

Early in May the Consul arrived in H.M.S.S. *Pluto*, Commander S——, and immediately wrote to desire my attendance the next day on board, when I could hear and answer certain grave charges preferred against me. The next day was Saturday, a very inconvenient day for my attending his court, and I requested it might be deferred till Monday, and that copies of the charges referred to should in the meantime be placed in my hands. That same evening we were honoured with a call from Commander S—— and his surgeon, accompanied by our own Dr. Hewan; and if I was astonished at the extraordinary reports

they had heard down the river about Hazeley's affair, not less were they at the real facts of the case, as they heard them from us who knew all about them.

The documents forwarded by the Consul the following day were three—*first*, the so-called "depositions" of M. H—— and his companion, before the self-constituted "naval court" already referred to; *second*, a charge of my being leagued with Hazeley to obstruct them in their lawful business; and *third*, a report by them and several others of what took place in the King's house, when I refused to deliver up the poor man to their vengeance, accompanied by a charge of conspiracy against him and me for unlawful ends. All these were lengthy and extraordinary productions, full of the strangest imaginable mis-statements, perversions, and assertions.

The meeting on board the *Pluto* was fully attended by the different parties concerned. Our opponents were in great force, and filled up a large part of the quarter-deck. The missionary party was pretty strong too. Between them were King Eyo and the Creek Town gentlemen. The Consul, Commander, and Paymaster sat at a table, as judge and jury. Witnesses and attendants stood behind on one side, a portion of the crew as spectators on another.

Hazeley's case was called first. Though actually the injured party, he was put on his trial as a criminal, his assailant was heard as accuser, and the surgeon, a *particeps criminis*, was a witness. The proceedings were of a most extraordinary character, and so conducted as rather to involve, confuse, and obscure the case than to elicit the truth. The testimony of *Cæsar*, one of the Kroomen, seemed to be that of a suborned witness, and so odd was his story that his own master, M. H——, disowned him and it, while he persisted in telling it till ordered down. He was merely repeating the lesson he had been taught, and which was plainly incredible. Thus the principal and his witness contradicted each other before the court. When the case had become thoroughly entangled, by the introduction of collateral subjects, and the pursuit of whatever minor points would distract attention from the main facts, it was abandoned, as inextricably confused, till mine should be heard, on the ground that they were so

olved that the court must hear both before they could decide her, after which it was not resumed.

The cases were involved, only so far as our opponents chose to confound them, and to regard the Sierra Leone carpenter and me leagued for a common purpose. In defending myself, therefore, I had to defend him and others, but only by a simple statement of the facts of the case. When the Consul had read the charges preferred against me at length, as if he were the prosecutor, he called on those who had made them to add anything they pleased, and produce their proofs. But they had nothing to add, and no evidence to produce. Again, when I had read my reply, and placed it in his hands, he invited them to examine me; but they had not a question to put, nor an observation to make, though I characterized their "depositions," and other statements, as altogether "untruthful," and was prepared to prove the assertion.

While I read my defence, the accusers attempted such frequent and gross interruptions, and paid so little attention to the Consul's very mild suggestions to let me proceed quietly, that at length the Commander rose to his feet, and declared that he had never seen such disgraceful conduct, and that it could no longer be suffered on the deck of a Queen's ship, and if Mr. M. H—— did not keep silence, he must be ordered over the side. That had the desired effect, and I was allowed to finish my defence. Then, though invited to speak and object if they could, they were dumb.

King Eyo voluntarily gave evidence confirmatory of my statements, and declared that not only had M. H—— assaulted many persons in Creek Town, whom he restrained from resenting it, but had shaken his stick at himself, and put his fist in his face, as if he meant to beat him too.

In the close of my defence, I remarked that the fears expressed by our accusers of going to Creek Town on their business, were as absurd as the charge of my having hired bullies and bravos from Sierra Leone to waylay them. They could be in no danger if they went about lawful business in a lawful way. But when they went into gentlemen's houses and beat the people, or went out armed at night in their boats to plunder canoes, seizing oil and men, they not only endangered themselves, but the peace of the

country, and gave just cause of offence to the native rulers. What did Captain B—— mean by saying in that paper that he could not go to Creek Town on his proper business, for fear of his life; and yet was always going thither as beforetime, and meeting us at King Eyo's table, without molestation from any one?

They had threatened to send home such statements as would enable their merchants to prosecute the missionaries for all their losses. We doubted not their disposition to do so, and resolution to stick at nothing to accomplish their purpose. But if we could imagine their merchants to believe such statements or act on them,* British lawyers, at least, knew how to sift evidence, and the value of character to evidence, and a British jury would have some respect to truth and justice.

They had said that we were doing no good in tne country, and that our houses were the "resort of every low and bad character" in the place. On both points we deemed them incompetent judges. One thing was certain, that it ill became men who had enjoyed the hospitalities of those houses, and been frequently nursed there in sickness, and more than once saved from apparent death, by tender sympathy and care, to turn round and slander them.

As to their pretended court, the authority of which they pleaded for their attempt at arrest, we disowned it, in the presence of those who were able to correct us, and we condemned its proceedings as illegal, arbitrary, and tyrannical. Even when lawfully constituted, a court of shipmasters can have no jurisdiction on shore, nor over any person not belonging to their vessels, else loyal and well-behaved subjects might be ground under the feet of any unprincipled fellow in charge of a ship or cargo, who could get two or three more like himself to back him in his outrages.

The conspiracy which our accusers imputed to the missionaries was too ridiculous to be worthy of serious notice; and certainly no proof had been attempted. With more probability might we impute to them a conspiracy against our mission, of which that was not the first indication. We had already frequent instances of the old antagonism between light and darkness, Christ and

* One of the merchants told me afterwards that the charges condemned themselves, they were so incredibly absurd, and displayed so obviously a spirit of hostility. Another assured me that the supercargoes sometimes troubled them as much as they did us.

Belial. If things went on in that way, we might find it necessary to take an advanced position, and no longer stand merely on the defensive. The doings of some of those gentlemen, under the abused name, or pretence, of "lawful business," and "owner's interests," which they were ruining, could not stand exposure, nor be countenanced for one moment by their employers. The natives, the missionaries, the Sierra Leone people, all had cause for a long time past to complain of their unlawful violence.

When the Consul and his coadjutors retired, Mr. —— approached us with a bland smile, and in a patronizing way assured us that we must not consider him as at all hostile; he always desired to be a friend to the missionaries. "Oh, come now, Mr. ——," I replied, "we want no more fair face and double dealing. How can you reconcile professed friendship with your acts of late, and your signature to those papers?"

The Court soon returned, and gave its decision—a queer one, indeed—to the following effect:—As to Haseley and M. H——, it was found that the truth could not be discovered, the accusers and accused, and their witnesses, did so contradict each other. The case was therefore dismissed; but to prevent the like again it was decreed that whoever assaulted another should certainly be fined! As to me, since my accusers had expressed their intention to bring the case before a higher court, the Consul declined to give any decision, leaving them to carry out their intention. His deliverance, like the trial, was viewed by not a few present, taken in connection with various other things, as indicating more than ordinary interest in the Brothers H——. For myself, satisfied with having repelled infamous accusers, and defended an injured man, I desired no more than to see them stand silenced and abashed before the whole assembly.

The next day, Father Tom and Camaroons came to me in the school, and seizing my hands shook them, and thanked me so repeatedly and earnestly, that I said in surprise, "Father Tom, what do you mean by all this?" "We thank you," he cried, "for that book you read yesterday to Consul and Commander. King thanks you; every man in this town thanks you. It be good for we all same as for you. And when done you hand it to the Consul so (imitating my gesture), and no man can say one word against it."

NATIVE CHRISTIANS OF CREEK TOWN.

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Our brother, Mr. Baillie, was also called up by Captain B——, to answer for harbouring a Calabar man, whom the latter had in irons, and who had escaped. Though he had done so, it would have been no wrong, for the other had no right to imprison the natives; but, in fact the charge was false. Captain B—— having, however, threatened to seize and chain Mr. Baillie, was bound over, in *ten pounds*, to keep the peace towards him for six months! *

The time came for our leaving the country. It is unnecessary to specify the various reasons, both of a personal and relative nature, which rendered this step unavoidable. Our Board of Missions, and our brethren in the country, having been duly consulted, acquiesced in our views, and sanctioned our retirement from that field of labour. We had the happiness, ere leaving, of seeing our school supplied by the arrival of Mr. Timson, and our church by Mr. Goldie, whose place at Ikunitu was taken by Mr. Thomson, our former excellent assistant. Mr. Anderson, also, was expected soon from home, so that Mr. Baillie would be able immediately

* In connection with the foregoing affair, a brief notice of what subsequently befell the several parties concerned therein, will not be out of place here.

Hazeley was arrested, by the Consul's orders, the year after I left, and sent a prisoner in irons to Sierra Leone, where he was released without being examined, there being actually no charge against him. Mr. H—— continued his "course of violence, oppression, and extortion," till the natives seized and chained him, holding him till other supercargoes became surety for his payment of their claims against him. Five gentlemen of the shipping, including two of his former abettors, with five missionaries, testified in a written document, that owing to Mr. Consul H—— not having "interposed when applied to by both European and native traders," "the authorities of Duke Town were justified, and followed the only course left open to them, in securing the person of Mr. H——." The British government having appointed a commission to inquire into these affairs, the Consul hastened home, and another gentleman has since been appointed to the office in that quarter.

A brother, of whom I inquired what became of the cabal that he found leagued against us, on his arrival in the country, writes as follows:—"I believe that most, if not all, who made that disgraceful attack on the mission, afterwards regretted it. Of the five who signed "the statement" containing charges which they *knew* to be false, three are dead and gone to their account. One of these expressed regret that he had been misled into that and other similar attacks. A second became a very obliging, and, I trust, sincere friend of the mission; and before his death, was concerned about his salvation. The third got into great trouble among the natives, by a course of action which was censured by the highest British authorities. From one of the other two I have an acknowledgment that, in signing the atrocious document referred to, he had been misled. He left Old Calabar in friendship with the mission. One only, so far as I know, has not said he was sorry for what he did in the matter; but he has ceased for some years to be connected with the river. I must add that with almost all the traders, the mission has been, on the whole, on friendly terms since the time referred to, and from some of them individual agents have received no little kindness." Thus we have the Lord's promise of old fulfilled, "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that rises up in judgment against thee, thou shalt condemn."

to fulfil his intentions of occupying Ikorofiong. Thus all the stations were well supplied, and a new one ready to be opened.

It was satisfactory to be able to leave the work of God at Creek Town in a condition of prosperity. The Sabbath-day congregation was still regularly large, and the Church membership had been steadily though slowly increasing. It numbered twenty-one native communicants, with twenty-four catechumens, preparing confessedly for baptism. Among these was one whom we had expected to avow himself some years earlier, Henshaw Eyo, cousin to Young Eyo. He at length rejoiced us by his determination to stand forth on the Lord's side, though his wife, whom he had waited so long to bring with him, left him, as she said, "to follow his God alone," while she went back to her father's house and her father's idols.

The native members at Creek Town sent with me to the mission treasury £71, as a thank-offering for gospel blessings; Young Eyo, as was fit, contributing the largest part. To whom much is given and forgiven the same should greatly give and love. His young slave brothers, however, gave as willingly and liberally in proportion as he.

The mail steamer from England arrived unexpectedly a day or two before its time, late on the 25th May; and we learned, when near midnight, that it would leave at six o'clock in the morning. This was a hurried call; but we were ready; though Mrs. Waddell had to leave the bedside of Mrs. Hamilton, confined that night with her fifth son, and I that of our brother Robb, ill of dangerous fever; and in the small hours of the morning we left our Calabar home for the last time.

King Eyo was expecting us; and with evident feeling heard our solemn and affectionate parting words, as to things past and things to come. Our hearts were full as we looked on him, and thought that he was not yet a converted man, and for the last time entreated him to repent and believe the gospel, and trust himself entirely to our Lord Jesus. We commended the mission still to his care; entreated him to deal truly and kindly with the young disciples, whom he would find to be his most trustworthy people; and reminded him how we must both answer at the coming judgment of God for our use of his holy word. Thus ended our

long and peculiar connection, during which, notwithstanding much to be lamented, there had been mutual goodwill, confidence, and co-operation, in commencing a great work, which we humbly hope the Lord sent us to perform, and will not let die.

As the word quickly spread that we were going, a great company assembled and accompanied us to the beach, some of them giving audible expression to their feelings. Dr. Hewan kindly took us down in his boat, and after calling at Old Town to see Mrs. Sutherland, who had sat up expecting us, we reached the steamer at four o'clock, and got a little sleep before dawn. The detention of the ship for two hours to take in oil enabled us to see the friends ashore at Duke Town. Some of them followed us on board, while a number of the Creek Town youths came down the river in time to see us off; and ere the ship started, a noble missionary band, white and black, filled its deck. Our opponents were also in force; and M—— H—— passing me exclaimed, "What a set of —— fellows there is here!" We left Calabar with confidence. The past caused no regrets, and the future no apprehensions. We thanked God that he had sent us thither with his holy gospel, and that he had given testimony to the word of his grace; so that we believed his work there begun should continue for ever. The contrast between the circumstances in which the mission had been commenced in 1846, and those in which we were then leaving it, was striking and encouraging. Its progress and stability, so far, were undoubted, and were a blessed reward for the self-dedication of the Jamaica Presbytery, at Goshen, in July 1841, and its subsequent perseverance in the cause it had taken in hand. The parting cheer, and waving hands and hats, indicated truly the peace, and love, and mutual good wishes of all connected with it.

Two other passengers left Calabar with us; one a respectable and well-behaved young man, supercargo of King Eyo's ship; the other, a ringleader among our opponents, who, having loaded his ship, left his mate to sail it home. There were four or five other "traders" also on board, from Bonny and elsewhere, taking a run round the coast for health or business; and we soon discovered that our old acquaintance had imbued them with

his own views and feelings towards us. Their society and conversation could not be avoided altogether, and at table, some of them seemed particularly disposed to make it disagreeable, by repeating absurd and ridiculous stories of missionaries. But as we made no reply to anything of the kind, two of them, more gentlemanly than the others, soon discouraged what was so insulting to inoffensive fellow-passengers. Ere we reached Bonny, where several of them left the ship, the annoyance had ceased, they had become even civil, and two who had been worst in a manner apologized for their past rudeness, hinting that they had been misled by some of those they met at Calabar. Though we silently put up with merely personal annoyances, we deemed it a duty to show our colours at once, by craving leave to "say grace" every time we sat down to table. It was not much, yet served a good purpose. The Lord was honoured, and he did not put us to shame.

From Calabar we went to Camaroons, where we spent half a day with the Baptist friends ashore; and thence to Clarence, where we had a silent Sabbath. A Spanish frigate ruled the cove, a Spanish governor and priests the town, and public worship was forbidden. Our captain feared to allow it even on board the mail packet, lest it should give offence, an unworthy fear. The Rev. Mr. Dibold and his people could engage only in acts of private devotion, and with them we enjoyed the day of God as well as we could.

At Bonny the steamer stayed three days, and took in much oil, and at Lagos greatly increased the quantity. There we spent our second Sabbath, and even more disagreeably than the first; for the whole day was employed taking in cargo. Of four passengers who came on board there, three were for England, gentlemen with whom it was a pleasure to travel. One was the venerable Consul for the Bight of Benin; another was an American missionary, of a Georgian society, whose field was Yoruba; and the third was surgeon of the Niger expedition, then encamped far up the river. From the encampment he had traversed the country, passing through various large cities, and by *Abeokuta* to *Lagos*. The information obtained from them about that part of the continent, previously little known, was interesting and valuable.

Seventeen merchant vessels were at anchor before Lagos, where twelve or fifteen years ago only a slaver might be discovered lurking, while taking in its human cargo. Palm oil, which then was unknown at that port, had grown to five thousand tons annually; and cotton, which, though always cultivated in Yoruba for native manufactures, had never been exported, had been shipped the previous year to the extent of twelve hundred bales, and would be doubled the next. All that was the happy result of taking the upper hand with the slave traders of *Lagos*, and appointing a Consul to look after the interests of legitimate commerce.

Finding that we had a majority of well-disposed passengers, we consulted them about having evening prayer regularly in the saloon; and were happy to find both them and the captain agreeable to the measure. Some said that they would be very glad of it indeed, and would always be present. Others said that they could have no objections, though they might not always attend. There was only one whose opinion or consent was not asked, and, of course, he had nothing to say. Thus we established the daily worship of God on board, and enjoyed it all the way home.

Among those who joined us, as we ran along the Guinea coast, was a Spaniard from *Badagry*. There was nothing in his appearance to indicate the slave trader, yet we were told that such had been his occupation, till an English cruiser lately took his vessel. He sat apart silent but not moody; for he was a mild looking gentleman; and unable to speak English, while only one on board could speak Spanish, he seemed solitary, not having even a book to read. At length I found and presented him with the gospels in his own language. Then he smiled with great satisfaction, expressed his thanks fervently, and desired me to write my name in it that he might know the donor. Every day afterwards he read it with great diligence, till he left us at Teneriffe, and we hoped and prayed that God might graciously bless its divine truths to his soul, for he seemed to be greatly taken with the book.

At *Sierra Leone*, where the steamer stopped three days, we were hospitably entertained by Mr. M'Cormack, a native of Lurgan, but resident for forty years in the colony. There the Lord had found him; and there he was seeking to advance the Redeemer's

cause. Many passengers of various colours and characters joined us at that place. Among these were the Rev. Mr. Jones, of the English Church Mission, with his wife and children—a welcome addition to our praying society on board; and Mr. Nicol, formerly mentioned. As the latter approached the ship, our Calabar trader cried out to another of the same craft, "See there, now! there comes one of the most thundering old villains in the world." For moral character there was no comparison between the men; and those who knew the story of the oil seizures in Calabar, which, indeed, had been published in Sierra Leone papers, would know what value to attach to his good or bad opinion of any one. I for one heartily welcomed the prosperous and Christian emancipado as a fellow-passenger, a man who could be depended on for maintaining his Christian profession on board with prudence and fidelity.

A great addition was made to the variety of our passengers at Bathurst. There we were joined by an Irish military gentleman, a few Romish ecclesiastics both male and female, and two reputed slave traders. These last spoke in Spanish together, and associated only with each other. They were like their business. One, regarded as a disguised Yankee by our American missionary brother, was a fiery man, who would be ready to settle a difficulty with the bowie knife or revolver. The other, dark and downcast, could look on in silence till the affair was over, and then cover all up and keep quiet. It was satisfactory to observe that the rest of the passengers shrunk from their company, and even the Spanish gentleman, who first joined us down the coast, seldom spoke to them.

At *Teneriffe* we received two more. One of these was a fine little boy, going to England for his education. I had met him in a hotel on shore, and presented him with the Gospels in Spanish, which he gladly received, and for which his father, an Englishman and a Protestant, heartily thanked me, saying that it was the very thing he had most wanted. But it was grievous to learn that he was to be educated in a Romish seminary, by desire of his mother, a Spanish lady, lately deceased, who had requested it with her dying breath, and obtained the father's promise.

Such a mixed company rendered it no easy thing to keep up

our evening worship in the saloon; for a number of the passengers introduced card-playing immediately after tea, and did not seem disposed to relinquish it when eight o'clock arrived, the hour of prayer. At first our praying company seemed nonplussed, as the others had possession of the table and seats; but, reflecting that our numbers were greater than theirs, that we had as good a right to the saloon for our use part of the evening as they for theirs, and a better claim by priority than they, we resolved not to relinquish our object. Accordingly, addressing them in a respectful way, I expressed a hope that they would allow us the use of the saloon for half an hour, for evening prayers as usual. "Oh, certainly," was the polite response; the cards were removed, and though some of the players went on deck, others remained to join in our devotions. After we left Bathurst the difficulty increased, for the Irish captain, who came on board there, followed that amusement with uncommon ardour. He had out his cards even in mid-day, and at night was not disposed to give way. He alone, however, could not carry on the game; and when our quiet respectful persistency of purpose induced the others to make room for us, he had to retire; though he did it with a very ill grace, and muttering to himself, "This is really too much of a good thing." They always, indeed, resumed their seats and play as soon as we concluded.

Having received among the card-players the designation of "the old gentleman," I used the privilege of years, and expressing my regret to our military companion that our religious service should so much annoy him, invited him to join our evening worship, as a chapter in the Bible and a short prayer could do no one any harm. He replied that he did not think it necessary to make a show of religion, and thought that people could pray as well in their own berths as in the public cabin. Admitting the truth of both remarks, I yet ventured to think that acts of united and public worship were very proper, and were required by God from all men, and that they were especially becoming in fellow-passengers on board ship at sea.

The opposition increased, and the reluctance with which the cabin was yielded to us became at length so marked, that some of our praying company thought we had better give up the attempt

than have disturbance. "We cannot force our religion," it was said, "down people's throats." "But why should the Bible be put away," it was replied, "when the cards appeared? We had enjoyed the privilege of a quiet half-hour for reading the Scriptures and prayer all the way from Lagos, and why should passengers coming in at Sierra Leone and Bathurst deprive us of it, when the captain of the vessel did not object, and we had twice as many on our side as they had on theirs. It would be weak and sinful to give up to them. If they did not voluntarily put away their cards at eight o'clock we must meet as usual and civilly request them to do so. They had not yet refused, and were they to do so, then we should consider what other course to pursue. But let us all assemble as usual, and show that we waited on them. They won't contest the point if we be firm, for we have right on our side." That night was to be the trial. "Mind I'll have no row," said the brother referred to, whose turn it was to conduct the worship. "If they leave the place to us quietly, well and good; if not, I'm done." We looked to God, and that evening He glorified Himself, and made His cause triumph; for when we mustered in silence, and did not even ask them to move, He touched the heart of one of them who said to the rest, "Come, now, we'll be done for the present, and not begin a new game till after prayers,—see, our friends are all waiting." Our surprise and joy were increased when most of them remained and joined in our worship. After that there was not a word spoken of giving up the meeting till we reached home.

One of those we had picked up on the Guinea coast was a young man of colour, who professed to be a member of the Wesleyan Church, and regularly attended our meetings. He was inoffensive, but upsettish, and going for the first time to England, was disposed to learn the ways of English gentlemen from a certain class of passengers on board, whom he imitated. His fingers exhibited many gold rings, and at table he had not only his bottle of ale or porter, but his bottle of wine also. Those whom he aped made fun of him, and he did not see they were taking him off, and making him ridiculous. It was painful to us to see one of our praying party made a butt of, day after day, at table, and demeaning himself by vain attempts to copy those who made him

their sport. At length one day, when they were loading him with advices how to behave himself in England, he resented it so far as to say that he would take none of them, but would be advised by me. I could only say in reply that some other time would be better than that moment for anything of the kind.

Undesignedly we met on deck that night, at a late hour, when all the rest were asleep, and I improved the opportunity for a little serious conversation. He did not seem to take it amiss; yet next morning, so soon as we met, he said, in an offended tone, that while he thanked me for my good advices, he hoped that, for the future, I would keep them to myself till he asked for them. I was sorry for him, seeing with whom he had been taking counsel, and, of course, left him to himself. To the surprise of all he did not appear again for some days, confining himself to his berth, on the score of sickness; and many were the conjectures at table as to the cause; and many the attempts to draw from me what had passed, which seemed so much to affect him. Those days of quiet reflection did him much good, and when he took his place again among his fellow-passengers, he was both properly reserved in his own conduct, and treated with proper respect by them. He soon also recovered his good humour with me, and we were very good friends the rest of our way to England.

Certain peculiar Calabar customs not previously mentioned may here be briefly noticed. That of washing for defilement, contracted by touching a dead body or a grave, reminds us of the ceremonial laws of the Jews. It is deemed unlucky also for one to come into a house with grave dirt on him.

When women mourn for the dead they must sit dirty on the floor, or among the ashes. No stool or seat of any kind is allowed them. Widows must be flogged by Egbo, more or less, as they have deserved, are fined also to pay Egbo, and have their clothes torn, their faces defiled, and household things broken. A little flogging they rather like, as it is a clearing off of old scores, and relieves them of fear for the future. A bad wife has her faults published all round the town by people employed to shout them through the streets. This is justly deemed a great disgrace, and to be carefully avoided.

A man repudiating his wife rubs her arms with chalk, and turns her out of his wives' yard, to live among his servants, if she have been a slave, or to go to her own people if free. She may be restored, however, if the master be placable, and she can get an intercessor, in which case she begs pardon and rubs his arms with chalk. It must be a large piece, and make broad strokes, to show her heartiness, and obtain his acceptance.

A father disinherits his son by rubbing palm oil on his arms. The son may be restored by getting an intercessor, rubbing oil on his father's arms, and bringing a goat and eggs for a feast.

Among some neighbouring tribes if war has existed peace is made by killing and burying a slave on the boundary line of the belligerents. His blood is called "the blood of reconciliation."

Young things, children, kids, white chickens, &c., are sometimes consecrated to God and receive his name, being brought before the sacred basin with prayer. This is a thank-offering, or done with the view of securing special blessings on what has been consecrated. Yet are the children never taught any duty or service they owe to God. If the goat or fowl should of necessity be sold or killed, another must be soon devoted in its place.

Spiritual beings between God and man are called *Idem*, local deities, which live in trees, springs, rivers, &c. They have priests and priestesses in the *Ibibio* country. The latter are consecrated from birth to make sacrifice and prayer to the *Idem*, and never marry. The *Idems* are inferior to *Abasi* in power, but, in some respects, are deemed better off, as having more connection with earth and enjoyable things. *

In the *Ibibio* country there is an annual celebration, also, for the new yams—"a feast of first-fruits"—when offerings are made of the new crop to *Abasi*, and to the *Idem*. Till then gentlemen never eat them, though their slaves were not bound to observe the rule. The white people, of course, did not wait for the feast and offerings, nor did King Eyo.

In that country also, which, being the original seat of the Calabar people, deserves particular attention, they enact numerous

* Of all these the Ndem Efik is greatest: and its high priest, "Auboug Efik" or King of Calabar, formerly mentioned, the greatest man in the country. Both are now in disrepute, though the annual sacrifice of a human being thrown into the river, has not altogether ceased.

and petty laws, and every law is put under the guardianship of some chief, who, being king of that law, sees to its observance and the punishment of violators. Every punishment is death or slavery. The headship of towns is virtually elective; and the principal man of the town is chosen, whether for his age and wisdom, or his wealth and relationships.

It is deemed dishonourable to announce the death of a chief suddenly or soon; especially so to tell a son of his father's death, which should be indirectly hinted or alluded to.

When a king sneezes, every person present calls out his titles and honours, invokes blessings on him, and curses on his enemies. There used to be a custom in our own country, indeed, if one sneezed for another to pray a blessing on him. Goldsmith's story of the *fiddlebox* turns on the wife's opportune observance of it.

IKOROFIONG MISSION-HOUSE.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1858.

Death of King Eyo—Consternation in town and country—Slaves arm and muster in self-defence—Are satisfied, and disperse peaceably—The palace burned—Letters of natives on these events—Young Eyo, now King Eyo III.—He falls away—His sad end—Dreadful events consequent on his death—Wreck of the Eyo Honesty family—Conclusion—General remarks—Appeal for missionaries.

WE resume our account of Calabar affairs; for important and singular events occurred, soon after we left the country, which must be briefly noticed.

Towards the close of 1858, King Eyo suffered occasionally from severe pains about his heart; and forewarned thereby, it is supposed, publicly recognised his eldest son as his successor, charging him and the chiefs of the town that, in the event of his death, no persons should be killed for him. Having gone to his *Uwet* plantations, he had another violent attack, sent for Dr. Hewan, and recovered. Being a Sabbath there, he suspended labour as usual, called his people together for public worship, and desired *Esien Ukpabio* to officiate, who addressed him and them from solemn and appropriate words: "Watch, for ye know neither the day nor the hour when the Lord cometh." After his return to town he transacted business as usual for a week, and, among other things, gave the brethren an audience, and satisfactory assurances concerning the French demand for negroes for their West Indian colonies, then pressed, by a French ship, on the Calabar people. According to custom, he had his brothers at supper with him one night, but, feeling unwell, ate and drank sparingly. They had all left, and he was rising to retire, when he staggered, fell back on the sofa, and without a word, in a few minutes, expired.

The consternation produced by this event was indescribable. The most of the house servants fled in terror, followed by the yard people, and they by others from every side, many without know-

ing why, out of the town, to hide in the surrounding thickets. The panic increased, and soon every yard was deserted by the slave population. Some of the King's women escaped to the Mission-house, and astonished the family by rushing in wild affright into an inner room and hiding there, hardly daring to whisper, "King dead!" Many more found their way during the night to the mission premises, and at dawn fled, under the escort of armed men, to the plantations. Why such universal terror? Was not the old custom of human sacrifices for the dead abolished? It was the first impulse, as of old, to flee for their lives from apprehended massacre; and not without cause, as the deceased King had been reckoned the main upholder of the new law, and left those behind who would gladly break it.

The Christian house servants alone remained to perform the last sad offices to their deceased master. Young Eyo entreated them to stand by him in his difficulty, and pledged his word for their safety. So the little band of native disciples, sons and servants, brethren in Christ, dug the grave deep, and interred their monarch beneath his royal residence, in the presence of the gentlemen of the town, without a drop of human blood being shed on the occasion.

The sad tidings of Eyo's death spread abroad, and produced the greatest commotion everywhere, especially on the Creek Town farms; and the slaves began to muster, armed with guns and cutlasses, for self-defence. They assembled in thousands at a village near the town, which commanded the road leading thence to the farms, and also the powder magazine, and entered into a covenant of blood to defend each other. They had no fear, they said, of their late master's sons, but mistrusted some of his brothers, and others in the town, and would not be satisfied with the assurances of Young Eyo and the missionaries as to their safety, nor disband till the obnoxious parties came under oath to them, that there should be no one killed. When that was done, they quietly dispersed to their respective homes.

The late King's daughter, *Inyang*, an imperious woman, was displeased with the promise made to the slaves; and she complained that her father was dishonoured by such a base compliance with their demands, and with foreign customs. "Never

before had so great a man as he," she said, "been buried alone." Her words were reported, and it was added that she had two women chained in her yard for sacrifice. Immediately the farm slaves assembled again, armed, some thousands in number, and took possession of the town, arranged in regular order on both sides of the main street. They were perfectly quiet; and, when Father Tom and Young Eyo, not yet king, inquired the reason of their gathering, they repeated what they had heard, and demanded that *Inyang* be brought before them and sworn. She made a brave defence, eloquent concerning her father's greatness and goodness, and the honour due to him; but she pleaded in vain, and had to satisfy those who had possession of her and the town, and could have exacted any terms. Then, as before, they quietly dispersed to their several places and occupations.

These "insurgent" slaves merely required that the law of the country should be observed inviolate. That secured, they maintained the peace; but preserved a watchful, armed attitude, till the old King's funeral was settled, and the new one's election secured. Meanwhile their young master went everywhere through the country, visiting the markets and farms, to allay the fears of the people and prevent disturbances. He was successful; and all his father's slaves resolved to be his also—the head men administering the oath of allegiance to all under them. It was short and comprehensive. They swore to be true to him, to hear his word, and do his work; and, when they deserved it, to take their punishment: but—they must not be killed for nothing.

Within a few weeks after old Eyo's death, his splendid house, and all it contained, were burned to ashes, in mid-day, in the sight of all the town's people. The fire was entirely accidental in its origin; but spread so fast, and raged so furiously, that nothing could be done to arrest its progress. The flames reached his old Great-house, and consumed it too, and an incalculable amount of property. Happily, no lives were lost, though some of our Christian youths were severely burned in their endeavours to save some things of especial value.

A few extracts from the letters received from our young disciples, concerning these events, will not be out of place here. Young Eyo, after mentioning his father's death and the fire, and

all his trials, says:—"I am now every day troubled by the people's palavers, one after another; but I pray every day to the Lord to keep me, and help me in this great trying. And I beg you, and all God's people, to pray for me, that the Lord may keep me in his own way, and give me wisdom and strength to do his will, even as Solomon prayed (1 Kings iii. 6–9), and may it please him to grant. I can't say much this time, but I beg you to pray for us your children of Efik."

Eshen, his brother, wrote:—"On November 29th, I go to plantation, to visit my mother, and live there with her to December 3. Then my brother send two of his people to call me at six o'clock in the morning, and they say to me, Your brother calls you. I ask them, What's the matter. They say, they not know. I fear my brother vex with me, and I get up. So we walk and come into town, and come to the house, and then I know that my father died, and then I weep and cry. My dear good master and father in the Lord, we your little children are here with the brethren which you and our Lord send to us, and now we see great affliction and trouble. Pray for us, that Satan may not take us from our God; for his kindness, O how great! Often we feel our heart prone from our Saviour to depart; but though we often him forgot, my master the Lord is our dwelling-place in all generations, for he is our refuge, and he is the Father of the fatherless. May he make us be strong in his right way. Tell all them which are there with you to pray for our church to be multiplied; for I think the Lord will be with our town and all this part, for all nations shall call on his name. Let grace be with them that love our Lord Jesus Christ."

Esien Ukpabio wrote, "I am very sorry to mention to you that we have lost our father, the king, so sudden; but we all trust to the Lord to be our father and our king, for he has promised to us that he will not leave us nor forsake us. Not many days after our father died, the fire come and burn up his houses and all his property. Dear father, had you been here you would have seen what we did not expect to be when king die; but we see how the Lord change the hearts of the people in not killing one man. This is a great mercy to us. Now Young Eyo is king, for consul been come and make him king. Also I am glad to

write you that all mission agreed to ask Young Eyo that he may let me learn something that I may become a teacher, and so he will. I pray the Lord to enable me for this great work that he call me into. And I hope you will pray also for thy poor son."

Eshen Oku wrote, "My dear master in Christ, I am very sorry to tell you about our master that we all lose him December 3, and twelve o'clock at night. All that night every man and woman run away to bush, only left me, Ekpenyung Esien, and Ekpenyung Itadu, and Okon Eyamey, and Esien Ukpabio, and Eyo Mbom, and Ene Eyo. Only we not run away, we trust to the Lord to keep us, and fear no death, because if any man kill we he only kill the body, not kill the soul, and young Eyo sware God's book say, he not let any man kill one of his father's slave, woman, or man, or boy. Also our master's two houses burn all to ashes, and I burn my back very bad, if not God's goodness I been die that time, and Eyo Hogan burned the same day. I thank God for all his kindness to me and Eyo Hogan. I am sorry to tell you about our friends. Since you go home we lose Eyo Basy, and Eyo Maka, and Mrs. Timson, and Mrs. Thomson, and Mr. Hamilton, and Odor Kpudor. Master, I like to hear that you and your wife are well, and your daughters, and I hope God bless you and all, and that you pray for we here also, and all our town, that we may stand well for his word. Because God say, 'Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled; blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh; blessed are ye when men hate you for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, for behold your reward is great in heaven.'"

Of the persons mentioned in this last letter as recently dead, the two first were native members; the second and third were missionary sisters, recently arrived in the country; the fifth was our excellent carpenter, formerly mentioned; and the last a town gentleman. Of the first named, Eyo Basy, a humble good lad, the following account by Ekpenyung Eshen, is interesting:*—

"My dear master, I take this opportunity of writing you a few lines concerning our country, and a bad time we saw in September and October. These two months pick up a great quantity of men

* Mr. Goldie wrote of him—"He lived with us, and I had every opportunity of observing and knowing him; and ever found him conducting himself in a manner which would have done credit to a mature Christian."

in town and plantation. Eyo Basy is dead. That day which he go to leave this world, I went and took seat beside him. First I say to him, If he glad to die and leave this world. O yes, says he, if the Lord will I will too. Very well my friend, so I taught him the word of God, and told him not mind for the temptings of devil, for he will come and say to you, you are a great sinful man, you does many wicked things, and the Lord will not save you. So I splain many things about that, and he give me one verse in Psalm l. 15, 'Call on me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee and thou shalt glorify me;' and another in Isaiah xliii. 2, 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the fire it shall not burn thee.' Wherefore when I saw that my friend Eyo Basy was fit to give me verses in word of God that made me glad. Twice he told me to pray, so I pray, as he say, to God. Lord wash away his sin which lie heavy on him as a big stone. When I done praying he told me that he felt the pains of death, and then hold his peace till he die. Then we mourn not because we know where he go."

The course of our friend Young Eyo, henceforth King Eyo III., was, alas! soon clouded. A hint of what was to be dreaded, easily understood by one who had known him, was given in his last letter to me, July 1859. He wrote, "I thank you for all your good and friendly words in your two last letters, but I am sorry to say, dear minister, that the trouble I am in is too much for me, more than I can write, but you know how bad our country is. Now every people do as they like, and all the palavers that my father used to settle come on me; and as I can't do everything as he used to do, this give me great trouble; and if you was here you would be sorry for me, and would help me in many things. I not have any good thing to write you about, and I am in great fear for my own bad heart, and fear too for my soul, in the trouble I got from one thing to another. It is very bad thing to be king or head in a country like this. Sometimes a bad thought comes into my heart which is very strong to get it out. I know this will give you sorrow, but I must write you true. Dear minister, do pray the Lord for my soul."

My subsequent letters to him remained unanswered; and it

[illegible] to be known, to our great grief, that he had fallen into his old besetting sin; then, alas! that he was also becoming addicted to intemperance. Of course he ceased to be a communicant in the church; yet he never ceased to attend it; nor to hear with respectful silence the word of admonition from the brethren in private.

His career was short as well as dark; and ended in May 1861 by a disease too long concealed, the natural result of his twofold sins. He felt that it was the hand of God, and owned that his sin had found him out. His sun went down while it was yet day; but in answer, we may believe, to many prayers, it did not set in utter darkness. He was not hardened, and died not in unbelief and impenitence. The following letter to Mr. Robb, about three months before his death, is one of the streaks of light on that clouded horizon:—

"My dearest friend, I thank you for all your good letters, which I look upon as messages from the Lord, as it is he who puts it into your heart and mind to write them, and it is the duty of a minister to do so to such a sinner as I. Dear minister, what can I say? Can a servant say, No, to his master when called to come? And the Lord calls us sinners all for our own good. When I know this and think about it my mind troubles me; but the shame and fear of my wretched heart brings me down, and the trouble which I get from one thing to another in the country matters is great. I only write these few things to show my mind to you. But what can I say when the Lord calls me to return, and when I know that he is willing to save and willing to help, and is able to save and to help, and for whom nothing is too hard to do? I thank you very much for your prayer and your love to my soul, and still beg you to pray that the Lord may take my wretched heart out of the love of sin, and bring me, poor sinner, to be his again; for plenty times I am not able to pray when I think of many things which I have done. I only bless the Lord for his mercy that he has not cut me off; for even I myself will not have a servant who knows my will and yet does so much against me. It is true God is love and all grace and mercy. My dear minister, about the strong drink, before I received your last letter, I

had made up my mind not to drink again; and may He who has all power help me to give up all that is bad."

In his last illness, which hastened to a fatal close more speedily than was anticipated, he suffered much both mentally and bodily, and seems to have sought the Lord's forgiveness, with deep compunction for his sins. When Dr. Hewan warned him of his danger, and entreated him to think of his soul, he replied, that he had cast himself on the Saviour's mercy; and his anxiety was now about his two children, whom he wished to be brought up by the mission in the good way of God. When reminded that he had forsaken Jesus, he owned it was true, but added, that Jesus had not forsaken him, and had received him in his sickness.

To Ukpabio and Hogan, who were much with him, he said that he had suffered more than he could tell; and that God's dealings with him were wonderful. Five times in one day he had fainted through loss of blood, and five times had been restored, and every time God had showed him that the world was nothing; and he had nothing to give God for his goodness but praise. When one of them had read and prayed with him, and told him that the Lord did not refuse to save, he replied, "I know that all these words you have spoken are the words of God. I have sinned against him most grievously, to drive his word out of my mind, have hardened my neck, and committed many iniquities, that I might forget him and cease to care; yet he has not consented to take his word out of my mind." He wished to see Mr. Robb, who being very ill of fever, could only send him a message to look to Jesus, who was mighty to save; he returned thanks for that good word; and then desired his Christian brethren to pray for him, if God might please to spare him, that he might do his work; but added that his life belonged to God, they must pray that his soul might be saved. When they said that it was good he did not forget the Son of God, he replied, that he could not forget him; if he did, what then could he remember; and, receiving a glass of water, gave God thanks for that and all his goodness.

What a mercy! that the prodigal son, after nearly two years departure from the path of light and life, was brought at last to turn to the Lord and praise his goodness; that he did not die in

stupid insensibility, or wilful rejection of the Saviour! There was hope in his death after all. In mercy perhaps, to himself, and to the Church of God in Calabar, he was removed at that time; yea, it may be in answer to many prayers for both, though not in the way desired. His case, however, is full of warning to the backsliders, and sadly illustrates the text, "The backslider in heart shall be filled with his own ways." If saved he has had the narrowest escape possible for his life, and is a trophy of astonishing grace. He had trifled with convictions and with sins long before his baptism, and concealed them; and when he struggled against his besetting sin did so in his own strength and failed, repented, resolved, and struggled, again and again, and failed, for it had got mastery of him before he heard the word of God. Alas! what havoc does a besetting sin make in the soul. Let young disciples watch and pray lest they enter into temptation; the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.

Two circumstances evinced his continued interest in the mission, even at the time of his greatest defection. John Archibong, King of Duke Town, with the opponents of the mission there and in Creek Town, made great palaver about two of the brethren having gone to Omon without leave, and proposed to break up the stations at Ikunitu and Ikorofiong, and confine the mission to the three towns originally occupied. But Eyo firmly resisted the proposal. His father, he said, had agreed to those towns receiving missionaries, and he would maintain them. He could not oppose the work of God.

Again, when Mrs. Hamilton, after her husband's death, was leaving Calabar with her children, Eyo expressed his sense of her excellent conduct, and his sympathy for her bereavment, by presenting her with four puncheons of oil, for which one of the supercargoes at once gave her a hundred pounds.

Consequent on Eyo's death, two fearful tragedies were enacted in Creek Town. Egbo Eyo, one of the old King's brothers, had in various ways made himself particularly obnoxious to the slave population. He was understood to be an Egbo executioner, and was fit for the work, tall, strong, and lithe, and as hard-featured as he was believed to be hard-hearted; a man who had the blood of his own wives and slaves on his hands. Personally, he had

never offered an incivility to any of us; but he was one on whom we could make no impression. The "blood people" affirmed that this man had a spite against their young master, and by arts of sorcery had procured his death, and they determined he should die. So they broke into his house, shot his favourite concubine, slashed himself and a confidential slave with their macheats, brought them forth to the public market-place, sent for Father Tom, now King Eyo IV., to be present at a palaver on the subject, and finally, after an exhibition of brutal ferocity all day, tormenting him as he had tormented others, they hung him on a tree in the middle of the town. He had an unconquerable spirit, however; and while gashed, and streaming blood all over, he returned taunt for taunt, and jeer for jeer; and at last, having sent to his house for an old cloak which he wrapped round him, he stripped off his cloth, and adjusted it on his own neck for his execution. The missionary brethren did all they could on his behalf; but he was in the hands of inexorable enemies, who delayed their proceedings only till they had hurried their teachers off the ground, unwilling to shock their feelings by falling on him in their presence.

The next day, the late King's half sister, *Inyang*, formerly mentioned, was brought forth, charged by her elder sister, *Ansa*, Eyo's oldest and only full sister, with having procured his death by secret arts. Inyang pleaded her cause with great vigour, and showed the relentless hate with which the other had hunted her life. But she pleaded in vain. The "blood people," perhaps, bore her a grudge from the death of her father, and she was doomed to "chop nut." Her last request was, that if she died, she should be duly buried with her full share of her father's goods; and in two hours she was a corpse. Except these persons, and two others of Egbo Eyo's slaves, partners with him, it was said, in his wicked designs, none others died on that occasion.

Within a few months after she had caused her sister's death, *Ansa* herself was called to the judgment seat of God, and George Eyo, uncle to the late king, a man of no character, soon followed her to the grave. Their deaths happily were not attended by acts of violence. An attempt was, indeed, made to call in the "blood people;" but Eyo Hogan and his company, which might be called the Christian party, determinedly opposed the superstitious zeal of

those who wished to renew former bloody scenes, and succeeded in preserving peace. Mr. Thomson, who spent the following Sabbath at Creek Town, says that they had a quiet and good day; and though the old gentlemen of the town were absent, the church was full of the youth and early manhood of the country, enjoying the word and worship of God, who more than made up for the absence of the others.

It is not the least painful part of this sad narrative of the wreck of the great Eyo family, that the old King's second son, Eshen, a most amiable Christian youth, lost his reason soon after his father's death, and has afforded no hope since of recovery. The light of his present life has been prematurely obscured; but an eternal glory, we believe, awaits him, secured by his divine Redeemer.

In conclusion, I beg leave so far to presume on the patience of my readers, ere bringing this volume to a close, as to offer a few observations on various but not irrelevant topics.

First of all, I must acknowledge, with gratitude, the personal kind attentions and valuable co-operation which I have received from brethren in the ministry, and, indeed, from all classes of the Christian public, in the various parts of the three kingdoms that I have been called to visit, on the different occasions that service or suffering have recalled me to this country. And I feel the more bound to do so, as the hospitality I enjoyed was at times, I fear, a strain on the very limited means which still keep some able and worthy brethren in an embarrassed condition.

A tribute of honourable acknowledgment is also eminently due to the zeal and industry of Christian ladies, full of love for the Lord's cause in both town and country, who, by the skilful and diligent use of their willing fingers, needles, and thread, and the remnants of cloth, and time, as well as by valuable contributions of various other kinds, have, for a series of years, aided our operations, as they only could do, and filled many "boxes" with clothing and other useful kinds of ladies' work, that have turned to excellent account, both in the West Indies and in Africa. It may almost be said that the "mission-box" has become an institution of the church, and a part of every congregation's annual labours.

The increase of the missionary spirit in all branches of the

church of Christ, both in this and other lands, rising like the ocean tide, flowing like an ocean current, becomes every year more and more apparent. And nowhere is it more marked than in that body with which I have had the honour and perfect satisfaction of being so long connected, and among the young. Yet is there room both for increase and improvement in it and others. Too many members still need to be urged and stimulated to the performance of, not optional service, but most obvious duty. They seem too little influenced by a right sense of what they owe to their Lord, too little imbued with that faith and love, and that spirit of prompt obedience, from which all missionary zeal and effort should spontaneously arise. Their givings to the Lord's cause are regarded by some not as a debt, but a gratuity, a work of supererogation. The need of stimulants indicates the want of vital energy. May the present dawn soon brighten to the perfect day, when human efforts of oratory and urgency will not be required to bring forth the church, in all its membership, to the blessed privilege of co-operating with God in evangelizing the nations, and its free-will offerings, like those of the church in the wilderness, will exceed the demand, and require to be stayed.

An increase of patience and persistency in doing the Lord's work is also greatly needed, and it can come only from an increase of faith in Him whose the work is. Fickleness ill becomes His servants. They have no right to prescribe their terms, and withdraw if they be not complied with. Great ardour for some particular field or part of the service, is often followed by langour and indifference. Undue expectations, perhaps, are not quickly realized, and the disappointment leads to neglect, at, perhaps, a critical moment, when perseverance would gain momentous results. People rashly say their labour has been lost, and do their best to make it so. As we see in commerce a rush to any new opening that promises large returns, so is it in missions. New interests throw old ones into the shade, the constancy necessary to success fails, and by a succession of fitful and desultory efforts the great cause is injured, and the grand result delayed. O for the faith and resolution which will sustain us amidst all discouragements, and enable us to hold our ground wherever the standard of our great Captain has been erected, till the victory be won!

The Lord's people should bear to be told of hindrances and delays, of seeming reverses and failures, without losing heart, and need to be told of them, that they may sympathise with their brethren and sisters abroad in hopes deferred, aid them by their prayers and cheers to persevere, and by discovering and correcting errors, prepare to turn defeat into victory. There is a zeal which is mere impatience, an eagerness for immediate results, which listens only to good news, reads only cheering intelligence, contributes only to a prospering cause, and unless it sees signs and wonders will not believe. It indulges a fervid imagination, generalises favourable instances, and is disappointed if the kingdom of God does not immediately appear. They who cherish it want endurance. They prepare disappointment for themselves, and then attribute to misrepresentations what has really sprung from their own misapprehensions and over-sanguine temperaments, forgetting that "He who tholes overcomes."

The kingdom of God still comes without observation, as grows the forest oak, slowly and quietly, but surely, from age to age. The time is not yet for nations to be born in a day, but it is approaching; and the Church of God is preparing for the grand consummation, preparing the world for it, and being herself prepared. The missionary labourers are but breaking up the fallow ground and sowing the gospel seed still in many lands; and while they rejoice in not a few instances of a divine blessing on their work, they count them but as the blade and ear, or, at most, the first fruits of the future harvest of the world. They cannot expect to see in their day the great results of their labours. It might be an unsafe honour. One soweth and another reapeth, both as to individuals and generations. Yet they labour not in vain. They persevere in faith, assured of the promises. Their operations are diversified, and extend over many countries and successive generations, yet all parts of one grand scheme, immense as it is divine, requiring for its evolution the great cycles of the world's history.

The cry of "pentecostal times" is often prematurely heard. The original pentecost was not among the heathen, but the professed people of God, who had been long in preparation for that wonderful effusion of the Holy Ghost. The general dissemination of the knowledge of divine truth previously is necessary, accom-

panied by the impressive commentary of providential dispensations, to prepare materials for the Spirit's work; and both may be long continued before we can expect to see mankind savingly converted in multitudes daily to God. Nothing is, indeed, impossible with Him; yet such has been the order of His operations heretofore.

Multitudinous baptisms and "christenings" may be widely different from a genuine "pentecostal season." There is need for this caution against an error into which many both abroad and at home are liable to fall. Admissions to the church may take place from many causes beside the right one, and be of least value when most numerous. Excitements and delusive enthusiasms are to be expected among mankind, as the time approaches for the grand outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as false Christs multiplied when the real Messiah was expected to appear. Satan transforms himself into an angel of light to deceive; and the same blessed rain which promotes the growth of the good seed favours that of the tares among them. In seasons of religious fervour, which may yet be seen midst the agitations of the transition period, crowds will rush into the church; but the number of real converts to Christ, enlightened in mind, renewed in heart, obedient in life, who will form the living temple of our Lord, may still for ages be comparatively few. The great Apostle of the Gentiles did not boast of the number of his baptisms, nor mark the progress of the kingdom in his day thereby. Christ had sent him not to baptize but to preach the gospel.

It is to the glory of God's wisdom and benignity to educe good out of evil, and to overrule the mistakes of his servants for the accomplishment of his gracious designs. He will call his chosen ones to him from among those who are only nominally his people; and employ the outward and visible church, notwithstanding oftimes its errors, imperfections, and deformities, as a casket for the church spiritual, as the body for the soul. As precious grain with its living germ is wrapped in husks, as the kernel is lodged in a shell, and pulse in a pod, so does God protect his living church, by an outer casing, from immediate contact, rough and hurtful, with the wicked world.

Many think that all missionary converts must be eminent

Christians. On the contrary, they are like babes weak in the new life. We rejoice over them, indeed, as our children in the Lord, and admire the change wrought in them. They often possess the heroic virtues necessary for martyrs, and in some other respects are superior to many church members at home, where Christian profession is common, and the rivalry of denominations fosters laxity of discipline. But no one should expect young mission churches in heathen lands to afford as fine specimens of Christianity as the old and well-cultivated gardens of the Lord, where all advantages are enjoyed, and the most precious fruits and flowers attain perfection. Nor should any one much wonder at the occasional backslidings of our converts into their former manner of life, where all the strongest influences corrupt and demoralize, and tend in every way to draw them aside from the path of holiness. Their temptations and dangers in heathen countries cannot be told in refined moral society. Enough to say that it is a miracle of grace that they stand at all, or are recovered after spiritual declensions.

Surprise has been expressed that the Calabar missionaries did not push their way far inland, to explore the central interior of the continent, as Dr. Livingstone has so well done in the southern. In reply it may be stated, that some of us would have liked that kind of service well, had it seemed our primary duty. But, having gone to Calabar, not as geographical explorers, but Christian teachers, and finding there as much as we could do in that way, we could not leave our work behind and go further to seek it. Yet, in order to prepare for new missionaries passing us inwards, we did penetrate and open the country, as far as we could, without neglecting our proper work. In two respects our position was the opposite of that of the eminent traveller named. Our stations were not destroyed and our teaching labours ended, like his, by hostile invasion; and we were not among a people favourable to our exploratory operations. He, already in the interior, and with the tribes there at his back, helping him to open a new trade road for them to the coast, could more easily find his way out, than we, with the coast tribes opposing, could find our way in. Patience and prudence will, however, do much for gaining the object in view.

I must avail myself of this opportunity to address once more a few words to the young preachers of the gospel in connection with all evangelical churches. They have consecrated themselves to the service of their Lord, and have obtained the necessary qualifications, and the sanction of the office-bearers in the church to their ministry of the gospel; and now, when all ready, they wait, as if they did not know what to do. Should they not hear their Master's voice saying, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" and, like Paul, consider "A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe be unto me if I preach not the gospel." The home church does not need them all; while the world is perishing for lack of their services, and making ready everywhere to receive them. The increasing wealth of our country, and of the Lord's people in it, God's promises, and the growing liberality of the church, assure us that funds will not be wanting; and we may add that the varied climates, circumstances, and necessities of the unevangelized nations, afford scope for all varieties of competent and earnest labourers, whatever may be their tastes, talents, and bodily constitutions.

The openings and opportunities for the preaching of the gospel, in all parts of the earth at this day, present an astonishing and delightful contrast to the state of the world at the beginning of the present century, when the mission cause was young. Then the church hardly knew where to begin, and prayed that God would open the way for his word. Now it is prepared on all sides. In *Europe*, at that time, all Popish and some Protestant countries, not to speak of Russia and Turkey, were closed against evangelistic labours. Now all Protestant and some Popish countries are open to them; and even the Môslem sheathes the scimitar and proclaims freedom of conscience. Italy and Turkey, the seats of the great Antichristian powers, receiving the gospel, is the miracle of our age.

Africa, except at *Sierra Leone* and the *Cape Colony*, was sixty years ago sealed all round against Christianity. Now the Mohammedan power, which forbade it in all the northern states on pain of death, is broken; and the gospel is preached and believed in *Grand Cairo* and *Algiers*. The forts and barracoons of the *slave trade*, along the *Western* and *Guinea* coasts, are supplanted by

missionary stations, and legitimate commerce; and the dreaded pestilential rivers, from the *Gambia* to the *Gaboon*, are become high roads for Christian civilization. The Portuguese colonies, southward, do indeed still present, by their popery and slavery, an impassable barrier; but the word of God has penetrated the interior beyond them, following from the Cape the track of missionary explorers. In *Madagascar* it is again triumphant; and, as we ascend the eastern coast from *Mozambique* to *Zanzibar* and the *Galla* country, we behold the banner of the cross unfurled; and in *Abyssinia* the decayed and corrupted Ethiopic church prepares for a reformation. At hundreds of points on those torrid coasts, where all erewhile was the blackness of darkness, do bright lights of heavenly truth and love now diffuse their glad beams, and invite the long doomed negro race into the comity of nations, and the holy freedom of the church of God.

Asia presents equally marvellous changes to view. The first of our modern missionaries to that continent could scarcely get foot-room anywhere. The ancient eastern churches seemed withered and dead. The Sultans of Western and Central Asia prohibited, under penalty of death, all teaching but that of the Koran, all conversions but to the faith of the Arabian impostor. *Hindostan* was nearly closed against the missionaries of the cross by the base policy of an imperial company of merchants calling themselves British Christians. And the densely populous regions of Eastern Asia, *Burmah*, *China*, and *Japan*, containing one-third the inhabitants of the globe, were utterly unapproachable. The word of the one only living and true God seemed to be the one only thing entirely excluded.

What do we now behold? Christian missionaries everywhere. They traverse the regions of Islamism, preaching the gospel from the Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea, reviving the ancient Nestorian and Armenian churches, and planting Protestant congregations in the principal cities amidst the mosques, with proselytes from the dominant and bloodthirsty creed. *India*, *Burmah*, and *China*, broken into, and almost broken up, by the inroads of fearful providences, are now opened or opening on all sides to the gospel, which begins to have free course and be glorified. Even *Japan* enters into treaty with Christian nations, and sends to

them her ambassadors this year, the first time in her history. We look on amazed, while God, "by terrible things in righteousness," answers the prayers of his people, and accomplishes the ancient prediction, to "prepare the way of the Lord, and make his paths straight." "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill brought low; the crooked places shall be made straight and the rough places plain; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together."

When the various branches of the church of Christ arose in these latter days to the work of evangelizing the heathen, they had to make their attempt, as it were, in the outskirts of creation and humanity, in regions whither only heavenly zeal, and faith, and love would have carried them—among the Esquimaux of Greenland and Labrador, the Hottentots of South Africa, the emancipadoes of West Africa, the savages of the South Sea islands, and the negro slaves of the West Indies. The success of their labours, though long waited for, in these first mission fields, may well animate the Lord's servants to press forward into the wider and more inviting scenes of labour now open, or opening to receive them, with promise of the most glorious results.

Everything conspires to encourage renewed, increased, determined efforts on the part of the Lord's people. The chivalry of old Christendom in these modern crusades is now well supported by that of the new Christendom in North America, whose fresh forces have already in some countries turned the tide of war. Another Christendom also is being formed at the antipodes, in the vast colonies of Australia, which, with the new states on the Pacific shores of America must exercise a mighty and salutary influence on the overflowing populations of eastern Asia; and will hasten on the day when its nations shall cast their idols to the moles and the bats, and perhaps in convulsions and agonies cry out in their dismay, "Where is He that can save?"

Passing the kingdoms of the world thus in review, as when Satan presented them in a glorious panorama to tempt the Son of God, we behold all that he offered about to be won, without the homage that he demanded; all taken out of his hands, not as a gift, but a conquest by One mightier than he. The stately march of Him to whom by right the crown of universal dominion per-

tains, in his benign career, is visible to all eyes. And the forces of many kinds which He calls into operation, especially the overturnings in His providence, and the widely diffused leavening of the gospel, unite to bring mankind to His feet, and confound the calculations of those who reckoned on thousands of years for the spread of Christianity through the world.

It is in this wonderful state of affairs, when the cry is heard from many lands, "Come over and help us," that the church of God renews her appeals to the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into his harvest; and that all old missionaries earnestly and continually solicit the rising ministry and membership of the church to take the urgent claims of the perishing heathen into consideration as before God. We address not the Levitical order alone;—the prophets and apostles were taken from other tribes;—but the converted youth of the Church, who have the love of God in their hearts, whether at college or the plough, the desk, bench, or counter. Those who have spent their lives in the service testify to its excellence, and their happiness. They say that while they could wish for grace to do the work better, they could wish for no better work to do, nothing more worthy of their life's labour. Young brethren in Christ, filled with love to God and man, and noble desires to do something great and good in the world, might clap their hands for joy that they were born in such an age as this, when the whole earth is about to become the kingdom of God, and when they may write their names, not only on the pages of its history, more durably than in brass or marble, but in letters of love on the hearts of myriads of immortal beings. Let them reflect that the command is still binding, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature;" and that the promise is still sure, "Lo, I am with you alway, even till the end of the world."

NOTE.—I am rejoiced to see that my brother, the Rev. Alexander Robb, has given us in a permanent form, previous to his return to Old Calabar, the substance of his addresses on missions in this country. His little volume, entitled "The Heathen World and the Duty of the Church," is well calculated to advance the good cause, and should be universally studied.

APPENDIX.

I. REMONSTRANCE OF JAMAICA PRESBYTERY WITH BAPTIST MISSIONARIES.

Page 196.

Extract from the Minutes of the Jamaica Presbytery, which met at Cocoa Walk, on the 23d of June 1842.

"INQUIRY being made concerning the letter of Remonstrance, from the Presbytery to the Baptist Missionaries, which had been left with our late clerk, in July last year, to be forwarded, and which both the Rev. Wm. Knibb and the Rev. T. F. Abbott have stated had not been received, it appears that owing to the death of our late clerk, so soon after his return from the Presbytery of that period, the letter had not been forwarded, and that it had only lately been recovered. It was, therefore, resolved, that it be forwarded without delay to the Rev. T. F. Abbott, and that in consequence of the public reference which has been made to it of late, both in this country and Great Britain, it be published, and that this minute be prefixed thereto.

"JAMES WATSON, *Clerk.*"

To the Association of Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica.

GOSHEN, July 14, 1841.

DEAR BRETHREN,—We consider it a duty which we owe to God, as his servants in the work of the Gospel,—to you, our fellow-labourers in the same field, and to the people of this country, in relation to their spiritual interests, to expostulate with you against various practices in your churches, which strike us as injurious to the interests of religion. Without any further apology for introducing a subject which has pressed itself on our minds for years, we proceed to notice the different points in detail.

1st, The Leaders—They seem to us to be a body of men unauthorized by any scriptural authority—frequently irregular in their proceedings—responsible at best only to their respective ministers, sometimes to each other—in many cases self-appointed, assuming the office in consequence of bringing numbers of people to join the church, not known, as far as we are aware, in the churches of your body in Great Britain, and who are employed, disclaimed, or discharged, as may

seem convenient. They stand between the ministers and the people, limiting their free and mutual intercourse as much as they can—in many important cases preventing it altogether, and in general, permitting it only through themselves as a medium, whereby ministers and people know very little of each other, except through the misrepresentations of the leaders. The *individual* exercise of their authority appears to us also highly objectionable, whereby they administer discipline in their own classes, and bring forward cases before the church, or keep them back, according to their discretion. They seem to have the people completely under their control, and unless the latter please them in all things, they are understood by the people to have the power of preventing them from being admitted to baptism, or of procuring their expulsion. By this means the people are their humble servants in many, and sometimes very sinful, ways. It is not to be expected that individuals virtually possessed of so much authority, and at the same time so unfit to be entrusted with it, should always employ it in a proper manner. Although in some cases they may be vigilant, and faithful in reporting evils which occur in the church, yet in others abuses are passed over, and when ends of their own are to be served, cases of the grossest wickedness are carefully concealed.

2nd, The keeping up of certain old and hurtful superstitions among the people, particularly the desire for dreams as an evidence of their religious state. In not a few instances, which have come under our notice, they are required by the leader, previous to his taking the people to the minister for baptism. This system, and there are few more injurious to the souls of the people, prevailed at one time in the island generally, especially where such men as Gibb, Clarke, and Lyle laboured: and, notwithstanding the increase of light in the country, it still prevails to a great extent; and there are very many in your churches whose dreams were first approved of by their leader, before they were recommended by him to the minister.

3dly, The facility with which members are admitted into your churches—of the Christian character and attainments of whom it is impossible for you to have a proper knowledge.

4thly, The small measure of intercourse between you and the people of your charge, and the fact that you confine your pastoral labours almost entirely to the public services of the Sabbath—to the exclusion of that family visitation and catechetical instruction which, among an ignorant and uneducated people, is absolutely necessary to the communication of the truth to their understandings.

5thly, The want of careful inquiry into the conduct, both of your leaders and people, and the ease with which reported evils are passed over in your churches—a circumstance which enables guilty individuals to conceal their corrupt and superstitious practices.

6thly, The superstitious importance which many attach to the rite of baptism. We are aware that you tell them that baptism will not save them; but unless their minds are enlightened on the subject to which baptism relates, negative instruction is of very little use.

7thly, We deem it a great evil that you do not maintain the regular public services of religion in your established congregations on the Sabbath; that even your principal churches, with immense congregations, are frequently left without properly-qualified persons to officiate, and that at your out-stations the leaders

should be allowed to prevent the people, in various ways, from receiving instruction from any other quarter.

8thly, We must also give our testimony against the practice, which has long existed among you, of sending tickets by the leaders to persons who do not or cannot attend your ministry. We consider the sale of tickets, for it is such in the eyes of the people, a system of practical simony, and denoting as they do their standing in the church, as members or inquirers, the tickets are frequently made an object of superstitious veneration.

9thly, Another evil we would mention is the effect of your too favourable representations, in misleading the churches in Britain, in regard to the moral and religious condition of the inhabitants of this country. We appeal to yourselves, as to whether this, instead of being an act of friendship, is not one of the greatest evils that can be inflicted on them, as it hinders the churches of Great Britain from going forward in the work of their evangelization.

We have particularly of late felt it our imperative duty earnestly to warn our people against a worldly and covetous spirit. Many of your printed resolutions and proceedings, however, have given encouragement to this spirit; and the style which you keep up is, in many cases, more in accordance with the manner of the rich and great men of this world, than the simplicity which becomes us as Christian ministers.

We trust these remarks will be taken in good part. It is because the subject has, in the course of our labours, repeatedly pressed itself upon our minds, by innumerable facts and incontestable evidence, that we thought of addressing you, and we hope that you will attribute our having done so to a desire to see the country placed, as far as possible, beyond the reach of ignorance or superstition, or anything approaching to spiritual tyranny. In so far as you are engaged in the work of God, and endeavouring to advance the cause of Christ, by scriptural means, we bid you "God speed," and wish you much comfort and success in your labours.—We remain, dear Brethren, yours very faithfully,

(Signed in name of the Presbytery),

PETER ANDERSON, *Moderator.*
WILLIAM SCOTT, *Clerk.*

II. LETTERS FROM KING EYAMBA AND KING EYO ABOUT ABANDONING SLAVE TRADE.

Page 210.

"OLD CALABAR, December 4, 1842.

"To Commander Raymond.

"Now we settle treaty for not sell slaves, I must tell you something, I want your queen to do for we. Now we can't sell slaves again, we must have too much man for country, and want something for make work and trade, and if we could get seed for cotton and coffee we could make trade. Plenty sugar cane live here, and if some man come teach we way for do it we get plenty sugar too, and then some man must come for teach book proper, and make all men saby God like white man, and then we go on for same fashion. We thank you too much for what thing you come do for keep thing right. Long time we no

look Man-of-war as Blount promise, and one Frenchman come make plenty palaver for slave when he can't get them. You been do very proper for we, and now we want to keep proper mouth. I hope some Man-of-war come some time with proper captain all same you to look out and help we keep word when French man-of-war come. What I want for dollar side is fine coat and sword all same I tell you and the rest in copper rods. I hope Queen Victoria and young prince will live long time, and we get good friend. Also I want bomb and shell.—I am, your best friend,

(Signed) "KING EYAMBA V.,
"*King of all Black Man.*"

"CREEK TOWN, December 1, 1842.

"To Commander Raymond, Man-of-War Ship *Spy*.

"I am very glad you come and settle treaty proper, and thank you for doing everything right for me yesterday. Long time I look for some Man-of-war, and when French man come I think he want war, and send one canoe to let you know, but too much wind live for him catch Fernando Po, and no one come help me keep treaty as Mr. Blount promise, and when I no give slaves French Man-of-war come make plenty palaver, but I no will. One thing I want for beg your Queen, I have too much man now, I can't sell slaves, and don't know what for do for them. But if I can get some cotton and coffee to grow, and man for teach me, and make sugar cane for we country come up proper, and sell for trade side I very glad. Mr. Blyth tell me England glad for send man to teach book and make we understand God all same white man do. If Queen do so I glad too much, and we must try do good for England always. What I want for dollar side is proper India Romall and copper rods, I no want fool thing, I want thing for trade side, and must try do good for Queen Victoria and all English woman. I hope Queen and young King can live long time proper, and I am, Sir, your friend." (Signed "KING EYO HONESTY."

III. COMMISSION AND CREDENTIALS.

Page 228.

JAMAICA, January 1845.

To those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire the extension of His blessed Kingdom upon the earth.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We, Presbyterian Missionaries in the Island of Jamaica, beg to introduce to your notice our brother, the Reverend HOPE M. WADDELL, who, after labouring for fifteen years in this island as an agent for the SCOTTISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, is now about to sail for Great Britain on a business which is near to our hearts,—and the mere mention of which, we are persuaded, will gain for it your liveliest interest. You will not wonder to hear that the Churches of Christ in this island have for some years past been deeply impressed with the blessed obligation of sending to their sister islands in the west, and above all, to their fatherland of Africa, that Gospel which they have found to be "the power of God unto salvation." After holding many meetings,—

offering many prayers,—collecting considerable funds, and forming many resolutions,—it seems that the Lord is now calling them, by a remarkable train of the clearest providences, to go forward to the work. The King of Old Calabar, with seven of his chiefs, have sent them a pressing invitation to send teachers to their country. After writing to say, "Come," they now inquire, "Why are you not come?" Many British Christians are equally anxious for an instant commencement of this interesting Mission. Of their anxiety many have given practical proof. They see plainly that the fittest men for the evangelization of Africa are the native Christians of the West Indies, headed, in the first instance at least, by European Missionaries inured to the tropics. Such have now been found able and willing to proceed to the field, and one of the latter class is thus introduced to you in the brother who now leaves us.

It is with much satisfaction that we see Mr. Waddell devote himself to this arduous and honourable work. Suffice it to say, that all the members of the Missionary Presbytery, having some years ago individually pledged themselves as ready to engage in the undertaking if called upon, have now, by universal consent, fixed upon our brother as one in whose qualifications, under God, they have every confidence.

The Native Agents who are to accompany Mr. Waddell will, within a few months, follow him to Britain, in order to proceed with him to Africa. In the meantime, we beg your sympathy and prayers; and are, dear Friends, in the bonds of grace,

(Signed) George Blyth, Hampden, Trelawny.
James Watson, Lucea, Hanover.
John Cowan, Carron Hall, Port Maria.
John Simpson, Port Maria, St. Mary.
William Niven, Stirling, Westmoreland.
James Niven, Friendship, Westmoreland.
Peter Anderson, Bellevue, Trelawny.
James Denniston, Montego Bay, St. James.
Wm. Jameson, Goshen, St. Ann's.
Warrand Carlile, Brownsvill, Hanover.
James Elmslie, Greenisland, Hanover.

From the Governor of Jamaica.

Jamaica S.s.,

I, James, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Captain General and Governor in Chief of this Her Majesty's Island of Jamaica, &c. &c., do hereby certify that the Reverend H. M. Waddell, Presbyterian Missionary, has been well known in this place for many years, as a person of great respectability, and much zeal and devotedness in his calling, exercised principally amongst the descendants of Africans, which form the chief part of the population of this island; and that I cordially wish that he may have much success in communicating the blessings of education and religious knowledge to the native Africans amongst whom it is his desire for a time to labour.

Witness my hand at St. Jago de la Vega, this fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

(Signed) Elgin & Kincardine.

Minute of the Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society.

"The Directors of the Scottish Missionary Society hereby certify, that the Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell has been connected with the Society since April 1825; that for the last fifteen years he has been engaged as a Missionary in Jamaica under the Society, and has there laboured with great zeal, activity, and success; that with their entire concurrence, he is now proceeding as the Agent of the Jamaica Missionary Board for the West Indies and Africa, to the coast of Guinea, with a view to the establishment of a Mission in that important and interesting quarter of the world; and though the Scottish Missionary Society is unable, in consequence of the low state of its funds, to take part in the proposed Mission, he has their most cordial wishes for his success."

Extracted from the minutes by

WILLIAM BROWN, *Secretary.*

Minute of the United Associate Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions, in reference to the Mission to Central Africa.

"STIRLING, April 22, 1854.

"The Committee entered on the consideration of the proposed Mission to Western Africa. Letters were read from the Rev. Mr. Blyth of Jamaica, of date 20th February and 8th March 1845, in which he stated that the brethren in Jamaica joyfully acquiesced in the proposal made by this Committee, to take the Mission to Africa under their superintendence, as a Mission in connection with the United Secession Church, and that the Rev. Hope M. Waddell had left Jamaica for this country on his way to Africa, with the view of making the necessary arrangements for immediately commencing the Mission.

"Mr. Waddell, being present, addressed the Committee at considerable length on this subject. He stated also that the brethren in Jamaica were anxious that young men connected with that island should be trained up with a view to the African Mission, and that some promising youths had already entered on a course of training at the Academical Institution at Montego Bay, under the superintendence of Mr. Millar.

"The Committee resolved to give Mr. Waddell and the other Missionary Agents all the assistance in their power, both in making the preparatory arrangements with a view to the commencement of this Mission, and also in carrying it on after it is commenced."

Extracted from the minutes by

JOHN M'KERROW,
Secretary to the Committee for Missions.

IV. LETTER FROM KING EYO ABOUT RESUMING SLAVE TRADE.

Page 435.

To ——, *Liverpool* . . . .

"OLD CALABAR, June 6, 1850.

"I now write you to-day to say we be glad for supply you with slaves. I speak with King Archibong and all Calabar gentleman, and they be very glad for do same. Regard to free emigration, we man no will go for himself. We must buy him, all same we been do that time slave trade live. We be very glad for all them man to come back again for Calabar, but think that time they go for West Indies, they no will come back here. We all agree to charge four boxes of brass and copper rods for man, woman, and child, but no can supply all you want one time. I think we can get four hundred or five hundred for one vessel, and load her in three or four months, for we no can get them all ready to wait for ship. Ship must lie here, and take them on board as they come, because we no have place on shore for keep them. The ship will have to pay comey to me and Archibong, but no other gentleman—say ten thousand coppers for each town, in cloth or any other trade goods. I be very glad if these terms suit you, for we not be able to do for less price, and man to be paid for with rods. I be very glad you write me again, to make arrangements with your captain what time the ship will come. (Signed) "EYO HONESTY, *King*."

V. ON POLYGAMY IN MISSION CHURCHES.

Pages 486–492.

It has been seen that polygamy and its companion, concubinage, prevail in Calabar, while marriage, properly so called, is unknown. Those whom we term a man's wives, he in that country calls his women—no proper word for *wife* being in his language, nor anything exactly corresponding to it in the state of society. His women are of two classes, however—greater and less—whom we distinguish as wives and concubines. The former are free, presented to him in their infancy by their parents, and accepted with some ceremonies when of fit age. Their marriage implies no formal or binding engagements of any kind; though it is understood, of course, naturally, that faithfulness and obedience are due on the wife's part, support and protection on his. The entire dependence of wives there on their husbands for all things, lay them under life bonds for their good behaviour, while he remains free to act as he likes in all respects. A chief keeps his wives in strict seclusion, sometimes in idle state, according to the rank of both parties; and their duty is in turn, each a week, to attend to the preparing of his food. But the inferior class of inmates, his concubines—young, his own choice, and constantly about him as attendants—receive the greatest part of his favours. If the latter become mothers, they rank with wives, and are free, with their children. If they do not, they are soon set aside to make way for others. Wives, even if unfruitful, as is commonly the case, retain their position, apartments, and allowances, during good behaviour, and take their weekly turns in waiting on him, but obtain little of his regards, even

on these their only opportunities, and have the pain of seeing themselves gradually superseded by the increasing number of their rivals. They may be discarded, or even killed, for certain causes, of which he is sole judge; but they may also leave him, if their relatives are able and willing to receive them back, provided they take nothing away.

The utter contrariety of such a system to the proper marriage relation forbade our regarding these parties as indissolubly bound in wedlock, if either should believe the gospel. We concluded, therefore, that, in such a case, a man should keep only one of the so-called wives, one who had borne him children, as his proper wife, and should cease to associate with the rest in that character. We resolved, however, that he should not cast out any to want and shame, but maintain the others honourably as before, so long as they might be pleased to stay with him, leaving them free to form new connections. Thus he would release himself from sinful entanglements, without breaking faith with them, or putting them in a worse position than before.

Our opponents in Calabar, both white and black, as we have seen, defended the system of polygamy. Had they been its only defenders, this *Appendix* would not have been deemed necessary. But I am sorry to find that others, of a very different character, have attempted both to palliate the abominable system, and to plead for heathen converts being allowed to continue its connections, if formed previous to their conversion.

The author of the "History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen," fills nearly ten pages, in the Appendix to the third edition of his otherwise valuable work, with quotations from a London publication and a Calcutta periodical, supported by remarks of his own, to show the lawfulness of polygamy, and that there is no intrinsic moral evil in it. He concurs in the conclusion of the latter, that, when a man has been married in the way of his country to wives and concubines, there is nothing in the character of polygamy, or the institution of Christianity, that demands the putting away of any of them.

Opposed to these views, I submit, not only the character of polygamy presented in this volume, but the following general observations, though they may contain nothing new or peculiar.

The first pair in Eden, the four pair in the Ark, and the equal numbers of the sexes still born into the world, sufficiently prove the design of the Creator, that "every man should have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." The declaration of God at the beginning, renewed by Jesus Christ, "they twain shall be one flesh," and the blessing of increase given to the first pair, confirm it, and prove that one wife was considered, by Him who made them, enough for one man, for every proper purpose.

Polygamy contravenes this divine arrangement, and introduces ruinous disorder and monstrous injustice. Every man who has more than one wife has more than his share, and deprives others of theirs. If half the men in the world had only two each, the rest would have none, and must be killed or enslaved to prevent universal adultery. The women would be equally defrauded, deprived of the full possession of their husbands, and of the intimate union that God designed them for. Only between a pair can the conjugal relation properly exist. "They twain"—not, they three, or four, or ten—"shall be one flesh."

It is morally impossible that a man and several wives can become one in the proper sense. They cannot, as it were, grow into each other, and become iden-

tified in all the sympathies and interests of body and soul, for time and eternity, as a man and one wife can and should do. Why not? Because, for one thing, the different women cannot with each other, even if they could with their common husband. But this latter also is impossible; for the want of sole and entire love necessarily produces want of perfect sympathy and confidence. They are fragments bound together, it may be, but not one.

That polygamy is unfavourable to increase is evident enough wherever it prevails, without investigating all causes, in the disproportion between the females and the offspring. Many so called wives bear no children, many others few; and of those born too few reach maturity, from want of proper *paternal* care, and the operation of enmities among them and their mothers.

The intimate life union of a rightly married couple harmonizes perfectly with that sense of shame, and those feelings of chastity, which distinguish human beings from all other animals in the relations of sex, and instead of destroying, fosters them, and promotes the moral dignity of our species. Polygamy, on the contrary, violates the sacred purity of modesty, and promotes licentiousness in mind and manners.

The pernicious effects of the system are generally visible in the same way among the offspring. To obtain a godly seed (Mal. ii. 15) was man restricted to one female companion. The contrary practice produces a corrupt race, precocious in impurity, and regardless of the sanctities of domestic intercourse and family ties.

Our Lord recognised one wife only as lawful, and charged with adultery him who took a second, while the first lived and was faithful (Matt. xix. 5–9). His words (v. 28) do also forbid the whole system of polygamy and its invariable accompaniment, concubinage. The Apostle also prohibits it, by requiring every man to have his own wife, and every woman her own husband, and by ever referring to the wife in the singular number (1 Cor. vii. 2). We consider the injunction (1 Tim. iii.) to bishops and deacons, to be each the husband of one wife, to apply to them, not exceptionally, but supereminently, as examples to the church, as they were to be patterns in all things, and, therefore, to determine the Christian practice. Was the minister of the church alone to be limited to one, and were private Christians free to keep several? By the same rule, then, they only were to be sober and of good behaviour, not quarrelsome nor covetous, and to rule their own houses well; and private Christians would be released from these and all other moral duties. Then what nice Christians they would all be! In all respects the bishop and deacon were to be, not singular, but pre-eminent. This only difference may we conceive, on the particular point under consideration, that while other converts might have reformed their households, and purified their domestic relationships, the ministers of the church were to be such as had never been involved in the prevailing gross immoralities, nor liable to the reproach and temptation arising from former vile connections.

The frequent instances of polygamy in Old Testament times, practised by some of God's chosen people, though contrary to the rule, do not supersede it. As exceptional cases to a great general law, they can form no example for our imitation, and have become warnings, since our Lord and his apostles confirmed the original institution of marriage. His words, in a nearly analogous case, apply here: "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, gave you this precept; but from the beginning it was not so." Permission does not constitute

approval; and the candour with which the book of God tells the errors of his people, must not be taken as designed to encourage our imitation of them. If a good man's example be in itself an authority, any man may take his sister to wife, as did Abraham, or two sisters, as did Jacob, and their maids, too. The bigamy, the incest, the concubinage, had all equally the seeming approbation of God. They were at that time, to some extent, sins of ignorance, which God winked at, but subsequently condemned. The heathen still practise all these confusions and pollutions. May missionaries allow them—one, or all?

The state of Israel in Canaan was peculiar, and so were some of the ordinances that God gave them. No people now can be as they were, nor do as they did, in all respects. When all males and all wives were to be slain among their enemies, lest they should propagate idolatry, the young virgins were spared to become wives and mothers in Israel. It was mercy to spare them. It would have been cruel, having spared them, to cast them loose on the country to live by harlotry. The only alternative was to introduce them to the families of their conquerors as domestics, even at the risk of their becoming concubines, but under necessary and merciful regulations. That which was the best course at the time is not one imposed on Christian nations now, because its alternatives are neither obligatory nor inevitable. Under certain circumstances, brothers were required to take their widowed sisters-in-law to wife. In some countries they do so still. Must missionaries allow it, because it once had a divine sanction? Divorce for insufficient causes was allowed and regulated by law, and was valid till Christ came. Yet it was merely a concession to circumstances, contrary to the great original law of wedlock (Matt. xix. 8, 9), and was repealed by our Saviour. The Law Maker may admit exceptions, without being a law breaker, but none other can; and missionaries, in propagating the gospel, must avoid Patriarchal and Mosaic peculiarities.

David, it is said, had divine authority for his great female establishment, when God said to him, "I gave thy master's wives into thy bosom;" and the question is asked, "Can we suppose God giving more wives than one to David, if it was sin in David to take them?" If we look three verses lower down, we find God again saying to David, "I will take thy wives, and give them to thy neighbour before thine eyes." Was Absalom justified in taking his father's wives? So far as this argument goes, he had as much right to do so, since God says he gave them to him, as David had to take Saul's. But Paul forbids them (1 Cor. v. 1).

David, who was condemned for his dealings with Bathsheba, was not blamed, we are told, for adding her to his harem afterwards, but the contrary; for while the offspring of the former died, that of the latter was exalted to the highest honour. On the same ground, however, it might be pleaded that Lot's infamous proposal concerning his daughters, and their horrid treatment of him, were blameless; for not only were they uncensured, but their descendants became great peoples, and one of them, Ruth, a progenitress of our blessed Lord. By the law of God, both David and Bathsheba should have been publicly stoned to death; but their punishment was commuted (2 Sam. xii. 13, 14). Did God make void his own law, or repeal it? or, for reasons of state, remit the penalty? The case was exceptional, and shows that we cannot follow Old Testament practices in the New Testament age. The times past of such ignorance God winked at; but they are past, and now he commandeth all men everywhere to repent. May Christian missionaries re-introduce them?

The *Calcutta Observer*, so approvingly quoted by the Historian of missions, and but for whom we might never have known or referred to it, pleaded that a man, having taken wives and concubines according to the custom of his country, had no right to put them away, or even diminish ought of their just claims. We admit that a man has no right to diminish the just claims of his wife (1 Cor. vii. 3, 5), and, therefore, we condemn polygamy; for every new wife is a new claimant and competitor, to diminish and exhaust the supply due to the first alone. As to putting them away, let us apply the rule to similar establishments, unhappily, not quite unknown in this country. When a repentant libertine marries a legal wife, must he retain the ladies "whom he had previously loved and cherished, and who have become the mothers of his children?" If it would be "monstrous and unnatural" in India to give them a separate maintenance, and permission to marry other husbands, it must be equally so in England. If our English way in such cases be right, the Indian is wrong—unless marriage be regarded, not as of divine authority, but as a local custom, which, like costume, may vary in different countries, and be right in all.

The writer in the "Observer" pictures a scene of polygimal peace, purity, and love, such as a Christian home may present, but not likely to be found in the household of a man who stimulates the insatiable passion by a sublunary Mohammedan paradise. He adds, "Let him live as the ancient patriarchs did, in a holy and faithful fulfilment of all the duties of marriage, alike with all his wives, and not entertain the monstrous and unnatural purpose of injuring those he loved," &c., by putting them away, "for no fault of theirs, on his becoming a Christian." We pass over the peculiar way in which a Hindoo's conversion to Christianity is referred to, and ask what ancient patriarchs does he thus hold up as pattern polygamists. Not Noah, nor Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Job, nor Joseph, nor Moses. They were holy and faithful, but to one wife alone. Is it Jacob or Judah; David or Solomon? Their family histories should warn others, as wrecks do ships to avoid rocks and shoals.

The work we have quoted says, that "the missionaries are of opinion that the very allowance which God, through Moses, made for the Jews in their infant state as a people, is, by parity of reason, to be made now for polygamists, who from heathens become Christians." Whether this reference to the "Calcutta missionaries" was warranted or not, we know that the law of God, as taught by Christ and his Apostles, is our guide, and not the allowances that Moses made for the Jews. No "parity of reason" can be pleaded for deviations from it without a parity of authority. We are not in the place of Moses, and dare not adopt what was peculiar to his economy. If any missionaries, too eager to multiply seeming converts, act on such loose views, it becomes the more necessary for others to protest against them, and bring the practice to the test, not of local or temporary expediency, but of "the law and testimony." If such a system be admitted in the Church, it will never be expelled the country. If winked at in the outset, ages may not see the end of the evil. If allowed in the fathers, how can it be condemned in the sons? One generation will transmit the corruption to another, and the heathen world around will confirm the evil.

It is astonishing to find eminent bishops holding opinions similar to those we have impugned, arising, we believe, from practical ignorance of the real question. A friend has handed me the following extracts of a correspondence on the subject, that appeared some years ago in this country:—The bishop of *Natal* says, "In

the case of a native convert having more wives than one, the Christian system does not require him to repudiate any of them." His brother of *Norwich* adds, "I am persuaded that St. Paul would have done what the bishop decided on doing." The venerable father of *Dublin* seems to concur, but in these doubtful terms, "People are apt to confound together the making of a contract which, by Christianity, is not allowable, and the keeping of a contract which, when it was made, was lawful."

One source of error in this question is, that "people are apt to confound" heathen and Christian wives and [illegible] d reason concerning them as if were quite the same. We h[illegible] ifferent they are at Calabar, and from missionaries in *Natal* [illegible] they are in that colony. The [illegible]y there is described as a horri[illegible] f vileness and oppression, utterly [illegible] to any Scriptural view of the [illegible] system. Even the bishop, if he [illegible] sisters, sisters-in-law, and nieces, [illegible] the wives of a professed convert, [illegible] probably admit that the Christi[illegible] m did require him to repudiate some of them. Yet these relationships [illegible] wherever polygamy exists, and rest on the same ground. He should have [illegible] us if the converts *may* retain all their wives, with leave to discard them at pleasure; or if they *must* retain them, discarding none but for unfaithfulness. The difference is great. The bishop's views of the Christian system will certainly admit that, as a dispensation of the Spirit, it raises the standard of holy living far above what the Jewish Church knew, and requires such a sanctification of heart and life as will compel the repudiation of whatever is contrary thereto.

The Archbishop is not usually ambiguous, yet he makes a distinction between the making and keeping of contracts, which seems to imply that Christianity may require a man to keep an immoral one, which it would not have allowed him to make, provided only that it agreed with the law and custom of the country, where and when made. Such an opinion involves the consequence that missionaries must recognise the validity of all prior engagements in all countries, and hold their converts bound by them, without inquiring into their character or conformity to the laws of God. What, then, will they not have to sanction? The only alternative is to test every engagement by the one universal and infallible standard of right and wrong—the word of God.

The making of a contract must be proved, however, before we bind parties to keep it: and polygamy does not trouble itself with binding contracts. The men can really promise nothing to the women beyond board and lodging. If they did it would be with the full purpose of breaking their promise by every additional wife. The women know it, and expect no promise of matrimonial fidelity. Indeed, they are not contracting parties in heathen and Mohammedan countries; but the victims of avarice, lust, or power, disposed of by their parents without regard to their feelings or recognition of any rights. For or against them no contract can be pleaded equivalent to that of a Christian marriage. If a contract for support and protection be all that the venerable father has in view, a Christian convert can fulfil it, without defiling himself and the church, troubling his conscience, and grieving the Holy Ghost, by a continued course of fornication and adultery.

In one word, we need never attempt to propagate the gospel by putting new wine into old bottles, building the temple of God on heathen foundations, or going halves with the devil to win him over to our side.

VI. NOTES ON THE EFIK LANGUAGE.

A few observations on the language of Old Calabar will not be out of place here, and to some readers will be particularly acceptable. They are designed, however, merely to give some general ideas of its principal distinctive forms and features, and to direct philological inquirers to the grammar and dictionary prepared by my brother, the Rev. Hugh Goldie.

The Efik tongue seems to have little or no affinity with the languages which prevail south of the equator, called the *Nilo Hamitic*. What relation it may have to the other great division of African languages, the *Nigro Hamitic* remains yet to be determined on a further acquaintance with them. In giving it a written form, we found no need to adopt any other set of characters than those of our own language. They expressed it pretty well; and the substitution of any other symbols would have produced unnecessary confusion among a people resolved to read and write, as well as speak English. Its orthography we arranged in the simplest manner, using as few letters as possible, and so that every letter shall be fully sounded, except in a few diphthongs. The prevailing vowel sounds are, as in *far, get, ravine, nor, full.* Of the consonants, C, J, L, V, X, and Z, are not in the language. H is a guttural; G, always hard; B and P are confounded; D and R, interchanged; M and B, often combined, as also are N and D; while K is the prevailing letter of the alphabet; *ng* sound as one, as in sing, singer, singing. The sounds of the language are not unpleasing, neither too soft from excess of vowels, nor harsh from the want of them,—there being a due alternation of them and consonants.

The Efik is a simple and primitive tongue in many respects, of Shemitic character. Though defective, as the unwritten language of an unlettered people might be expected to be, it has such a grammatical structure as renders it capable of great improvement.

The imperatives singular of verbs are the roots both of the verbs and of the language. These, in their primitive form, are chiefly monosyllables and dissyllables, and always begin with a consonant. The *primitives* may be arranged thus in five classes, distinguished by the order of their vowels and consonants:—

da, take.	*ban*, sharpen.	*bia*, accuse.	*biak*, hurt.	*baba*, straiten.
de, sleep.	*ber*, turn.	*dia*, eat.	*biat*, spoil.	*beri*, lean on.
di, come.	*bok*, feed.	*due*, err.	*dian*, join.	*duri*, put on.
ka, go,	*dat*, ripen.	*duo*, fall.	*duat*, rebuke.	*turo*, praise.
ma, love.	*dep*, rain.	*sia*, sneeze.	*ffok*, know.	*siri*, close up.
no, give.	*kom*, thank.	*sua*, hate.	*siak*, split.	*yara*, cover head.

Derivatives are formed from all these classes but the first, by the addition of a vowel or syllable. Some verbs of the second and fourth form, with a vowel, almost the only passive voice known in the language, which has also a reflexive effect, like the Greek middle voice, or Hebrew Hithpahel. *Re* added to that vowel makes the sense reversive. Thus—*buk*, bury; *buka*, buried; *bukare*, unbury. *Wang*, wind round; *wanga*, embraced; *wangare*, unwind; unclasp. *Dian*, join; *diana*, joined; *dianare*, disjoin. Some verbs of the fifth change their final vowel to make a passive voice. Thus, *beri*, lean; *bere*, leaned; *berere*, unlean. *Duri*, put on; *duro*, be on; *durore*, take off. Words of the third class

take a syllable, and therewith a change of meaning, but become neither passive, reflexive, nor reversive. Thus, *bia*, tell tales; *biangu*, deceive. *Sue*, revile; *suene*, affront; *sia*, sneeze; *siama*, suck teeth.* *Tie*, sit, continue; *tiene*, follow. Of this class, however, many cannot be traced to their primitives. Many primitives of the other classes also form no derivates. The genius of the language, however, admits of their being constructed when required, and easily understood.

The verbs are conjugated by prefixes; namely, for the persons, letters, and for the moods and tenses, syllables, and auxiliary verbs, which become incorporated with the radical word. The pronominal prefixes are, for the first, singular, *m* or *n*; plural, *i*; for the second and third singular, *a*, *o*, or *e*, to accord with the radical vowel; the plural always *e*. These prefixes render the use of the pronouns less frequent than they would otherwise be. Example—2d sing., imp., *ka*, go; *nka*, I go or went; *aka*, thou, he; *ika*, we; *eka*, ye, they, go or went.

The *aorist* of the verb is the tense mostly used, as a narrative or conversational tense, as in the example given, serving for present or past somewhat generally. The *present definite* is formed by the prefix *ma*, *me*, or *mo*, according to the radical or accented vowel; and the *past definite* by *ka*, *ke*, or *ko*. Thus—*Nam*, do; *mmanam*, I am doing; *amanam*, thou, he; *imanam*, we; and *emanam*, ye, they are doing. So also, *nkanam*, I did; *akanam*, *ikanam*, *ekanam*.

The *future* is formed by *ye* and *di*; thus *nyenam* and *ndinam*, I shall or will do; *eyenam* and *edinam*, thou, he, &c. The *conditional mood* is formed by *me*, if, and *kpe*, might; *nkpanam*, I might do; *me nkpanam*, if I might do; *akpanam*, thou, he might do. The infinitive prefixes *ndi*, as *ndinam*, to do.

The verb often takes the suffix *de*, when a relative pronoun is the nominative, or when it is construed with certain adverbs and conjunctions. The reason is yet unknown. Thus—He does *Enye anam*. He who does *Enye emi anamde*. Because I did *kodo nkanamde*.

While avoiding grammatical minutiæ, and pointing out only the chief features of the language, we must notice the negative form, which every verb is capable of assuming. For this end, it takes the suffix *ke*, sometimes changing it to *ge*, *he*, *ha*, or *ko*, to suit the word; and it alters the pronominal prefixes of the second and third person of both numbers into *u* for the second, and *i* for all the others. Thus, *dep*, buy; *ndepke*, I bought not; *udepke*, thou; *idepke*, he, we, ye, they, bought not. So of other parts of the verb, except the imperative, which becomes prohibitive. Thus—*Kudep*, don't buy; *nkudep*, I must not buy; *okudep*, he must not; *ikudep*, we, &c. *Ka*, go; *kuka*, don't go; *nkaka*, I go, or went not; *ukaha*, thou; *ikaha*, he, &c. *No*, give; *nnoko*, I gave not; *unoho*, thou; *inoho*, he, &c.

There is a frequentative or intensive form which may be just alluded to. *Ne*, give; *nono*, give entirely. *Nanam*, continue doing; *ananam*, he worked constantly. *Fiok*, know; *nkofofiok*, I knew it well. *Kup*, hear; *ikukup*, he heard perfectly.† *Bara*, blow; *ofim ababara*, the wind blows strongly. *Sua*, hate; *asasua*, he hates greatly. The negative form of the intensive is thus expressed, *mflokkeflok*, I have no certain knowledge. *Wak*, many, and *fon*, good; *Iwakkewak*, *ifonkefon*, neither very many, nor very good.

Nouns are formed from the roots of verbs by prefixes. These are generally vowels, sometimes *m*, or *n*, *edi*, *mbu*, and *andi*. Thus, *no*, give; *ano*, a gift;

* A contemptuous sound with the tongue and teeth.

† This word is distinguished from *okikup*, he must not hear, by the accented vowel.

ma, love; *ima*, love; *su*, lie; *nsu*, a lie; *bok*, feed; *ubok*, a hand; *bre*, play; *mbre*, play; *dia*, eat; *udia*, food; *tie*, sit; *itie*, a seat; *bak*, fear; *edibak*, terror; *mek*, choose, *mbumek* greed; *nam*, do; *andinam*, a doer; *nyanga*, save; *andinyanga*, the Saviour. *Duri*, put on, add; *uduri*, profit.

Efik *nouns* have no declension for gender or case, and when they undergo any change for number it is by prefixing *m* or *n*; thus *ete*, father, and *eka*, mother; plural, *mete* and *meka*; *aubong*, a chief man; plural, *mbong*; *ikpat*, a foot; plural, *nkpat*. Sometimes the adjective alone indicates the plural. Thus, *eti*, good, and *owo*, a person; *nti owo*, good people. The cases of nouns is indicated by their position, the nominative preceding the verb, objective following it. The *possessive* case, in like manner, thus, chief of the town, *aubong obio*; a man of God, *owo Abasi*; master of the house, *ete ufok*.

Adjectives are formed for the most part like the nouns from the root of the verb; thus, *nyan*, stretch out; *anyan*, long. *Kpong*, leave alone; *ikpong*, solitary; *dia*, eat; *ndidia*, eatable; *biak*, hurt; *edibiak*, painful. The same word often serves both as a noun and an adjective; thus, *ifu*, indolence; *ubwene*, poverty, *owo ifu*, an indolent man; *owo ubwene*, a poor man. A noun repeated serves as an adjective, *mbat*, mud; *mbat mbat*, muddy; *mbom*, pity; *mbom mbom*, sorrowful.

Like the nouns the adjectives have no inflection but for the plural, and even that not regularly. It is formed by *m* or *n* prefix, or by a change of the initial vowel, as, *eti*, good, plural, *nti*; *idiok*, bad, plural, *midiok*; *anyan*, long, plural. *inyan*; *afia*, white, plural, *mfia*; *eren*, a male, plural, *iren*; *eiye*, beautiful, plural, *ndiye*.

Degrees of *comparison* are thus expressed: *eti*, good; *eti eti*, very good; *eti akan*, surpassing good; *ata eti*, supremely good.

Numerals reckon by five, ten, fifteen, and twenty. Only the first five with nine, ten, fifteen, and twenty have their own names. All the rest are combinations and repetitions of these, much like the Roman numeral letters. Thus, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, are *ket*, *iba*, *ita*, *inang*, *itiun*. Six is five and one, *itioket*; seven is five and two, *itieba*; eight is five and three, *itiata*; nine, *osuket*, is exceptional; ten, *duup*; eleven, *duupeket*; twelve, *duupeba*, and so on to fifteen, *ifut*; sixteen, *ifuriket*, and so on to twenty, *edip*; twenty-one, *edipyeket*, &c., and thus it repeats to forty, *aba*; sixty, *ata*; eighty, *anang*, and a hundred, *ikie*. *Osuket*, nine, is a peculiar word. It means *one left*, which suggests the idea of a person counting yams, or such like, and another marking the numbers. He throws two at a time, and at the ninth throw cries *osuket*, to give notice that the next throw will be "tally," when the *score* must be marked. It does not occur at nineteen, which is *ifurenang*, fifteen and four, and it enters into no combination. Twenty and nine is *edipyeosuket*; thirty and nine, *edipyifurenang*, twenty, and nineteen.

The *ordinals* are wanting in Efik. It has, however, two other complete sets of numerals systematically expressed, of which English has but the rudiments. Thus the *aggregates* are formed by the prefix *mb* to the cardinals, as *mbiba*, the two or both; *mbita*, all three; *mbinang*, all four; *mbitiun*, *mbitioket*, &c. to any length. So also, for twice, thrice, four times, &c., *ika* is prefixed, ikaba, ikata, ikanang, ikotiun, ikotioket, &c., to any extent.

The Calabar people reckon also by signs. A finger held up is one; two, three, or four, represent similar numbers. A clenched hand means five, with a finger

six, with two seven, &c., till both hands are clasped, for ten. A finger is added for eleven, and so on to fifteen, when the arm is bent and the hand touches the shoulder. At twenty a finger is waved in front of the breast, and the reckoning goes on as before to thirty, when the hands are clapped and the finger waved. At forty two fingers are waved, and at fifty the hands are clapped again. So it proceeds by gestures to a hundred, when the closed fist is waved, and the dumb show ends.

Though the adjectives are usually placed before the nouns which they qualify, the numerals are placed after them, as, ten men, *owo duup*.

The PRONOUNS exhibit some degree of inflection, and are not very deficient in number. The *personal* are these—First singular nom. *ami;* possessive and objective, *mi;* plural, *nyin*. Second singular nom. *afu*, pos. *fu*, and ob. *fi;* plural, *mfu*, or *mbfu*. Third singular nom. and ob. *enye*, and pos. *esie;* plural, *mo*. The *possessive* are *okimmo*, mine; *okuomo*, thine, and *esiemo*, his own; plural, *ekenyin*, ours; *ekembufu*, yours; *ekemo*, theirs. The *relative* are—singular, *idemmi*, myself, *idemfu*, and *idemesie;* plural, *idemnyin*, *idembufu*, and *idemmo*. *Relatives* are—*emi*, *eke*, and *se*, who, which, what. *Interrogatives* are *Anie?* who? *Efe* or *ewe?* which? *Su* or *nsu?* what? *Demonstratives* are *emi* and *odo*, this and that; *efen*, *eken*, *ewen*, another, others. *Imo* and *mimo* are peculiar pronouns used in reporting speeches, as when a messenger relates what passed between him and another, or others. They serve to avoid the too frequent repetition of the personals, and conduce to perspicuity.

ADVERBS are usually formed from verbs, nouns, adjectives; thus, *tak*, perish; *taktak*, utterly; *mbre*, play; *mbrembre*, playfully; *anyan*, long; *anyananyan*, lengthwise. Or the want of them is supplied by a periphrasis, as, then, *ke ini odo*, *at that time;* when, *ke ini ewe? at what time?* Some adverbs take the pronominal prefixes of the verbs they belong to, and the prefix auxiliaries of moods and tenses. Thus, *nyung*, also. I also went, *Ami nnyung nka*. Thou also, *Afu onyungaka*. We will also go, *Nyin iyeinyung ika*. They should also go, *Mo ekpenyung eka*.

The PREPOSITIONS are only two, *ye* and *ke*. The former meaning *with*, serves also for the conjunction *and*. The latter serves for various others, and some even contrary senses, as—for, from, to in, into, out, of, by, &c. In speaking English the natives use *for* instead of it. In their own speech the verbs and other words of the sentence define the meaning of *ke* with sufficient accuracy, though in their broken English the incessant *for* is often obscure.

The CONJUNCTIONS are pretty numerous, but there is no exact equivalent for *and*. *Ye* connects nouns only; *ndien*, *Then*, verbs and sentences.

There are no ARTICLES in the language.

The following words, which occurred unsought, are so like both in sound and sense to some of other languages, that it is interesting to note them.

Ami, I. Heb. *Ani*, אני.
Siera, day dawn. Heb. *Sheher*, שחר.
Quora, call out, cry. Heb. *Kra*, קרא.
Sak, laugh. Heb. *Zehek*, צחק, e.g. *Isaac*.
Tam, cease. Heb. *Tamam*, תמם.
Kara, encircle. Heb. *Kkr*, ككר. Arab. *Kur*, كور.
Ebiet, a place. Heb. *Beth*, בית.
Enyin, eye. Heb. *Oin*, עין. Old Eng. *eyne*.
Nuha, bow. Lat. *nuo*. Greek, *νεύω*.

Ndien, and, then. Lat. *deinde.*
Dia, eat. Lat. *edo.*
No, give. Lat. *do.*
Kodo, because. Lat. *quod.*
Idem, body, self, same. Lat. *idem.*
Ma, love. Lat. *amo.*
Tot, increase. Lat. *tot, totus.*
Ke, by, from. Lat. *ex.*
Eke, which. Lat. *qui, que.*
Dauha, speak. Lat. *dico.*
Fege or *Feghe*, flee. Lat. *fugo.*
Se, look. Eng. *see.*
Oruk, species. Eng. *race.*
Imum, dumbness. Eng. *mum.*
Siungi, abuse. Eng. *slang.*
*Duri, dudi.** Eng. *draw.*
Kpohi, vomit. Eng. *puke.*
Tiene, follow. Eng. *tend, attend.*
Otu. Eng. *out of.*
Kere, think. Eng. *care.*
Bet. Eng. *bide, wait.*
Kok. Eng. *hawk*-spit.
Tuk. Eng. *touch.*
Dibe. Eng. *dip.*
Bre. Eng. *play.*
Esian. Eng. *shin*-bone.
Ka. Eng. *go.* Scot. *gae.*
Uduri, profit, an addition. Irish, *duroch.*
Dumo, prove, judge. Eng. *deem, doom.*
Si. Eng. *hiss.*
Sia, since. Old Eng. *sith.*
Dok. Eng. *dig* up.
Eduat. Eng. *a dart.*
Sme. Eng. *smear.*
Kpe. Eng. *pay.*
Kpuk, nkpuk, a knot, wart. Scot. *puk, pok.*
Suene, to shame. Old Eng. *shend.*

The Lord's Prayer in Efik, with the literal English, clause by clause.

Ete nyin emi odude ke enyong (Our Father who lives on high), *Nam enying fu akpun* (make thy name great) *akan enying pupru efen* (beyond all other names). *Di Edidem ke ererimbut* (Come King of the world). *Nam owo pupru ke isong enam se afu amade* (Make all people on earth do what thou likest), *ntemi ikod fu ke enyong enamde* (as thy people on high do). *No nyin udia emi nyin ididiade mfin* (Give us food which we shall eat to-day.) *Dahado ke idiok ngpo emi nyin inamde* (Forgive [literally *stand off*] for the bad things which we do), *ntemi nyin idahado ino mo* (even as we forgive to those) *emi enamde nyin idiongpo* (who do us evil). *Ku yak nyin ikup mbukpeba* (Let us not hear temptation). *Nyanga nyin fep ke ibak ekbo Satan* (Save us quite from the evil spirit Satan). *Kodo pupru ngpo ke enyong ye isong enyenede fi* (because everything on high and on earth belongs to thee); *afu omonyung akara pupru ererimbut nsi nsi. Amen.* (Thou also rulest [literally, *encirclest*] all the world for ever and ever. Amen.)

The following additional remarks on the language, and comparison of words, have been obligingly furnished by my brother, Rev. Alex. Robb, more competent for such studies than I am:—

The one language used by men till the confusion (Gen. xi.), was the matter out of which the many tongues of our day have been formed. As the primitive rocks gave rise to later ones, and these to others, by successive disruptions, disintegrations, and combinations, so the confusion at Babel, the dispersion of the race, and ever varying scenes, climates, and conditions, have, under divine providence, and the restless action of the human mind, disrupted, disintegrated, and recombined the primitive language, producing the present vast variety of human dialect. And as fragments of the primitive rocks are found imbedded in succeeding strata, so we find fragments of the primitive tongue imbedded in the

* In this and other words the meaning is the same as the English word given.

Shemitic, Japhetic, and Hamitic formations. Chevalier Bunsen thought that the dialects of Ham preserve more of these fragments than any others do. The following examples from the Efik are so like those with which they are compared from the Shemitic (Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, or Ethiopic), and from the Japhetic (Sanscrit or Gothic, and its offspring the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic), that philologists may be disposed to allow their claim to be of the tongue that came out of Noah's ark. Although we stake nothing on these examples, yet we venture to say that there are things in philology which have less of verisimilitude.

The following principles must be kept in mind:—1. That vowels are not considered; 2. That letters of the same class are interchangeable; 3. That letters are often transposed, inserted, affixed, prefixed, or omitted, for the sake of euphony; and that these things are true of all languages.

The Shemitic words in the following list are written in italics, the Hebrew *Aleph* being represented by *h*; *He* by h^1; *Cheth*, by h^2; and *Ayin*, by h^3. When the dialect is not named, it is *Hebrew*; and when the meaning of a word is not added, it is the same as that of the Efik word with which it is compared.

Ebuk.

A-ba', a hollow: *ba-bah*^{1}.
A-ban'-i, old; *za-ken*, aged.
A-bpa, a river: Sans. *ap*, *afs*, *ahva*.
An'-ie, ***mawie***, who, sing. and pl.: Chald. and Syr. *man*.
Autaw', a place: Syr. *hatar*.
Bak, to cut into pieces: *bak-ah*^{3}, *pak-ah*^{3}.
Bang, to be dense: Teut. *bangh-en*; Scot. *pang*, to cram.
Bar'-a, to kindle: *bah*^{3}*ar*, to consume.
Bat, to count: *manah*^{1}, to divide, number; bt=mn.
Be, to pass: βαίνω, βῆμι, to go.
Ber'-e, to lean upon: *bat-ah*^{3}, to confide in; r=t.
Bigh'-i, to linger: *mah*^{1}*ah*^{1}, to delay; b=m.
Bok, to nurse.
Ubok, the hand.
Mbok, wrestling.
} all with the idea of clasping: *ha-bak*, *h*^{3}*a-bak*, to embrace.
Bon, to beget: *ben*, a son.
Bot, to shape, hatch: *bad-ah*, to form.
Bri, to spread: *ra-bad*; br=bd.
Bu, to rot: πύθ-ω, to rot; πῦ-ον, pus.
Bung, to break: Sans. *bhang*.
Buot, to trust, lend: *h*^{3}*a-bat*, to change, lend.
Bur'-e, to boast: *pahar*.
But, shame: *bush*, to be ashamed; Latin, pud-ēre.
Da, to take: Sans. *ada*, to possess, occupy.
Deb'-i, to dip: *tab-ah*^{3}, *tab-al*; Eth. *tam-ya*; Goth. *diup*.
Dem'-e, to share; νέμ-ω, to deal out.
Di-yo, to wander: *tah*^{3}*ah*.
Dok, to plait: *ha-rag*; Sans. *rag*, dk=rg.
Dom, to beat: δοῦπ-ος, a crash.
Domo, to measure: *mad-ad*; Goth. *mit-au*; Lat. *met-or*, to measure, *mod-us*, μέτρον.

Ipik.

Duk, to enter: δύ-ω.
Dop, to be silent: *dum*, *damam*, dp=dm.
Dor-e, to be bitter: *ma-rar*, dr=rr.
Duau, to fall: *ya-dah*[1], to fell.
E-be, a husband: *ba-h*[2]*al*, *bel*; Sans. *pala*, *bal-a*, a lord, master.
E-bet', a gazelle: Chal. *ta-bith-a*.
Eb-i, old: *seb*, *sebah*[1], hoary.
E-biit, a place, dwelling: *bayith*, a house.
E-det, a tooth: Sans. *dan*, *tan*; ὀδοὺς, dens.
E-di, he came: Heb. Syr. Chal. *hathah*[1]; Sans. *atah*.
E-keb'-e, a box: *teb-ah*[1], (of Egyptian origin), θίβ-η, κυβ-ωτὸς, an ark, coffer.
E-kur'-i, an axe: *kur*, *karath*, to cut; Sans. *k'hur*, *krit*.
E-rut', foreskin: *h*[2]*a-rel*.
E-sen, stranger: ξέν-ος.
E-tap, spittle: *tuph*, πτύ-ω; Arab, *tapap*, to spit.
E-to, a tree: *h*[2]*ets*; Sans. *asthi*; Lat. *hasta*: Gr. ὄζος.
E-tu, (in ikun-etu) clay: *tuh* or *toh*, to be miry, *tin*, *tut*, clay.
E-te, father: ἄττα, τέττα.
Feg'-e, to flee: φεύγ-ω, the root of which is φυγ.
Feg-e, to fear: *pah*[2]*dd*, fg=ph[2].
Feri, to be naked: *h*[2]*ervah*, nakedness.
Fiak, to turn: *h*[1]*a-phak*, *ha-bhak*.
Fon, to be good: Lat. *bon-us*.
Fop, to roast: ὀπ-τάω.
Fut, to be mouldy: *h*[2]*a-phan*, ft=phn.
I-ba, two: Sans. *ubhan*, *ubar*, *bar*.
Ib-ifik, breath } *haph*.
Ib-uo, the nose }
Ibio, short; βαιὸς.
I-dem, a tutelary god: δαίμ-ων.
I-kot, bush, jungle: *kots*.
I-ser'-i, pride: *zed*.
I-yak, or *i-dyak*, fish: *dag*, ἰχθύς.
Ka, to go: Sans. *ga*; Goth. *ga*, to go, *gata*, a way.
Kan, to surpass: καίν-υμι.
Kan, to turn round: *h*[2]*a-kan*, to twist.
Kar'-a, to go round: *karar*.
Kiel, one: *ha-h*[2]*ad*, kt=h[2]d.
Kob'-i, to fasten: *kab-an*, *kab-al*.
Kok, to grind: *ra-kak*, to pound.
Kpa, to die: *gavah*[2], to expire, kp=gv.
Kpak, to dun (*k* and *p* combine into an African sound): *pag-ah*[2], to strike upon.
Kpekhe, *Kpi*, *Kpenge*, to hew, cut: κόπ-τω.
Kprak, to crackle: *parak*; Sans. *prah*; Goth. *brik-an*; Lat. *frango*; Ger. *brech-en*, *break*.
Kub-i, to cover: *kaph-ar*, *kaph-a*, *kabh-a*; Lat. *cub-o*.
Kib-i, to pluck off: *ra-kaph*.
Kuk, to surround: *h*[2]*uk*, *h*[2]*ig*, *h*[2]*ug*; κυκ'-λος, a circle.

Ma, to love: *mai* (Egypt.), in *Amon mai*, beloved of Amon.*

Man, to bear a child.
I-man, family, relatives.

Syr. *min-o*; Sans. *man*, *mna*. Is not this the true root meaning of *min*, translated *kind* in Gen. i. 21, &c.? Gesenius imagines a root allied to Arab. and Eth. roots, *to be crafty*, but the idea of family, stock, race, is more natural and likely.

Mbi-ba, both: ἀμφω, *ambo*.
Me, per. pron. me: ἐμε; Lat. *me*.
Mo, *mimo*, they, them: Chal. h^1*immo*; Eth. *hemu*.
Mong, water: poet. *mo*; Copt. mo. The Egyptian word was probably the same.
Na, to lie: *nahah*[1], to sit; νάω, to dwell in.
Nem, to be pleasant: *nah*[1]*em*.
Nuak, to crush: *nakah*[1], to smite.
Nuk, to bend; *nuk*, an angle: *nuah*[2], to move to and fro; Sans. *nug*; Goth. *nook*, *neuk*; νεύω; Lat. *nuto*.
Ngwan, a woman: γυνή; Goth. *quinna*; A. Sax. *cwen*.
Nya-nyana, redup. form of nyaña, long, reedy grass by river side. *ng* and *hh* are interchangeable; hence nyanga=nyakha, which resembles the Egypt. ah^2u; Copt. *akhi*, marsh grass, reeds.
Nyin, we, us: *hanu*; Syr. h^2anan; Gr. νῶϊν.
O-bot, hill: βουν-ος, bt=bn.
O-du'-du, power: δύν-αμαι, to have power.
Ofin, *ufin*, slave, slavery: h^2e-*bhed*, h^2a-*bhod-ah*, fn=bhd.
Oko, hedge: *shok*.
Sana, to be clean: Sans. *sna*, to bathe.
Sat, to pick out: Arab. and Eth. *ma-sat*.
Se, rel. pron. what: *zeh*[1], *sh*; Phen. *sa*, *se*, *si*.
Sekhe, to sprout: *siah*[2], to germinate.
Sem-e, to lament: *saph-ad*, sm=sph.
Siak, to open up, used of the sun's rise: *zarah*[2]; Eth. *sarak* · Arab. *shak*.
Sokhi, to wipe: *suah*[2], *sah*[2]*ah*[1].
Sop, to meet: *ha-saph*, *ya-saph*, *saph-ah*[1], *saph-ah*[2].
Tat, *tar-a*, to loose: Syr. *shar-oh*.
Tau, to hit; hence to plant, from the way in which they dig in planting yams: *na-tah*[2]; Sans. *dhâ*; οὐταω.
Tek, to be slack, τήκ-ω, to pine away.
Tem, to cut, τέμ-νω.
Tik-a, to shoot with bow: *tah*[2]*-ah*[1], to draw the bow.
Tobo, to charge with a message: Syr. *tabab*, to disseminate.
Tuk, to touch: θίγ-ω; Lat. *tango*, *tetigi*.
Tup, to strike: τύπ-τω.
Tut, to push: ὤθεω.
U-buen-e, poor: *e-byon*.
U-bi, anything noxious: Goth. *ubi-lin*, evil.
U-duk, sorrow: δύ-η, misery.
U-fot, middle: *poth*.

* Dr. Eadie's Early Oriental History, p. 185.

Eng.

U-kot, relatives by marriage: *h²ath-an*, to give in marriage.
U-sau, handicraft: *h²a-sah¹*, to do.
U-saurau, a festival: *h²atsarah*.
U-tin, the sun: *Attin*, name of the sun in the Scalds, identified with *Odin*, *Adonis*; Heb. *ha-don*, lord, master.*
U-tip, hire: Lat. *stipe*.
Wud, to show: *yadah²*; Sans. *vid*, *budh*; Goth. *vit-an*; Gr. οἶδα; Lat. *vid-eo*.
Yai or *ye*, to be beautiful: *yahah¹*; Syr. *yeyo*.
Yarare, to reveal: *rahah¹*, to see; ὁράω.
Yomo, to be noisy: *yamam*, *h¹amam*.

* Dr. Jamieson's Hermes Scythicus, Prel. Diss., p. 114.

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